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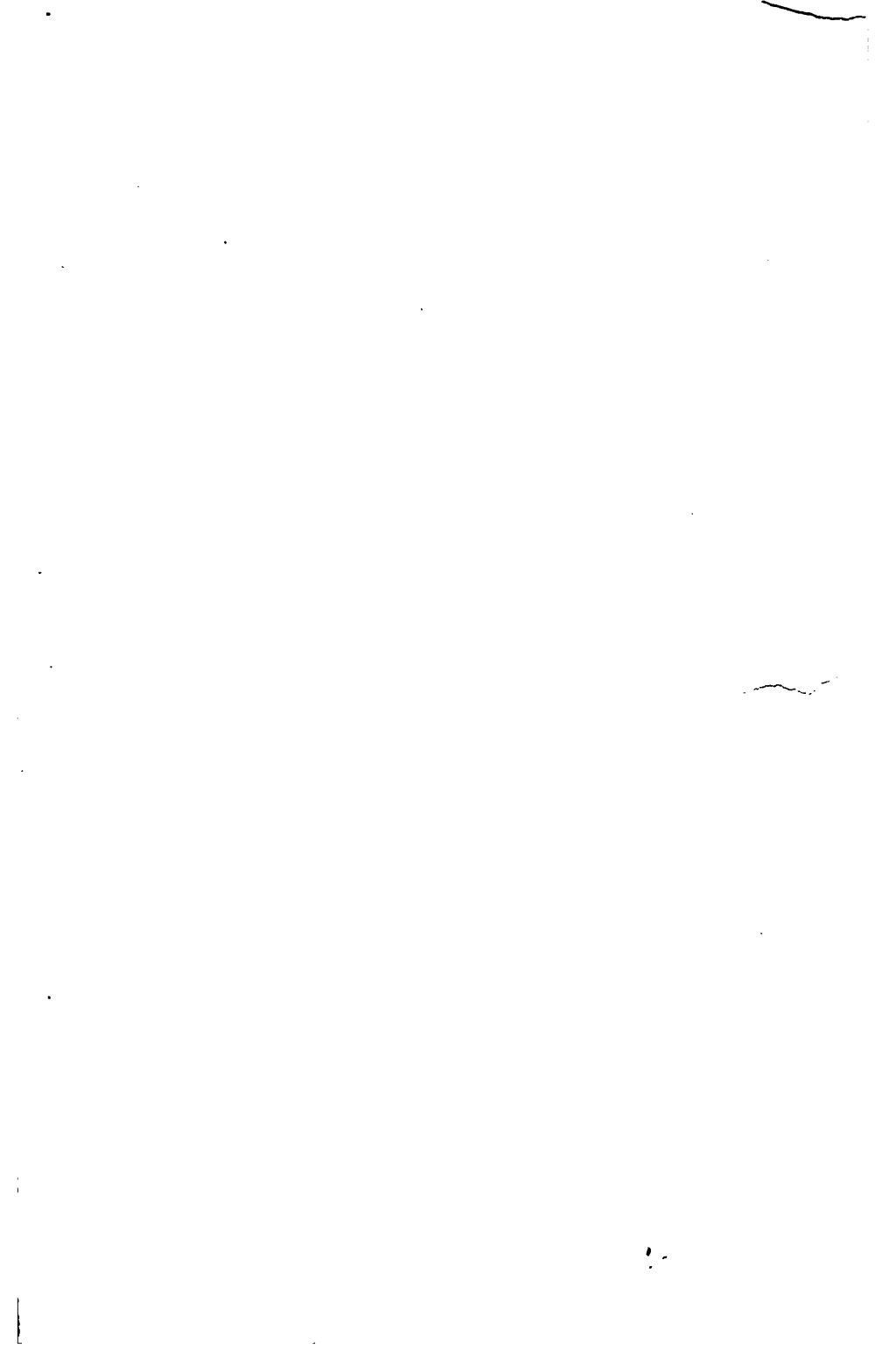


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OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITY.

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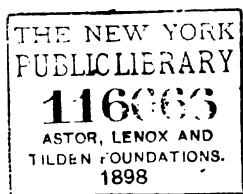
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VOLUME XIV. ✓



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OF
NORTHUMBERLAND

BY
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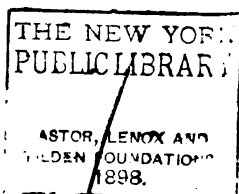
VOLUME I



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**NORTHYMBRENSIBUS
VICECOMES**

PREFACE.

UNDER even present conditions, a provincial historian, before he can commence painting on a broad canvas, is more or less obliged, if he possesses a conscience, to manufacture his own pigments, and the drudgery of the process cannot fail both to dry up the springs of his imagination and seriously to impair his sense of perspective and proportion.

The Border Holds is a mere compilation of facts, documentary and architectural, gathered together for the purpose of saving myself and other students of medieval Northumberland, from the trouble of carting a whole library about the county, when we visit the shattered relics of that proud array of more than three hundred castles, fortalices, towers, peles, bastle-houses and barmkins, with which the East and Middle Marches at one time bristled. The title has been chosen from a desire to embrace all these in one general expression. Shakespeare calls Warkworth 'a worm-eaten hold of ragged stone;' and the official return of 1509 applies the term 'holdis' equally to castles such as Harbottle, Etal, and Chillingham, to towers diminishing in size from Bewick to Thropton, and to the typical bastle of Hebburn.

The debt all true lovers of the

‘lordly strand of Northumberland
And the goodly towers thereby,’

still owe to Francis Grose will be found frequently insisted on, and the labours of Sir David Smith, though extant only in manuscript, are deserving of gratitude no less signal. The volume of *The Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland*, which the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne communicated to the Newcastle meeting of the Archaeological Institute, in 1852, was my trusted wallet-book on earlier expeditions through the county. Mr. Hartshorne forgot, it is true, that, in Northumberland at any rate, the House of Percy required neither eulogy nor panegyric, but an immense amount of information was garnered into his book, and the refutation of the errors that have crept into his text is frequently to be found in the very extracts printed in his foot-notes.

I shall not readily forget the delight with which I read Mr. G. T. Clark's *Mediæval Military Architecture* for the first time; but the very ease with which Mr. Clark can describe in a few minutes the salient features of a castle that he has scarcely seen before, and into the history of which he has made little research, while it lends an incomparable charm to his style, has led him not unfrequently into errors of detail, some few of which I have considered it necessary to notice. Still, it is much easier to correct than to collect, to criticise than to create, and I trust any strictures on the work of Mr. Clark or other writers will be understood merely to form part of a general attack

on that torpid deference to latter-day authorities, which too often prevents a recourse to the most ancient sources of information and to the independent evidence of fresh pairs of eyes.

The duties of a Professor of Poetry at the University of Cambridge were formerly supposed to be discharged by the Professor of History; and though we might have supposed that by this time the attributes of Clio were clearly distinguished from those of her eight sisters, and that the teaching of historic truth, fraught, as it is, with such infinite consequences for the guidance of humanity, had come to be regarded as a serious, a solemn, nay almost a sacred task, it is astonishing to find it still often treated as a mere juggle of *belles lettres*, the truth or falsehood of any particular fact looked upon as a matter of perfect indifference, deductions from preconceived ideas clung to in preference to inductions from the most recently excavated materials, any fact that may strike a jarring note in the narrative or cast a doubt on its truth rigorously suppressed, in order that the whole shall form a beautiful and statuesque composition to delight an audience or to adorn a magazine.

The unique devotion of the people of Northumberland to the history of their county is brought out in every local newspaper you take up. It is therefore to be regretted that the quality of the historical articles supplied to them is not always of a very critical character. As regards our churches, a great improvement has taken place; but the underground passage that led miles through the country, the ghost that

nobody ever saw himself, and the ballad and legend that may have originated in the columns of the weekly press, within the current century, still hold possession of our castles. It is impossible to rate too highly the influence of the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott in originally fostering the study of Border history, but there is a very positive danger in permitting Fiction to assume exclusive dominion in historical localities. If writers must needs have castles for their efforts in romance why cannot they be content with Torquilstones and Tillietudlems?

The comparative dearth of genuine traditions in Northumberland is to be accounted for by the very migratory habits of the agricultural population.

So far from not appreciating to the full the real romance of history, I have perhaps rather run off the line in my anxiety to bring home to the North the most genuine versions of the adventures of Hotspur, of Edward III., and of Margaret of Anjou, while these still have the advantage of novelty.

I have allowed no considerations of form or style to interfere with the correction of mistakes or the insertion of fresh information. A continuous growth of historical knowledge admits of no dogmatic finality. At the same time I look forward to recasting much of my material in a more literary shape in the general History of Northumberland I have in preparation.

Owing to this volume being issued, without extra subscription, to the members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as parts of Vol. XIV. of the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, it has been impossible to

provide it with those plans, sections, and elevations that are indispensable for a thorough comprehension of the subject. I have therefore treated the historical side more fully than the architectural, with the intention of shortly publishing a more popular work in conjunction with a practical architect.

The photographs taken for the purpose of illustration were many of them executed at my own expence, while the cost of reproducing them has in several instances been borne by those who either own or are intimately associated with the holds they represent.

It is the invariable kindness of the Duke of Northumberland, in allowing me to have every access to the archives at Alnwick, and to have all extracts I asked for made from those at Sion, besides lending the wood blocks of Warkworth and Prudhoe, and in other ways generally assisting the Society in publishing my history of those castles, that alone has rendered the compilation of this volume possible.

Especial thanks are also due to the Earl of Tankerville and to Louisa Marchioness of Waterford; to Sir Edward W. Blackett and to Mr. Watson Askew-Robertson; to the Rev. H. F. Long, vicar of Bamburgh; and to Mr. S. P. Cockerell; to Mr. Mangin at Preston; to Mrs. Glover at Prudhoe, and Mr. Sample at Bothal; to the Rev. Canon Greenwell, Mr. C. T. Martin of the Public Record Office, Mr. J. H. Wylie, and Mr. Roundell Sanderson of the British Museum; to Mr. J. G. Hodgson, for references to his grandfather's MSS.; to Mr. C. J. Spence, for sketches of Dunstanburgh; to Mr. R. G. A. Hutchinson, for plans

of the keep of Bamburgh and of the recent excavations in the inner ward there; to Colonel Holland, Mr. T. Bosworth, and Mr. George Reavell; to Mr. Stephen Sanderson and to Mr. R. G. Bolam; to Mr. Charlewood; to Mr. J. P. Gibson, my companion on two tours through the county; and to Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., by whom so much of the actual toil of editing has most kindly been borne.

HEDDON-SUPER-MURUM :

March 2nd, 1891.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION	1
I. Castles of the Twelfth Century	4
II. Castles and Towers crenellated by Licence	6
III. Castles and Fortalices in 1415	12
IV. Towers erected in the Fifteenth Century	20
V. Border Surveys in the Sixteenth Century	25
APPENDICES :—	
(A) 'Bretesche'	54
(B) Sir David Lyndesey's Tower in Tyndale, 1237	55
(C) 'Pele'	57
(D) Æneas Sylvius on the Border, 1436	61
(E) 'Barmkin'	64
(F) 'Bastle'	65
(G) Acts of Parliament for fortifying the Border, 1555 and 1581, and Reports of Border Commissioners, 1584	65
WARKWORTH CASTLE	
	81
DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE	
	167
PRESTON TOWER	
	195
PRUDHOE CASTLE	
	199
BAMBURGH CASTLE	
	223
BOTHAL CASTLE	
	233
CHILLINGHAM CASTLE	
	297
HEBBURN BASTLE	
	302
FORD CASTLE	
	305
COLDMARTIN TOWER	
	309
BEWICK TOWER	
	310
HALTON TOWER	
	311
THIRLWALL CASTLE	
	323

	PAGE.
HETON CASTLE	329
WARK CASTLE	331

APPENDIX:—

(H) The Relief of Wark Castle by Edward III., 1341	359
COCKLAW TOWER	370
BYWELL CASTLE	372
LONG HORSLEY TOWER	380
HOWTELL TOWER	382
WILLIMOTESWYKE	383
COCKLE PARK TOWER	390
TOSSON TOWER	392
WHITTON TOWER	393
HEPPLE TOWER	396
CARTINGTON CASTLE	397
DUDDO TOWER	409
CHIPCHASE TOWER	410

APPENDICES:—

(I) Bishop Percy and Warkworth	417
(K) The Immunity of Bamburgh, 1070	426
(L) The Wars of the Roses in Northumberland	428

LIST OF PLATES.

	PAGE.
Masons' Marks	10
Map of the Castles and Fortalices, 1415	14
Map of Castles, Towers, and Barmkins, 1541	32
Christopher Dacre's Plat of Castles, Fortresses and Dyke, 1584	78
Warkworth Castle from the South... ..	81
Seals of the Lords of Warkworth	88
Warkworth Gatehouse from the Courtyard, circa 1850	138
Plan of the Second Floor, Warkworth Donjon	164
Rough Sketch Plan of Dunstanburgh Castle	167
Dunstanburgh Castle from the South	168
Dunstanburgh Gateway from the South, 1884	188
Dunstanburgh Castle from the East	192
The Eggingclough Tower, Dunstanburgh Castle, 1860	194
Preston Tower from the West, 1884	196
Prudhoe Castle from the South, 1852	199
Prudhoe Castle from the South, 1786	208
Ground Plan of Prudhoe Castle, circa 1816	212
Rough Sketch Plan of Bamburgh Castle	224
Reliquary of St. Oswald, Soleure	228
Bamburgh Castle from the South-East, 1786	232
Plan of Bamburgh Castle, Cotton MS. Aug. I. ii. 2	262
Bamburgh Castle from the South-East, 1886	272
Plans of the Great Tower, Bamburgh	274, 276, 278
Plan of Excavations in Inner Ward, Bamburgh	282
Kitchen of Bamburgh Castle, 1786	280
North-West Prospect of Bothal Castle, 1724	284
Battlements of Bothal Gatehouse	288
Chillingham Castle from the North, 1884	300
Hebburn Bastle from the North-West, 1884... ..	302
The Platform and Elevations of Ford Castle, 1716	308
Halton Tower from the West, 1884	312
Thirlwall Castle	324
Cocklaw Tower from the South, 1884	370
Long Horsley Tower from the South, 1884	380
Howtell Tower from the West, 1891	382
Willimoteswyke Manor House, 1884	384
Cockle Park Tower from the South-East, 1884	390
Cockle Park Tower from the North-East, in about 1830	391
Tosson Tower from the North-East, 1884	392
Hepple Tower from the West, 1884	396
Cartington Castle from the South-East, 1780	404
Cartington Castle from the South-West, 1884	406
Dukdo Tower from the South-East, 1884	409
Chipchase Tower from the North-West, 1884	410

WOODCUTS, &c.

	PAGE.
Warkworth Castle from the North-West	130
Buttress of West Curtain, Warkworth Castle	132
Postern-Gate, Warkworth Castle	132
Window of Cradyfargus Tower, Warkworth	135
Warkworth Gatehouse, 1857	136
Corbel above Great Gateway, Warkworth	137
Stair-Head in Spire Turret, Warkworth	141
South-East Corner of Great Hall, Warkworth	142
Section of Respond, Great Hall, Warkworth	143
The Lion Tower, Warkworth	144
Signet of Henry, 2nd Earl of Northumberland	145
Signet of Eleanor, Countess of Northumberland	145
Great Seal of 2nd and 4th Earls of Northumberland	145
Examples of Bascules—Beverley, Warkworth, and Raglan	146
Base of South-West Pier, Warkworth College	149
Base of North Arcade, Warkworth College	149
Warkworth Castle from the North-East	152
Head of Original Oilet, East Tower, Warkworth	154
Inserted Oilets, East Tower, Warkworth	154
Warkworth Donjon, South Side	157
South Side of Chapel, Warkworth Donjon	161
Lilburn Tower, Dunstanburgh Castle	167
Gatehouse Tower, Prudhoe Castle	214
East Corbel of Gateway, Prudhoe Castle	215
Impost of Inner Arch, Prudhoe Gatehouse	215
Interior of Gatehouse Chapel, Prudhoe Castle	216
Oriel of Chapel from the Courtyard, Prudhoe	217
Latrine in South Curtain, Prudhoe... ..	219
Bamburgh Castle from the North-West	223
Bothal Gatehouse from the Courtyard	283
Halton Tower from the East	311
Thirlwall Castle	323
Heton Castle in the Reign of Elizabeth	329
Wark Castle in the Reign of Elizabeth	352
Bywell Gate-Tower from the South-East	373
Door at Stair-Foot, Bywell Castle	375
Iron Grille, Bywell Castle	376
Willimoteswyke from the East	383
Whitton Tower from the South-West	393

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 2, l. 4, and n. 4, for 'AD GEBRIUM' read 'ADGEFRIN.'

p. 2, l. 17 for 'monks' read 'family.'

p. 4, l. 5, *dele* 'The almost square ashlar of the masonry of the keep make it probable that much of this is his work.' There is no doubt that the keep of Norham was the work, not of Flambard, but of his successor Pudsey. Galfrid of Coldingham clearly says of the latter—'Castellum de Northam, quod munionibus infirmum reperit, turre validissima forte reddidit.'—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Soc. Publ. 9, p. 12. The ascription of the keep to Flambard is a mistake of Raine, that has been perpetuated by Mr. G. T. Clark.

p. 4, n. 13, l. 14, for 'restson' read 'rests on.'

p. 8. In the palatinate of Durham the bishops granted licences to crenellate Witton in 1410, Ludworth in 1422, Bradley in 1431, and the parsonage towers of Redmarshall and Houghton-le-Spring in 1462 and 1483 respectively.—*Surtees, Durham*, I. p. clvii.

p. 19, l. 23. The number (78) of the Northumbrian fortalices in 1415 coincides curiously with that of the castles of Northumberland in a book that, according to Demster, was written on the subject by John Currar, a native of Banff, who, on account of his military prowess, was a favourite of king William (? the Lion), by whom he was made governor of Northumberland on its recovery in about 1270 (? 1170). No mention of Currar occurs earlier, and no copies of his works are known to be in existence, so that the whole of Demster's account is open to grave suspicion, though Sir T. Hardy, in his *Descriptive Catalogue*, Rolls Series, III. p. 180, accepts it without any criticism. ('IOHANNES Currar sive Currerius domo Banfiensis, sed insigni militari fortitudine Regi Wilhelmo charus, cum recepisset Northumbriam Rex, Currerio data provincie administratio, itaque ille Regis nomine provinciam lustravit ac circumiens in Commentarios retulit vires civitatum atque populorum, qui bello inseruire possent multitudinem, ut faceret quoddam veluti *Summarium* aut *Breuiarium* Regionis, ut vocat Suetonius in Augusto, titulam operi fecit. *De septuaginta et octo munitis Castellis Northumbriae Comitatus*, lib. i. *De possessoribus eorum continua serie*, lib. i. *De officio limitum Praefecti*, lib. i. *Epistola ad Willelmum regem*, lib. i. Floruit circa Mccclxx.'—Demster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Sootorum*, Bononiae, 1627, p. 162.)

p. 19, n. 119, for 'Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene' read 'cell of Augustinian canons.'

p. 21, n. 124. Though the chapel of South Charlton has disappeared, its site is still known.

p. 25, l. 2, add 'Thomas Lord Dacre in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, dated 'Norham 24 Jan. 1522, proposed for the defence of the Borders among other things that 30 men should be kept in wages with Thomas Strother at Newton, 10 with Ralph Reveley in Langton tower, belonging to Lord Ross, 10 with William Selby in Brankston tower, 10 with John Wallace in Akeld tower, 20 with John Collingwood in Etal castle, belonging to Lord Ross, 20 with John Heron the Bastard in Ford castle, 10 with Gilbert Swynney in Cornhill, 10 with Hector Grey in Wooler tower; on the Middle Marches, 20 men with Robert Collingwood at Eslington, 16 with John Horsley at Screenwood, 10 with the laird of Biddleston in the tower there, 20 with John Barrow in Barrow, 20 with Ralph Fenwick in Tarsel hall.'—*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* vol. iii, p. 852, 1,986; *Cotton. M.S.* Calig. B. vi. 451, B.M.

p. 28, n. 149, l. 1, for 'B. vii.' read 'B. viii.' That the date of the important Survey of Bowes and Ellerker is 1541 has now been fully established by their letter to Henry VIII. from Etal, on the 15th of October in that year, printed in *The Hamilton Papers*, vol. i. p. 104, and by the following curious letter, endorsed '1541,' *ibid.* p. 127:—'Pleasethe youre majestie to be advertised, that we accordinge to youre majesties mooste graciouse pleasour and commaundemente to us prescribed in youre graces commissione, have to the beste of oure symple wittes and small experyence in suche causes, executed, accomplisshed, and performed the same, like as youre highnes may at large perceyve in oure certificat and retorne therupon. And mooste desirouse we were to have sett forthe the particularities therof more planely and apartely unto youre majesties sighte, in a platt or picture of boothe youre said majesties Easte and Mydle Marches, but we colde not in thies parties finde eny man that had eny conynge or experyence to make suche a platt therof, as were metlye to be presented unto your highnes. The whiche oure certificat annexed unto the said comyssione your highnes shall herewith receyve, mooste humble besechinge the same to accepte oure rude and ignoraunte procedinges therin in good parte, as of suche as intende alwaies trewly to endeavour themselves taccomplishe all your mooste graciouse preceptes and commaundementes to thuttermoste of our small powers, as knowithe the mooste blissed Trynytie who have your highnes in his contynuall tuicion and gubernance our mooste graciouse soveraigne lorde. Writton at your majesties towne of Newcastle upon Tyne the seconde daye of this instaunte monethe of Decembre. Ycur majesties mooste humble and obediante subjectes and servauntes. (Signed) Cuthbert Radclyff, Rauff Ellerkar, Robert Bowis, John Herone, Robert Collyngwod, John Horsley.'

p. 48, l. 27. Some notices of towers, etc., at Carrycoats, Fylton Moor, Carrow, and Sewinshields, in the portion of the MS. represented by the hiatus, ought to have been given:—'Twoo partes (of Fylton Moor) be in thandes and occupation of one Cuthbert Shaftoo gent. and upon eyther of those partes the said Cuthbertes Shaftoos father buylded a stone house thone of which houses ys called carrycottes and thother the whyte house of in Fylton more beinge occupied at this present onely with herdes. And an other quarter of the same

'pasture of Fylton more ys in the tenour of John Heron havyng as yet none
'habytacion therof . . . Albeyt the said John Heron ys mynded (as he sayth)
'to buyde a stone house upon his said parte at a place called Towland as his
'power may extend thereunto. . . . At Carrowe there is a toure and stone house
'joining unto the same buylded by one that was pryour of the late monastery
'of Hexham not xith yeres since. . . . And in lykewyse westewarde upon the
'same (peighte) wall there ys an olde castell or fortresse called Sewyngeshealles
'of thinherytance of John Heron of Chypchase esquier in great decaye both in
'the roofes and floores.'—Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. pp. 227, 228.

p. 49, l. 38. The account of Simondburn, in a later paragraph of the same MS., should be added:—'Symondburne ys a greatt and strongly buylded toure
'standinge very defencyble upon the corner of an hyll envyroned upon thre
'quarters therof with a depe staye hyll almost inaccessyble so that a barmekyn
'wall of a meane height sett upon the toppe of that hyll were defencyble enough
'so farre as the said hyll stretches and where the hyll ceases there must the
'barmekyn be made higher and stronger.'—Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 285.

p. 51, l. 10, for '1550' read '1551 (5 Edward VI.)'. The mistake originated with Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 171.

pp. 78 and 79. The reproduction of Christopher Dacre's Plat of Castles and Fortresses on the Border, with the dyke he proposed to construct in 1584, cannot, it appears, be easily deciphered by all eyes; some elucidation of it is therefore necessary. Beginning at the upper left-hand corner, the 'towns' of 'Cholerton, Swinburne, Whelpington, Catchersyde, Farnelaw, Leighton, 'fallalees, and Tosson,' are shown in a line stretching in a north-easterly direction. To the 'Sowthe' of them is the note 'Here doth want about tenn
'myle west to the ioyninge of the dike or newe defence upon the west border
'which serveth from towne to towne as well as the rest;' and below them another to the effect that 'all from these townes east and south and south and by west 'within this intended defence all to the west border for the most part
'well plenished with townes and townes but little enclosed.' At the top of the chart we have 'Harbottle Castell,' and below it on the left the note 'all from
'Harbottle to the west border is Riddisdale and Tyndale so moche as is
'inhabited betwene these townes hereunder and Scotlande beyng about
'twentye myle directly from Harbottle to the west borders with many great
'and hoodg waiste grounds and mountaines of small profit not possible to be
'inclosed.' To the right of 'Harbottle Castell' is written 'all waist to
'Scotland sixe myle.' Then come in a cluster 'Bittelsden towre, Coutwall
'towre, Screnwood towre, Alnam, Ryle towre, prendick, Ingram, Refely,
'ffawdon, branton, hedgley,' then in a line north 'Rodom towre, Rosden,
'Elderton towre, south middleton, north middleton, middleton towre, Yardle,
'(Here at Yardle the east and mydell marche is divided), wooller towre,
'homelton, akeld, yevering, east Newton, West Newton, Kellum, pawston,
'mindrum, preswen, caram.' Above Homildon and Akeld are marked 'the

'Hilles of Cheviot all waiste from these townes of the ringe seven myle to Scotland.' 'Hethpole towr' and 'Antechester' appear above West Newton. Arranged down the Tweed from Carham are 'Warke castell, Cornell towre, 'Heton castell, Noram castell, Shorswood towre,' with the note 'Tweede not to be passed but at certaine places.' 'Here,' we are warned, 'is no castles, towres nor townes set out in this plot betwene the plenished ringe and the sea and the Innermost part of the border but the castles and townes decaied and the townes by which the dyke or intended Defence is to goe.' To the west of the Till, 'not to be passed but at certain places,' we find 'lancton towre' and 'Howghtell towre,' and along its right bank 'Bewike towre, fforde castell' and 'Etell castell.' 'The newe devised dike or defence' is, Dacre here says, 'to begyne at Caram upon Tweed and so from towne to towne endlong those townes that stand most convenient up on the ringe to the west borders all within and nere to the same for the most part well plenished and inhabited with towres and townes but not enclosed.' At the bottom of the plan near the sea are 'Dunstonebourghe castell, bambourgh castle, lowyke towre' held by a 'collynwod' and 'Barwicke.'

p. 81, n. 3, l. 11, for 'Lindesarne' read 'Lindisfarne.' Woodchester was probably not Woodhorn, but the 'chester' at the mouth of the Aln, near Wooden.

p. 84, l. 11, for 'first' read 'second.'

p. 85, l. 3, for 'John's second' read 'John by his first.'

p. 94, l. 20, *dele* 'at the battle of Halidon Hill.'

p. 95, l. 4, for '1355' read '1335.'

p. 95, n. 59, l. 3, *dele* 'What does the reference to the Dominical Letter, etc. mean?' See p. 135, n. 207.

p. 96, n. 60, see Appendix (I) on Bishop Percy and Warkworth.

p. 101, n. 77, l. 7. The authority for the date of the birth of the first earl of Northumberland is the Little Pedigree Roll of Percy and Vescy, composed in about 1460, at Alnwick Castle:—'In die translacionis sancti martini episcopi 'natus fuit iste Henricus percy vi^{tu}s in castro de Scarburgh ex maria filia 'comitis lankaster anno domini MCCCLX^o.'

p. 105, n. 93, l. 10, for 'millatenus' read 'nullatenus.'

p. 107, n. 103, transfer l. 8 to foot of page.

p. 113, l. 3, see p. 166 for an additional note.

p. 126, l. 21, for 'Chetelherault' read 'Chatelherault.'

p. 133, l. 25, see p. 166 for an additional note.

p. 135, ll. 10-13, see p. 165, n. 253.

p. 146, l. 15, for 'the falchion of the Fitzpaynes, but the strap and pommel 'are all that is left,' read 'the Percy fetter-lock, which was much more perfect 'when Sir David Smith made his sketch of it.'

p. 146, *dele* note 220.

p. 150, n. 231, l. 4, for 'keep' read 'tower.'

p. 150, l. 11, *dele* 'the pommel of the 'Fitzpayne falchion, and.'

p. 150, l. 13, *dele* 'mother and.'

p. 151, n. 232. Clarkson, in his *Survey of 1567*, notices that Warkworth Castle was insufficiently supplied with water, and reports that there was a fine spring at High Buston, which might be 'easilye in pipes of leade and hewen stone' taken to the castle, 'even to the uppermoste part . . . or at the leaste for a conduite to sett within the court.' This reference is due to the kindness of Mr. J. C. Hodgson, of Low Buston.

p. 162, n. 246. Freytag in his *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1859, Theil I. Einleitung v. vi., gives a good realistic picture of a German castle in about 1559—dismal, uncomfortable, and dirty, either set on a bare rock in the eye of the wind, or surrounded by the bad smells of a stagnant moat, the children quarrelling on the manure-heap in the courtyard, and the women scolding round the fire in the great kitchen ('düster, geflickt, unwohnlich, entweder auf wasserarmer Höhe in scharfen Zug des Windes gesetzt oder rings von uebelriechendem Grabenschlamm umgeben . . . Unwohnlich und unsauber ist das Haus . . . Von dem Düngerhaufen des kleinen Burghofes tönt das Geschrei zankender Knaben und um den Herd der grossen Küche nicht weniger misstönend das Hadern der Frauen.')

p. 164, in the plan of the second floor of the donjon, for 'ORIEL' read 'ORIOLE.' See p. 139, n. 213.

p. 167, l. 29, for 'these turrets are' read 'is the curtain-wall.'

p. 167, l. 30, for 'dashes' read 'spouts,' and on the subject of the Rumble Churn see p. 194.

p. 167, l. 81, for 'them' read 'it.'

p. 168, l. 15, see Gough's *Camden Britannia*, 1789, iii. 258.

p. 178, l. 7. On the question of 'Queen Margaret's Tower,' see p. 193, n. 86.

p. 179, ll. 7-8, *dole* 'by the passive collusion of Sir Ralph Percy.'

p. 179, n. 50, l. 8, for 'sacrum' read 'sacramentum.'

p. 187, l. 2, after '£400' add paragraph at foot of p. 194.

p. 187, ll. 5, 6, for 'granted Dunstanburgh to Sir William Grey, of Wark, on the 6th of February, 1625' read 'sold Dunstanburgh 28 Aug. 1604 to Sir Thomas Windebanck, Thomas Billott and William Blake, and they sold it to Sir Ralph Grey, 21 Nov. 1605.'—*Chillingham MSS.*

p. 187, l. 8, for 'Eyre' read 'Eyres.'

p. 193, l. 3, for 'metamorphised marble' read 'metamorphosed limestone.'

p. 193, n. 86, see Appendix (L) on the Wars of the Roses in Northumberland.

p. 194, l. 14, for 'a cleft in a cavern roof, formed by one of the basalt columns having fallen into the seething abyss below' read 'a pipe or "chimney" some eighty feet in height, formed by a prism of basalt being wanting, and up which a jet of water is thrown with great force under certain conditions of wind and tide, the waves having worn away the stratified sandstone below the basalt. A mass of stone has recently fallen into the throat of the Churn from above, which it is to be feared will impede its working.' This, like many other corrections relating to Dunstanburgh, is due to the kindness of Mr. C. B. P. Bosanquet.

p. 203, l. 7, for 'anunal' read 'annual.'

p. 206, l. 9, for 'sinking fishing craft' read 'removing the kiddles.' Kiddles are dams or open weirs in a river with loops or narrow cuts in them for the purpose of catching fish. Magna Charta provided, 'Omnes kidelli deponantur de coetero penitus per Thamesiam et Medweyam et per totam Angliam, nisi per coeteram maris.'—See Jacob's *Law Dictionary*.

p. 207, l. 14, add—'After having suppressed the refractory priory of Hexham at the end of February 1537, the duke of Norfolk proceeded to Prudhoe, where Lady Percy lay, and put Sir Reginald Carnaby in possession of the castle. Norfolk took an inventory of Sir Thomas Percy's goods, and redelivered them to his wife by indenture. Lady Percy obeyed Norfolk in all things, even sending him a letter that the abbot of Salley had privately sent to her husband, so that in writing to Cromwell from Newminster on the 5th of March, Norfolk vouchsafed to term her a good woman.'—*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* 1537, p. 266, No. 577.

p. 221, n. 67. Much of the tracery of the windows in the south wall of the dwelling-house is ancient.

p. 224, l. 19, for '607' read '617.'

p. 226, n. 13, l. 6, for 'of' read 'at.'

p. 228, add after l. 10, 'Oswulf the son of Aldred witnesses a charter of King Eadred in 949 as high-reeve of Bamburgh, Osulf ad lebb. hehgr.—*Cod. Diplom.* ii. p. 292.'

On the plate of St. Oswald's reliquary, for '(See page 228)' read '(See page 282).'

p. 228, l. 15, on the immunity of Bamburgh from the harrying of 1070, see Appendix (K).

p. 229, n. 21, l. 8, for 'ecclesiis' read 'ecclesiæ.'

p. 232, n. 31, l. 10, for 'pierce-eye' read 'lance-and-keys.'

p. 248, transpose notes 115 and 116.

p. 254, n. 142, l. 5, *dele* 'et.'

p. 255, l. 15, for 'April' read 'July.'

p. 256, n. 149, l. 16, for 'two years previously, in 1462,' read 'on the previous 2nd of September.'

p. 256, ll. 23-28, *dele* from 'must' to 'Hexham.'

p. 256, l. 32, for 'cautiously' read 'generally.'

p. 258, ll. 1, 2, for 'directed by Edward and Richard Bombartell and other of the king's ordinance; and assisted by men-at-arms and archers they' read 'kept up by the bombardels "Edward" and "Richard" and other of the king's ordinance, under the direction of Warwick, and assisted by the men-at-arms and archers, he.' See Oman, *Warwick, the King-maker*, p. 158.

p. 269, insert after 'King' '*Munimenta Antiqua*,' vol. i.'

p. 280, l. 35, for 'but' read 'that.'

p. 287, l. 9, add in a note—'In the Marquis of Newcastle's *Methode Nouvelle et Invention extraordinaire de dresser les Châteaux*, Anvers, M.DC.LVIII, there is a fine engraving, by Lemmelin, entitled "LE CHATEAU DE BOTHEL (dans la

'province de Northumberland) qui fut à Mons'. le Baron d'Ogle et est apresent
'à Monseigneur le Marquis." Bothal is represented as the purely ideal castle
'of the day, with a domed embattled gateway and two circular corner towers,
'and on the side of the river are huntsmen, hounds and deer within a palisaded
'enclosure. This view is only valuable as a study of contemporary country
'costume.'

p. 299, ll. 26, 33. The suggestion that two of these figures may possibly
represent St. Dorothea and St. Theodosia is due to the resemblance they bear to
the almost contemporary wall-paintings of these saints in Eton Chapel.—See
Maxwell Lyte, *Eton College*, 1875, pp. 88, 89. This is, however, very
problematical.

p. 299, l. 30, for '*St. Ninian* (?)' read '*St. Wilfrid*.' Eddius records
St. Wilfrid's miraculous release from his fetters at Dunbar.

p. 303, n. 6, add after 'Craster MSS.,' 'on referring to which we find it
'stated that "This is a true Copy from the Original in the Hands of Robert
'"Hebborn of Hebborn esq'."

p. 304, l. 35, for 'berberry' read 'barberry.'

p. 308, l. 17, add 'In *Gough MSS.* vol. xxv. fo. 70, Bodleian Library, is
'an excellent view of Ford Castle from the south, probably drawn by the Bucks
'in 1728, but never engraved. Unfortunately, being half-pencilling, half-
'etching, it does not lend itself well to reproduction by photography. It shows
'us the walls of the east and west wings, facing the courtyard, which do not
'appear in Purdy's elevations. The east wing, which, stretching north and
'south, was, as has been stated, probably the Hall, is designated "chapel,"
'probably for no better reason than that the windows were pointed. In the
'small gable of the porch were the arms of BLAKE (*arg.*) a chevron between
'three garbs (*sa.*) impaling CARR (*gu.*) on a chevron (*arg.*) three estoiles (*sa.*)
'with a martlet for crest, and the date 1677 under the initials ^BF E. Over the
'door itself there seems to have been a square panel with the three herons of
'HERON quartering the three flies of MUSCHAMP, and the initials of William
'Carr on either side of the Carr crest of a stag's head. The classical south
'gateway was surmounted by the shield of BLAKE quartering CARR, with the
date 1679, and on the vane of the south-east tower was the inscription "S^r. F.
B. 1695."

It may be, then, that it is to this south-east tower that the following extract
from the Ford muniments, given by Mr. Walter B. Thomas,* relates:—"8 Aug:
'6 Wm. and Mary [1694]. Sir Francis Blake signed articles with John Gibson,
'Robert Bell, Henry Charlton, Thomas Maxwell and John Bell, masons of
'Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the execution of certain works at Ford castle,
'among others, to take away the new stairs in the turret, to make a stair two
'storey high and four ft. broad, to go up at ye east side of the tower, and to
'break out three windows at the west side of the tower, and one on the north.
'Work to commence 15 Aug. 1694, and to be viewed by any two men of

* *Proc. Soc. Antiq., Newcastle*, v. p. 62.

'judgment, any time within a twelvemonth. Contract sum £26; penalty £100.'

The vaulted basement of the north-west tower had, we learn from the same source, a narrow escape from destruction during the restoration by Sir John Hussey Delaval. Raffield, the joiner, had urged its destruction, but Thomas Delaval, of Hetherslaw, fortunately interceded for it in a letter to his brother dated 25th January, 1763. 'George Raffield,' he says, 'tells me he wrote you 'that it would be better to take off the arch on which my Lady's room was 'placed, on account of getting more room for the windows. I have been since 'looking at it, and told him I thought he was entirely wrong; the arch is a 'very fine piece of workmanship. It would not only be a great expense to pull 'it down and lay joists instead of it, but not the half so good for the purpose 'when done.'

pp. 308 and 309. In Purdy's 'plat-form' of Ford the letters 'F' and 'G' are in the north-west and north-east corners of 'the Newark' on the north side of the castle.

p. 314, n. 14, see note at foot of p. 322.

p. 327, l. 12, for '1542' read '1541'; l. 14, Lancelot Thirlwall of Thirlwall, by his will, dated 27th December, 1582, left 'sartayn instruments . . . as heirloomes, 'to the house of Thirlwall, and to the lord therof, that is to saye, a stand bed 'in the low parler, a great arke standinge in the hie loftes over the hall, a long 'speat, a payre of rackes, and a great potte.' The inventory of his household goods was not long. '*Insight geare.* Two fetherbedes 13s. 4d. ij mattresses 5s. 'v coverlettes 12s. 6d. lx happinges 18s. v payre of blankettes 20s. iiij payre 'lynne sheetes 24s. viij payre of round sheetes 24s. vj boutsters 8s. ij pillowes '2s. 6d. ij brasse pottes 12s. one cawdron 8s. one cettle 4s. iiij 4s. j frienge 'panne 12d. ij iren speetes 3s. 4d. j droppinge panne 16d. xxiiij pece of pewter 'vessell 20s. ij saltes 20d. iiij candlestickes 3s. 4d. ij lynne bord clothes 6s. 'ij towells 2s. viij table napkins 2s. 8d. j ammye 10s. ij crookes 2s. j rostinge 'iren and a girdle 2s. 8d. j payre of tonges 8d. ij window clothes 6s. iiij seckes '3s. 4d. iiij wallettes 20d. ij chistes and litle trindle bedde, a 'cuppebord and a presser 13s. ij beddsteedes 6s. ij beedsteedes 3s. ij wood 'vessell 10s. His owne apparell 46s. 8d.'—*Wills and Inventories*, ii. Surt. Soc. Pub. 38, pp. 75-77; n. 15, for '*Acts of Scotland*,' read '*Acts of Parliament of 'Scotland*.'

p. 329, l. 8, add 'This was after Warbeck had left him at the end of 'September, disgusted at the brutal way the war was being carried on. A 'chaldron of malt was provided for the royal household during the siege ("Ad 'expensas dom. regis in exercitu ejusdem in Anglia, in obsidione de Hedtoun, 'j celd. brasii."—*Excheq. Rolls*, No. 814.) On the 23rd of September 18s. was 'given as drinksilver to masons "to myne all nycht at the house of Hetoune"; 'and on the following 21st of February, 36s. was bestowed at the king's 'command on "a man that hed his hors slane at Hetoune drawand the 'gunnys."—*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, i. pp. clix. '300, 321.'

p. 330, l. 22, for 'east' read 'west.'

pp. 339-341. On the whole story of the relief of Wark by Edward III. see Appendix (H), p. 359.

p. 345, l. 17, for 'September' read 'August.'

p. 349, n. 63, for 'Calig. B. vii' read 'Calig. B. viii.'

p. 360, n. 82, l. 6, for 'the Allies' read 'Wellington and Blucher.'

p. 390, n. 11. Through the kindness of Sir Edward W. Blackett, the following additional facts have been gathered from the abstracts of the Willimoteswyke deeds:—William Ridley, of Willimoteswick, esq., mortgaged his whole estate on 23rd December, 1612, to Sir Allan Apsley and Peter Apsley and Joyce Apsley his son and daughter, paying them 200*li* per annum. On 1st May, 1635, William Ridley and Musgrave Ridley, gents, sons of William Ridley, gent, bargained and sold the estate to Richard Musgrave, who, on 24th May, 1636, conveyed 'Willimontwick, Ridley, Ridley Hall, and Melkrydge, and all the 'rectory and parsonage of Haltwhistle' to Francis Nevile, esq. It was not, however, until Easter Term, 1658, that the exemplification of fine was formally recorded between Francis Nevile, plaintiff, and William Ridley, esq., and Musgrave Ridley, gent, defendants. On 14th March, 1671, Sandford Nevile, esq., and Francis Nevile, his son and heir, granted Willimoteswyke to William Blackett, esq.

p. 416. The Rev. G. Rome Hall has most obligingly supplied the following notes on the third floor of Chipchase Tower, which was previously inaccessible:—'The mural chamber in the north-west corner is entered by a square-headed doorway, 5 feet high by 2 feet wide, into a passage, the chamber continuing at right angles in the west wall 9 feet 9 inches. It is 7 feet high and 3 feet wide, and has a slit at the north and an oblong aumbry at the south end, where a recess gives access to the pendent garderobe on the west wall. The roof is of large slabs, as elsewhere, and rests on single corbelling on the west side. Some wall plaster remains, and in the stones are several mason-marks of differing designs.

'In the recess on the west wall the two-light window of Decorated character is built up with later masonry to the top; and there are traces of wall plaster upon the stones. The opening is 7 feet in depth and 5 feet 8 inches wide at the floor-line, where the height, narrowing inwards, is 8 feet 6 inches, rising above the level of the single corbels in the wall for carrying the posts and struts, showing that these corbels could not have been used for supporting another floor. On the face of the mantel corbel of the adjoining fire-place, now built up, are some deep grooves, as if made by sharpening weapons. On the east wall, nearly opposite, is another large recess, built up at a later period, a very small slit being left on the south side near the entrance off the wheel-stair. There is no means of ascertaining the character of the window behind, as it abuts on the wall of the manor-house. Almost midway in the north wall is a third recess of a plain square-headed window, also built up at a more recent date. A small slit, 14 inches by 5 inches, left on the right, lets in light from

'the hidden space between the original and later walls. The whole chamber on this uppermost floor must have been more spacious and better lighted than the others, though rather too airy for the comfort of the later inhabitants.

'In the north-east corner the doorway into the passage in the north wall is 5 feet 2 inches high by 1 foot 10 inches wide, and the mural chamber in the east wall is 7 feet 8 inches in length, 3 feet wide, and 6 feet 6 inches high. A slit, 2 feet 2 inches by 6 inches, lights it from the east, and at the south end is an oblong aumbry. Almost every stone has its mason-mark of T or arrow-shape. If this chamber projects over the supposed altar in the oratory in part beneath it, it can only be 4 or 5 inches, by measurement, if at all. In the south-east corner the mural chamber is 7 feet 8 inches long by 5 feet 3 inches wide, with no proper doorway at the entrance. The east wall is pierced by a square-headed window, 3 feet high and 1 foot 4 inches wide. Three stanchion-holes are visible at the top and two holes at the left side, one with a portion of the crook in it, as if for a shutter. In the south wall is a square fire-place (there is also one in the fine mural chamber beneath on the second floor), and on the right is a shallow stone sink raised above the floor level. This sink is a peculiar feature, measures 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot, is carefully hollowed out, and has a slope downwards to an opening made through the south wall, terminating in a stone spout, which projects about a foot from the external wall face. The purpose of this spout is now obvious, which was before unknown. Some mason-marks of T form, and two or three very large, and a few small, arrow-shaped, are met with in this chamber, which may have served as a kitchen. The deeply-splayed recess of the south window gives access to the chamber in the south-west corner, which is 8 feet 8 inches in length by 7 feet 8 inches wide, with a slit in the west wall. The roof rests on two courses of corbelling on the right, and on one in a small recess on the left.'

THE BORDER HOLDS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the chaos that succeeded the Recall of the Legions every semblance of Roman civilisation entirely vanished from the country between the Tyne and Tweed. As far as such a thing is possible in History, One and Indivisible, that which came after bore no relation to that which went before.¹ The Romans had been in possession for a period as long as that from the Battle of Bosworth to the Fall of Khartoum, but the example of their works conveyed no lesson to the invading Angles. The stations along the Great Wall and the Watling Street appear to have been left as desolate as the cities of Yucatan; and the Imperial Border, that whether from the Solway to the Tyne, or from the Clyde to the Forth, had always been traced by a sharp line across the island, disappeared for ever. The great natural fortress of Dinguardi, the steep basalt rock on the sea shore on which Ida is suddenly revealed as beginning to reign and 'timbering' a 'burh,' becomes under the name of Bamburgh the one centre of our civil history.²

In theory at least, a Roman camp required for its stereotyped arrangements a situation tolerably level. Connected by a net-work of straight roads with other similar stations it was calculated more generally to answer the requirements of a highly centralized military organization than those of a purely local character. For defence it could rely on its own artificial ramparts. An Anglian 'burh,' on the other hand, stood in absolute need of high ground so surrounded by

¹ The Teuton appeared, in fact, on the Border at the same time as the Roman. The battle of Mons Graupius was won by a charge of Agricola's Tungrian auxiliaries; and three stations of the Great Wall were garrisoned by Tungrians, Batavians, and Frisians, in the same order that those tribes occupied on their own sea-board. In enlisting the services of the Angles, &c., the Britons were only following Roman precedents. These considerations, however, will not bridge over the historic chasm between the Goth Stilicho and the Angle Ida.

² The history of the English Border is outside the limits of the present essay. It is only necessary to remark that, so far as the Kingdom and Earldom of Northumberland were concerned, its general direction lay from north to south, separating them from the Celtic population of the West. Even after the battle of Carham, in 1018, made the Tweed, instead of the Forth, the Border on the north, the valleys of North and South Tyne continued to be practically parts of Scotland till 1296.

ravines or precipices that a mound and palisade run round the verge was the only fortification necessary; and provided it commanded a district fertile in supplies, the 'burh' gained in strength by isolation.³

With the transitory exceptions of AD GEBRIUM (Yeavinger Bell), the British hill-fort occupied by Edwin,⁴ and AD MURUM (Heddon-on-the-Wall), the royal 'villa' of Oswi,⁵ Bamburgh is the only strong place mentioned in our annals till the middle of the eleventh century; and its strategic importance is attested by the fact that amid all the horrors of the Anglian civil wars and Danish invasions it is first recorded to have fallen in 993.

A short time before the Norman Conquest, Earl Tosti seems to have had a stronghold at Tynemouth which he made the scene of some of those drunken feasts in which the English took such delight.⁶ The speedy manner in which the flames devoured the hall (*aula* or *domus*) of the Rich Man of Tughall and the smaller house (*domuncula*) adjoining it, together with his servants and children, after the inhospitable reception he gave to the monks of St. Cuthbert on the 12th December, 1069, seems to show that it was constructed of wood, though the Rich Man's wealth was such that he had promised to hang shields glittering with gold round the walls in honour of the saint, while the cups used in the drunken brawl in which he passed the night were of gold beset with precious stones.⁷

³ This difference is well brought out along the coast, where Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Warkworth, seem to have been occupied by the Angles in preference to the earlier camps in their respective neighbourhoods—at Outchester (Ulcester), Craster (Craucester), and Gloster Hill (Gloucester).

⁴ It is now generally admitted that Yeavinger Bell is the AD GEBRIUM of Bede; but 'Melmin,' to which he says the later kings descended, seems to have been identified with Millfield solely through the similarity of the first syllables. Much of the topography of Northumberland in Anglian times is in a state of innocence similar to that which fixed SEGEDUNUM at Seghill and PONS AELII at Ponteland. Melmin (a Celtic name cf. Melrose, &c.) was probably the same place as Kirk Newton, the ancient church of which is dedicated to St. Gregory.

⁵ *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., XI, p. 243. The hill on which Heddon Church stands, though close to the twelfth mile-castle on the Wall, reckoning from Wallsend, does not seem to have been embraced by the fortified lines of the Romans. It affords another instance of the selection by the Angles, for their 'burhs,' of positions stronger by nature than those of the Roman camps. 'Oswigesdune,' the hill on which Guthred was proclaimed King of Northumberland in 885 (*Sym. Dun., Hist. de S. Cuthb.*, § 13), may have been the same as Oswi's 'villa,' AD MURUM.

⁶ *Vita Oswini* (Surt. Soc. Publ., 8), p. 20.

⁷ Reginald. Dunelm., cap. xvi. (Surt. Soc. Publ., 1., pp. 30-31). Tughall, and not Bedlington as stated by the Editor (*Ibid.* p. 295), seems undoubtedly to

On the return of the Conqueror to the banks of the Tyne from his expedition to Scotland in 1072, the inhabitants of the district are stated to have conveyed all their stores to Tynemouth for protection.⁸ In the autumn of 1080 Robert Curthose built the New Castle (*novum castellum*) on Tyne, probably a wooden edifice erected on the mount in the outer bailey, levelled in 1810.⁹ Tynemouth remained, indeed, the strongest castle on that river. It endured a siege of two months before it was taken by William Rufus in 1095.¹⁰ The fortress (*firmitas*) of Newcastle and a small stronghold (*munitiuncula*), probably Morpeth,¹¹ appear to have been secured without much difficulty. Bamburgh proved impregnable.

During his suppression of Mowbray's rebellion, the Red King probably founded the walled town of Newcastle, and did much to strengthen the castle there.¹² It is not, however, too much to say that at the present day there is in Northumberland no masonry

have been the home of this 'prædives Nobilium de (*sic*) vicinarum confinio regionum.' St. Cuthbert's body rested at only three places on the journey—in the church of St. Paul at Jarrow (Sym. Dun., *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, cap. xv.; Rolls Ser., I., p. 109), at Bedlington, and at Tughall. Reginald had just related how one of the Tods of 'Bethlignite' had prophesied to the Rich Man the reception he would give St. Cuthbert, and would assuredly have mentioned the fact had both come from the same place.

⁸ *Vita Oswini*, p. 21.

⁹ Longstaffe, 'The New Castle upon Tyne,' *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., IV., p. 74.

¹⁰ Tynemouth is then called 'Castellum comitis Rodberti ad ostium Tinæ fluminis situm' (Sym. Dun., *Hist. Reg.*, § 177; Rolls Ser., II., p. 225), but afterwards (*Ibid.* p. 226) it is said to have been in the 'monasterium Sancti Oswini,' there that Robert de Mowbray was taken after a siege of six days. The monastery, however, was 'infra ambitum castri ejus de Tynemudtha' (*Vita Oswini*, p. 15).

¹¹ *Ibid.* Rolls ed., p. 225. The 'munitiuncula' can hardly have been Newcastle, which Symeon had already called 'Novum Castellum' (*Ibid.*, § 167; Rolls ed., p. 211). Gaimar says:—

'Li reis od son ost i alad,
Le Nouvel-chastel i donc fermad;
Puis prist Morpathe un fort chastel
Ki iert asis sur un muncel.'

(*Estorie des Engles*, v. 6149-52, Caxton Soc. Publ., 1850, p. 213.) The word *fermad* seems to refer to the *firmitas* of Newcastle, while *muncel* is the nearest approach to *munitiuncula* that the minstrel, a close translator, has been able to work into his rhymes, though, of course, the derivation (from *monticulus*) is different. It is not easy to comprehend how Professor Freeman can gravely maintain the paradox that the 'castle at the mouth of the river Tyne' is Newcastle, and the 'munitiuncula' Tynemouth.—*Reign of William Rufus*, vol. II., p. 606.

¹² Longstaffe, in *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., IV., p. 58.

remaining of any except ecclesiastical buildings that can be attributed, with any degree of certainty, to these early times, when many castles must have been mere earthworks with wooden superstructures.¹³

I.—CASTLES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

In 1121, Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, built a castle at Norham.¹⁴ The almost square ashlars of the masonry of the keep make it probable that much of this is his work. The Pipe Roll of 1131 mentions Osbert, the master-mason (*cementarius*), as having then been employed at Bamburgh.¹⁵ In 1138, Alnwick, then in the possession of Eustace Fitz John, is styled a most strongly fortified castle (*munitissimum castellum*),¹⁶ and much of the masonry of the curtain-wall, similar to that of the keep of Norham, agrees with this date. About this time, too, Walter Espec founded at Carham on the Tweed the castle which received the name of Wark.¹⁷

¹³ The Umfrevilles of Redesdale, before they received a grant of Prudhoe from Henry I., had no doubt a stronghold of this description at Elsdon, possibly on the Mote Hills. The lords of Bolam appear to have occupied an oval camp, within which a tower, measuring externally 30 × 40 ft., was subsequently built (Hodgs. *Northd.* II., i. p. 337). The fortress of the Muschamps, which stood on the high mound at Wooler, is returned as waste, and of no value, by an Inq. taken in 1254 (Berw. F. Club *Transactions*, IV., p. 161). Several of the baronies of Northumberland appear to have had no castles at their capital seats—e.g., Callerton, Beanly, Styford, Embleton, Ellingham, and Whalton. Of course, there was no necessary connection between a barony and a castle, and the grants to Normans of land in Northumberland appear to have been made on principles that were applied equally to the rest of England. Professor Creighton's account of the origin of the Northumberland baronies, especially in the valley of the Tyne (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. XLII., p. 45), rests on no historical foundation, and the statements made in it are quite at variance with the *Testa de Nevill*, &c. (e.g., Heddon-on-the-Wall formed part of the barony of Bolbeck, not of Merlay, &c. &c.)

¹⁴ 'Anno MCXXI. . . Rannulfus Dunelmensis episcopus castellum apud Norham inceptit super ripam Thwedæ.—*Chron. Rogeri de Hoveden*, Rolls Ser., I., p. 179.

¹⁵ 'In liberatione Osberti cementarii de Baenburg xxxvs.'

¹⁶ 'Habuit idem (Eustachius filius Johannis) in Northymbria castrum munitissimum Alnewich.'—*Hist. Joh. Hagustald* § 5 (Rolls Ser. Sym. Dun. II. p. 290).

¹⁷ 'Carrum quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur.'—Ric. Hagustald. (*Chron. Stephen. Hen. II.*, &c., Rolls Ser., III. p. 145). 'Walteri Espec, cujus illud oppidum ('carrum') erat.'—*Ibid.* p. 171. This use of the term *oppidum*, to describe the castle of Wark, makes it probable that the castle of Mitford was in existence in 1138, when Richard of Hexham describing the advance of David of Scotland says, 'circa Milford (*sic*), oppidum Willelmi Bertram, et in pluribus locis per Northumbriam segetibus vastatis &c.'—*Ibid.* p. 158. *Oppidum* conveys the idea of a fortified town; and Caesar applies it to the stronghold of Cassibelan, 'locum egregie naturâ, atque opere munitum,' adding, 'oppidum. Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consueverunt.'—*De Bell. Gall.*, V., § xvii.

Norham, Alnwick, and Wark fell into the hands of David, King of Scotland, when he crossed the Border to oppose the accession of Stephen. Bamburgh made a successful defence. In 1138, Norham, though the defences were still perfect and the castle well provisioned, again surrendered to David, by whom it was dismantled. Wark, on the other hand, stood a long and famous siege, and was only reduced by famine. The castle of Morpeth is distinctly mentioned at this time in connection with the foundation of the Abbey of Newminster.¹⁸

In 1147, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, the son of David of Scotland, expressly exempted the monks of Tynemouth from contributing to the works on Newcastle and other castles in his Earldom;¹⁹ but the strange absence of any example of the civil architecture of the twelfth century in the south of Scotland²⁰ seems fatal to the idea that much of the Norman castles of Northumberland can have been constructed during the eighteen years it was possessed by Earl Henry and his son William. A castle of some sort may possibly have risen at Warkworth.²¹

It was the resumption of the northern counties by Henry II. in 1157 that gave the great impulse to castle-building in Northumberland. This often took the form of erecting a massive rectangular keep (*turris*) in an area that had already been enclosed by a strong outer wall and gateway. With the assistance of the whole county of Northumberland and of the bishopric of Durham, Henry II. founded the castle of Harbottle in the wilds of Coquetdale.²² Between 1158

¹⁸ 'Eodem anno (MCXXXVIII) quidam vir potens in Northymbria recepit in sua possessione, apud castrum quod dicitur Northpath, monachos de Fontibus octo, nonis Januarii, qui construxerunt cenobium, scilicet Novum-monasterium vocatum.'—Joh. Hagustald, *Hist.*, (Surt. Soc. Publ.; Raine's *Hexham*, II., p. 122-3).

¹⁹ 'Præcipio quod ecclesia et monachi de Tinemutha et totam terram et homines prædictæ ecclesiæ sint liberi et quieti de opere Novi Castelli et de opere aliorum castellorum de tota Northumberland quia mea propria est elesimonia. Apud Bamburgh, &c.'—Gibson's *Tynemouth*, II., xviii., No. XXIV.

²⁰ Macgibbon & Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, I., p. 63. The *Chron. de Mailros* mentions the *turris*, i.e., keep of Roxburgh, in 1134.

²¹ One of the earliest acts of Henry II., after recovering Northumberland, was to grant the castle and manor of Warkworth to Roger Fitz Richard, with the same privileges as his grandfather, Henry I., had enjoyed with the manor.

²² 'Dudum constructum (castrum de Hirbottle) per dominum Henricum regem Angliæ avum domini nostri regis et, per auxilium totius comitatus Northumbriæ et episcopatus Dunelmensis ex precepto dicti Henrici regis.' Royal Letters Hen. III. No. 856 (Rolls ed. i., p. 141). Hartshorne, after printing this letter in his note- (Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., p. 55), erroneously states in the text that Harbottle was built 'as an aid for the whole country of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham.'

and 1161 he laid out large sums on Wark.²³ The keep of Bamburgh, which resembles in many ways that of Carlisle, is first mentioned in 1164.²⁴ The square ashlar of the keep of Prudhoe look almost older.

In his invasions of Northumberland in 1173 and 1174, William the Lion took Warkworth and Harbottle, but failed to master Wark, Alnwick, Newcastle, and Prudhoe. The erection of the keep of Newcastle had already been begun in 1172. It seems to have been completed in 1177 at a total cost of about 900*l*. There is every reason to suppose that the architect employed was the same Maurice who built the very similar keep of Dover in 1183 and the three following years for about 800*l*.²⁵ It is difficult to fix the probable date of the keep of Mitford, one side of which is so projected as to make it a pentagon. The castle there is first mentioned as such in 1217.²⁶ The foundations of the keeps of Wark, Morpeth, and Harbottle are buried in the ground. In 1204, King John attempted to build a castle at Tweedmouth, but this was immediately demolished by William of Scotland, and the Treaty of Norham concluded in 1209, expressly provided that no castle should again be erected at Tweedmouth.²⁷ Possibly none of the existing masonry at Warkworth is earlier than the beginning of the reign of John.

II.—CASTLES AND TOWERS CRENELLATED BY LICENCE.

In point of law it had long been considered necessary to obtain the sanction of the Crown before proceeding to erect a castle. Henry II. began his reign by destroying the 'adulterine castles' which, during Stephen's wars, had been built without licences. In 1218, Richard de Umfreville having complained that Philip de Ulcotes, who had been a powerful favourite of King John, was building a castle at Nafferton,

²³ 'In operacione castelli de Werch *xxi*l. viijs. *xid*.'—Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., &c. 'Anno 1159. Iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcipiente rege Angliæ.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76.

²⁴ 'In operacione turris de Baenbure 4*l*.'—Pipe Roll, 10 Hen. II.

²⁵ Longstaffe in *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., IV., pp. 63-67.

²⁶ 'Mense Maio Alexander, Dei gratia rex Scottorum, congregato universo exercitu suo, obsedit castellum de Midford, quod cum septimanam obsedisset ad propria reversus est.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 130.

²⁷ 'Rex Angliæ pro villa Berwici destruenda castrum firmare cepit apud Tweidmothe, quod rex Scociæ non passus, bis illud funditus evertit, ejus fundamentis, operariis et custodibus universis captis, fugatis et interemptis. . . . Castrum quoque, quod erigeretur apud Tuedmouth ad destructum Berwici, dirupitum est, et nullo deinceps tempore erigetur.'—Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, xxv. (ed. *Historians of Scotland*, 1871, I., p. 277).

where no castle had previously existed, to the injury of his castle and lands of Prudhoe, a writ was addressed to Ulcotes in the name of Henry III. commanding him to proceed no further with the work.²⁸ The series of licences formally granted for fortifying houses with walls of stone and lime, and crenellating and holding them without the interference of the Crown or its officers, begins a little later. To crenellate a house was to place battlements upon it, *crenelles* or embrasures, being the square openings between the *merlons*. The generally peaceful relations with Scotland in the reigns of the last two Alexanders—a temporary disturbance of which may have led to the erection of the Black Gate at Newcastle, a noble example of the Early English style, about 1246²⁹—afforded no pretexts for building castles on the Border, a course of proceeding which was sure to have been made the subject of diplomatic remonstrances. Adam de Gesemuth (Jesmond), sheriff of Northumberland in 1261-1263, appears to have been allowed to fortify to some extent his *camera* at Heaton, near Newcastle; but the first licence to crenellate in Northumberland which has been preserved is one granted by Henry III. to John Cumyn, a Scottish noble, who had aided in defeating the rebellious barons at Evesham, for the purpose of building a *camera* in his manor of Tarsset,³⁰ which was situated in Tyndale, then held of the English Crown by the King of Scotland.

²⁸ Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III., m. 4.—Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., p. 287 n. In 6 Hen. III. the sheriff appears to have cast down the breches at Nafferton.—'Et in prostracione cujusdam breceschie magne et aliarum breceschiarum apud Nafferton ii marcas per breve Regis.'—Pipe Roll. See Note (A) on 'Brechesche,' p. 54; also Note (B) on 'Sir David Lyndesey's Tower in Tyndale,' p. 55.

²⁹ Harl. MS., 624 (Brand's *Newcastle*, I., p. 148; *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., IV., p. 122). The Long Peace which continued through the latter half of the 13th century, greatly to the prosperity of the districts on each side of the Border, was secured by the curious Laws of the Marches, framed on 14th April, 1249, by a joint commission of twelve English and twelve Scottish knights. These Laws are printed in Bp. Nicholson's *Leges Marchiarum*, 1705, pp. 1-9, and more correctly in *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 83* (consecutive p. 413). Their authenticity has been most needlessly impugned by Nicolson and Burn (*Hist. of Westm. & Cumb.* I. ix.), and their antiquity by Hodgson Hinde (*Hist. of Northd.*, p. 244) and Hartshorne (*Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1852, ii., p. 7 n.), on account of Robert de Clifford being one of the English knights. The writers in question allege, or admit, that the Cliffords had no connection with the Border before one of them married the heiress of Vipont in about 1265, and that the first Clifford who bore the name of Robert was the son of this marriage, born in 1274. One and all have overlooked the simple fact that a Robert de Clifford undoubtedly held Hetton, in Chatton parish, of the barony of Alnwick, at the time of the Testa de Nevill, *circa* 1240.

³⁰ 'Pro Johanne Cumyn. De firmacione et kernellacione domus sue. Rex omnibus &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris

The following is a list of all the known licences to crenellate in Northumberland:—

- TARSET. 5 Dec. 1267. Hen. III. at Westminster, to John Cumyn for 'quandam cameram quam infra manerium suum de Tyrset construere proponit.'
- HORTON. 28 Dec. 1292. Ed. I. at Newcastle, to Gwyschard de Charrun for 'mansum suum apud Horton.'³¹
- TYNEMOUTH. 5 Sept. 1296. Ed. I. at Berwick, to the Prior and Convent for 'prioratum suum de Tynemuthe.'³²
- SHORTFLAT. 5 Apr. 1305. Ed. I. at Westminster, to Robert de Reymes for 'mansum suum de Shortflat.'³³
- AYDON. . 5 Apr. 1305. Ed. I. at Westminster, to Robert de Reymes for 'mansum suum de Eydon.'³⁴
- NEWLANDS. 22 July 1310. Ed. II. at Westminster to John de Middelton for 'mansum suum de Neulond.'³⁵
- ESHOT. . 22 July 1310. Ed. II. at Westminster, to Roger Maudut for 'mansum suum de Eshete.'³⁶

dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni Cumyn quod quandam cameram quam infra manerium suum de Tyrsete in comitatu Northumbr' construere proponit, fossato et muro de petra et calce includere, firmare et kernellare possit ad voluntatem ipsius Johannis, et cameram illam taliter firmatam et kernellatam tenere sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum, sine occasione vel impedimento nostro vel heredum nostrorum. Ita tamen quod idem Johannes cameram illam eodem modo includat firmet et kernellet quo camera dilecti et fidelis nostri Ade de Gesemuth apud Heton in comitatu predicto est inclusa, firmata et kernellata. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium v. die Dec.—Pat. Roll, 52 Hen. III. m. 31.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the 'chamber' came to be almost a more important part of the house than the ancient 'hall'; and its name was not unusually given to the whole house, e.g., the *camera* built in 1285 for Edward I. and his queen at Woolmer in Hampshire, the account of the expenses of which are preserved in the Pipe Roll, was seventy-two feet long and twenty-eight feet wide, and, in addition to the actual chamber, which seems to have had two chimneys, contained a chapel and a hall.—Thos. Wright, *Homes of other Days*, p. 152.

The *camera* of Adam de Gesemuth was no doubt the ruin in Heaton Park, at the east end of Newcastle, popularly called King John's Palace.

A general, but imperfect, list of licences to crenellate will be found in Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Part II. (vol. iii.), p. 402.

³¹ Pat. Roll, 21 Ed. I. m. 23, i.e. Horton near Bedlington.

³² Pat. Roll, 24 Ed. I. m. 8. This licence appears to have escaped the notice of Mr. Sydney Gibson in his *History of Tynemouth*.

³³ Pat. Roll, 33 Ed. I. Pt. I. m. 9.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, in the same licence. The erection of Aydon Castle is popularly ascribed, on no evidence whatever, to Peter de Vaux, in *circa*. 1280. The similarity of its architecture with Shortflat amply bears out the testimony of the licences to its having been built by Robert de Reymes.

³⁵ Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. II. Pt. I. m. 21, i.e. Newlands near Belford.

³⁶ Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. II. Pt. I. m. 21.

- DUNSTANBURGH. 21 Aug. 1315. Ed. II. at Lincoln, to Thomas Earl of Lancaster for 'mansum suum de Dunstanburgh.'³⁷
- ESLINGTON. 20 Feb. 1335. Ed. III. at Newcastle, to Robert de Eslington for 'mansum suum apud Easelyngton.'³⁸
- FORD. 16 July 1338. Ed. III. at Ipswich, to William, Heron for 'mansum suum apud manerium suum de Ford.'³⁹
- BLENKINSOP. 6 May 1340. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Blenkinsop for 'mansum suum de Blenkinsope.'⁴⁰
- ETAL. 3 May 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Maners for 'mansum suum de Ethale.'⁴¹
- OGLE. 11 May. 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Ogle for 'mansum suum de Oggle.'⁴²
- BARMOOR. 17 May. 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Muschamps for 'mansum suum de Bairmore.'⁴³
- WIDDRINGTON. 10 Sept. 1341. Ed. III. at Tower of London to Gerard Widdrington 'mansum suum de Wodryngton.'⁴⁴
- BOTHAL. 15 May 1343. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert Bertram 'mansum suum de Bothale.'⁴⁵
- CRAWLEY. 20 Nov. 1343. Ed. III. at Westm. to John Heron for 'mansum suum de Crawlawe.'⁴⁶
- CHILLINGHAM. 27 Jan. 1344. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Heton for 'mansum suum de Chevelyngham . . . et castrum seu fortalitium inde facere.'⁴⁷

³⁷ Pat. Roll, 9 Ed. II. m. 25. The stone for Dunstanburgh was begun to be quarried on 7th May, 1313, and much of the castle was built in that and the following year, so that the licence was a *post factum* one, or at most legalised the finishing touches to the battlements.

³⁸ Pat. Roll, 9 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 35.

³⁹ Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 10. 'Teste Edwardo duce Cornubiæ et Cestræ filio nostro carissimo custode Angliæ, apud Gippewicum xvj die Jul. per ipsum Regem.'

⁴⁰ Pat. Roll, 14 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 26. The 'Custos Angliæ' had issued in the King's name at Kennington, 4th February, 1340, a licence for Thomas de Blemansoppe to crenellate 'mansum suum de Blemansoppe in marchia Scocie.'—Pat. Roll, 14 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 43.

⁴¹ Pat. Roll, 15 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 15.

⁴² Rot. Chart. 15 Ed. III. pars unica, No. 16.

⁴³ Pat. Roll, 15 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Pt. II. m. 9.

⁴⁵ Pat. Roll, 17 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Pt. II. m. 14.

⁴⁷ Pat. Roll, 18 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 46.

WHITLEY. 9 Apr. 1345. Ed. III. at Westm. to Gilbert de Whitley for 'mansum suum de Whitleye.'⁴⁸

HAGGERSTON. 4 June 1345. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Haggerston for 'mansum suum de Hagerstone.'⁴⁹

WEST SWINBURNE. 16 Mar. 1346. Ed. III. at Westm. to Roger de Widdrington for 'mansum suum de West Swynborn.'⁵⁰

FENWICK. 26 Nov. 1378. Ric. II. at Westm. to John de Fenwyke for 'mansum sive manerium suum de Fenwyke.'⁵¹

Of the strongholds thus licensed Shortflat, Horton, Blenkinsop, and Swinburne, appear to have been 'fortalices,' or strong manor-houses.⁵² Aydon⁵³, though the main building bears a remarkable resemblance to Shortflat, became a castle of considerable extent. The most important features of Dunstanburgh and Bothal were their great gatehouses. Ford and Chillingham each enclosed a quadrangle with towers of various proportions at the corners. Newlands, Eslington, Barmoor, Widdrington, Crawley, Whitley, Haggerston, and Fenwick appear to have been originally strong single towers. It is now the fashion to indiscriminately apply to towers of this kind the name of 'pele,' which is nothing more than a survival of the mediæval Latin *pilum*.⁵⁴ Staward Pele (*pilum sive manerium de Staworth*) was purchased by Queen Philippa of

⁴⁸ Pat. Roll, 19 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 24. The sham tower near the reservoir at New Whitley has nothing ancient about it. It was built for an office in the early part of the 19th century. (Mackenzie's *Northumberland*, ii. p. 459.) This, however, has not prevented it being honoured with traditions of underground passages, &c. Worthless pseudo-legends of this sort are still too often regarded with intense interest, while the true history of an ancient building is altogether despised. It need hardly be said that the idea of subterranean passages and dungeons was entirely foreign to the builders of the castles and towers of the Border. They scorned even deep foundations, and planted their massive walls on great boulders scarcely below the surface of the ground. Veritable dungeons, like those of Alnwick and Warkworth, are, it is believed, altogether exceptional in English castles.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Pt. I. m. 6.




















































































































































































































































































































⁵⁰ Pat. Roll, 20 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 5.

⁵¹ Pat. Roll, 2 Ric. II. Pt. I. m. 16.

⁵² Each of them, it will be seen, is dignified with the title of 'castrum' in the text of the List of 1415, but 'fortalicium' is written against this as a marginal criticism.

⁵³ 'Fortalitiū quod vocatur Haydenhall, juxta Corbrig.'—Letter of Prior Fossor, 1346. Cotton. MS. Faust. A. vi, 47.

⁵⁴ See Note (C) on the word 'Pele,' p. 57.

NEWCASTLE Exterior      ; Chapel  
 Guard Room ; King's Chamber     ; Stairs     
 Sallyport     ; Magazine       
ALNWICK Octagonal Towers (c.1350)     
 Constable Tower (1315)                 
DUNSTANBURGH (1316) Gateway   ; Lilburn Tower  
ETAL (1341)                
AYDON (1305)   FORD (1339)   CHIPCHASE  
BOTHAL (1343)                
PRUDHOE Barbican            
LANGLEY (c.1360) Entrance Tower: Archway      
 1st Floor                   
 2nd Floor           
 3rd Floor                   
PRESTON                   
BELSAY       
MORPETH Gate House                 
FENWICK (1379)    
EDLINGHAM                
HEXHAM Gateway               
DILSTON               
WHITTINGHAM                    
WHITTON      
LILBURN                    
COCKLEPARK     



Hainault in 1337,⁵⁵ and in 1399-1400 Henry IV. confirmed this and the pele of Wark-on-Tyne to Edmund Duke of York as part of the franchise of Tyndale.⁵⁶

Alterations and additions were being continually made to the older castles. The second Henry Percy of Alnwick, entirely remodelled the Norman castle of the Vescis there (1318-1352).⁵⁷ The only satisfactory lesson that seems capable of being derived from a study of the numerous mason-marks still preserved on the walls of most of these strongholds, is that the barbican of Prudhoe was probably built by the same workmen who were employed on the gatehouse of Bothal.

Hitherto there has been nothing exceptional in the number of castles and towers in Northumberland; as many or more might be met with in the beginning of the 14th century in an equal area in the midland shires. But after the devastation caused by the army of David of Scotland before the battle of Neville's Cross⁵⁸ (17th October, 1346), there can be but little doubt that the Crown, instead of regarding the erection of fortified houses on the Scottish Marches with jealousy, did all in its power to forward it. The castle of Langley is first mentioned in 1365,⁵⁹ that of Thirlwall in 1369.⁶⁰ Whatever opinion may be formed of the antiquity of Haughton Castle, its name first appears in 1373.⁶¹ In 1385, Cornhill is related to have

⁵⁵ Inq. ad Quod Damnum, 10 Ed. III. num. 33. Queen Philippa purchases 10 marcatcs of land of John Darcy le Cosyn—Hodgson's *Northd.*, III. ii. p. 401. In 1373 it was found by Inq. at Newbrough that she had purchased the pele of Staworth, &c. In 1386 Edmund Duke of York granted Staward Pele to the Friars Eremitc of Hexham (Wallis's *Northd.*, II. p. 32), which accounts for its not appearing as a fortress in the list of 1415. The *pila* of Whittingham and Bolton were taken from partizans of Gilbert de Middleton in 1317.—*Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, III. 623.

⁵⁶ Pat. Roll 1 Hen. IV. pt. v. m. 10; Hodgson's *Northd.*, III. ii. p. 381. As to the 14th century towers at Morpeth—a *turriolum* mentioned in 1310, a *turrellus* in 1348, and the *turris de Morpeth* built by William de Greystock 1342-1359, see *Ibid.* II. ii. pp. 455, 474.

⁵⁷ 'Iste Henricus excellentissime tempore suo reparavit castellum de Alnewyk.'—*Chron. Mon. de Alnewyke*, Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., App. vi.

⁵⁸ The track of the Scottish army is marked in the Inq. ad Quod Damnum, 21 Ed. III. num. 32. Thomas de Lucy petitions for relief from taxation in consequence of the wasted state of his barony of Langley. An Inq. held at Corbridge on Monday, 19th March (St. Gregory's Day), 1347, states that the houses, corn, and cattle of William de Greystoke and his tenants in Broomhaugh and its members the Lee and the Riding, in Newbiggen, and in Styford, were all either burnt or carried off by the Scots on Friday, 13th October, 1346.

⁵⁹ Cal. Inq. p. m. ii. p. 270.

⁶⁰ Lansd. MS. 1448, fo. 55.—Hodgson's *Northd.*, II. iii. p. 147 n.

⁶¹ Originalia Ro. 18, 47 Ed. iii. 'Preceptum est Alano del Strother ballivo libertatis Regis de Tyndale quod castrum et manerium de Haighton,' etc.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 334; II. ii. p. 542.

been taken and demolished by the Scots.⁶² The castle of Sir Aymer de Athol at Ponteland, and that of Otterburn, play a part in the romantic incursion of the Douglas⁶³ in 1386. Edlingham Castle had belonged to Sir John de Felton who died in 1396. The towers of Alnham and Newstead were held by the Earl of Northumberland's adherents in the reign of Henry IV.⁶⁴

III.—CASTLES AND FORTALICES IN 1415.

A most valuable list of the names of the castles and fortalices in Northumberland, together with those of their owners or occupiers early in the 15th century has been preserved among the Harleian manuscripts.⁶⁵ Hodgson printed this in his *History* from a not altogether reliable copy supplied by Surtees.⁶⁶ He rightly saw that the list was drawn up at a time after the castles of Alnwick, Warkworth, and Langley had, with the tower of Alnham, been restored to the 2nd Earl of Northumberland, while the castle of Prudhoe and tower of Shilbottle were still in the hands of John Duke of Bedford, the brother of

⁶² Ridpath's *Border History*, 1810, p. 355.

⁶³ 'Les Ecossois . . . vinrent à un châtel et une ville qui s'appelle Pontlan dont messire Aymon Alpel est sire . . . et s'en vinrent jusques en la ville et le châtel d' Octebourg, à huit lieues Angloises du Neuf-châtel.'—Froissart, *Chroniques*, liv. III., chap. cxvi. (Buchon, Coll. des Chron. Nation. Franç., XXI., p. 378.)

⁶⁴ Inq. p. m. 19 Ric. ii. num. 26, held at Felton on Thursday next after Holy Cross Day (3rd May), 1396 :—'Prædictus Johannes (de Felton) obiit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de manerio de Edlyngham cum pertinentiis, et est ibidem quoddam castrum quod nichil valet per annum.' 'Alnham and Newstead deliuered were anone.'—Hardyng's *Chron.* chap. ccv., Ellis's ed., p. 364.

⁶⁵ Harl. MS. 309, fo. 202 b.-203 b. There is a similar list, probably a copy, in Cotton. MS. Jul. F. x, fo. 155-6.

⁶⁶ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 26 :—'A List of the Names of all the Castles and Towers in the County of Northumberland, with the Names of their Proprietors, made about the year 1460. From a MS. in the possession of Robert Surtees of Mainsforth, Esq., F.S.A.' The persons whose names, in the nominative, genitive, or dative case, follow those of the castles, etc., appear to have had the custody of them whether they were the actual 'proprietors' or not. 1460 (fourteen hundred and sixty) is an evident misprint for 1416 (fourteen hundred and sixteen), the date assigned to this list by Hodgson in the 2nd Part of his *History* (e.g., Vol. I. p. 355; II. p. 264; III. p. 367). This, nevertheless, has not prevented several writers of local repute—who are content to accept history at second-hand without testing its sources for themselves—from adhering to the date of 1460, even after the error has been carefully pointed out to them. Error naturally begets error; and 1416 having by one misprint been changed into 1460, 1460 by another has, with equal ease, been made into 1468—e.g., Murray's *Handbook for Durham and Northumberland*, p. 167, and Canon Raine's Opening Address to the Section of Architecture at the Newcastle Meeting (1884) of the Royal Archaeological Institute (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlii., p. 3.)

Henry V.,⁶⁷ and ascribed it to the year 1416. This, however, was to overlook the fact that in this list the castles of Heaton and Wark-on-Tweed, and the towers of Wark-on-Tyne, and Nesbit-in-Glendale, are still entered as the possessions of Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton, who was arrested at Southampton, at Lammas, and executed on the 8th of August, 1415, for conspiring with the Earl of Cambridge against Henry V., when all his property was confiscated.⁶⁸ Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, was not actually restored to the earldom of Northumberland till 18th March, 1416,⁶⁹ but his restoration had been long previously determined on by Henry V., who on 27th July, 1415, had granted the Duke of Bedford an annuity of 3,000 marks in compensation for the lands to be restored to Henry Percy.⁷⁰ To refer this list to precisely the few days intervening between the 27th of July and the 1st of August, 1415, might be going too far; but it was evidently composed in the first seven months of that year for the purpose of informing Henry V., in whose hands he would leave the places of strength on the Scottish Border previous to his embarking on the expedition that led to the victory of Agincourt.

NOMINA CASTRORUM ET FORTALICIORUM INFRA COMITATUM
NORTHUMBRIÆ.

Castrum de Novo-Castro sup Dñi Regis
Tynam

Castrum de Tynmoth Priori de Tynmoth

Castrum de Ogill Robti Ogill Chr ⁷¹

Castrum de Morpeth Baronis de Graystock

⁶⁷ The Duke of Bedford continued in possession of Prudhoe till the time of his death, 14th Sept., 1435; it then passed to Henry VI. as his heir.—Inq. p. m. 14 Hen. VI. num. 36, m. 26. The 2nd Earl of Northumberland appears to have recovered Prudhoe by legal proceedings not long afterwards. Stockdale's Survey (1596) says that this 'at large may appeare amongst the Pleees in the King's Bench, in the xv^o yeare of King Henry the vj^o and the ix^o Roll.' The entry, cannot be found; Prudhoe was still the King's at Mich. 16. H. vi.—Q.R.M.A. 44 in P.R.O.

⁶⁸ For interesting documents connected with the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey, see *Deputy-Keeper's 43rd Report*, App. I. p. 581.

⁶⁹ Letter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, to the Prior of Durham, dated London, 23rd March (1415)—Orig. loc. 25, 146 in the Treasury, Durham. The Earl had done homage to the King in parliament on 18th March, when he was 'restitut a monn nome.'

⁷⁰ Pat. Roll. 3. Hen. V. p. II. m. 27.

⁷¹ In order to demonstrate the error of ascribing this List to the years 1460 or 1468, it is best to append a few notes on the chronology of some of the individuals mentioned. Sir Robert Ogle, Sheriff of Northumberland, 1417, died 1437.

Castrum de Mitford	Henrici Percy de Athell ⁷³
Castrum de Warkworth	} Com' Northumbriæ
Castrum de Alnewicke	
fortalicium Castrum de Horton iuxta mare	har W. Wycheester ⁷³
Castrum de Eshete	Dñi Johis heroun Chlr
Castrum de Dunstanburgh	Dñi Ducis Lancastriæ
Castrum de Bamburgh	Dñi Regis
Castrum villæ Berwicke	Dñi Regis
Castrum de Twysill	Johis Heroun Chlr
Castrum de Heton	Thome Gray de eadem
Castrum de Norham	Epi Dunelm
Castrum de Werke Sup Twedam	Thome Grey Chlr
Castrum de ffurde	Willms heroun Chlr ⁷⁴
Castrum de Ethalle	Robti Maneres ⁷⁵
Castrum de Chauelingham	Hær Alani ⁷⁶ Heton Chlr ⁷⁶
Castrum de Edlingham	Edmundi Hastyns Chlr ⁷⁷
Castrum de Kaloule vet' :	Johes Clauerin Chlr ⁷⁸
Castrum de Harbotle	Robto Umfrevill Chlr ⁷⁹

⁷³ Henry Percy, son of Sir Thomas Percy, the younger brother of Hotspur, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of David de Strathbolgi Earl of Athol, was governor of Alnwick Castle in 1405, and died 25th Oct., 1438.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II. ii. p. 43.

⁷⁴ William de Whitchester, who succeeded to two-thirds of the Delaval property on the death of his mother, Alice, sister of Sir Henry Delaval, in 1402, had died in 1410. The manor of Horton appears at this time to have belonged to Bertram Monboucher.—*Ibid.* II. ii. p. 264.

⁷⁵ Sir William Heron, of Ford, æt. 12, 1402, slain before Ford Castle by Sir John Manners of Etal, in 1431.—Raine's *North Durham*, p. 305.

⁷⁶ This appears to have been Robert Manners, styled of Berrington, brother of Sir John Manners of Etal, who died in 1438. Sir John was sheriff in 1413; the name of Robert de Maners, sen., occurs in 1428.—Raine's *North Durham*, p. 211.

⁷⁷ Sir Alan de Heton had held the manor and castle of Chillingham in 1368 as a knight's fee of the barony of Alnwick.—Inq. p.m. Hen. Percy le Piere, 42. Ed. iii. num. 48. (Tate's *Alnwick*, i. p. 139.)—He appears to have died in 1388, leaving only three daughters.

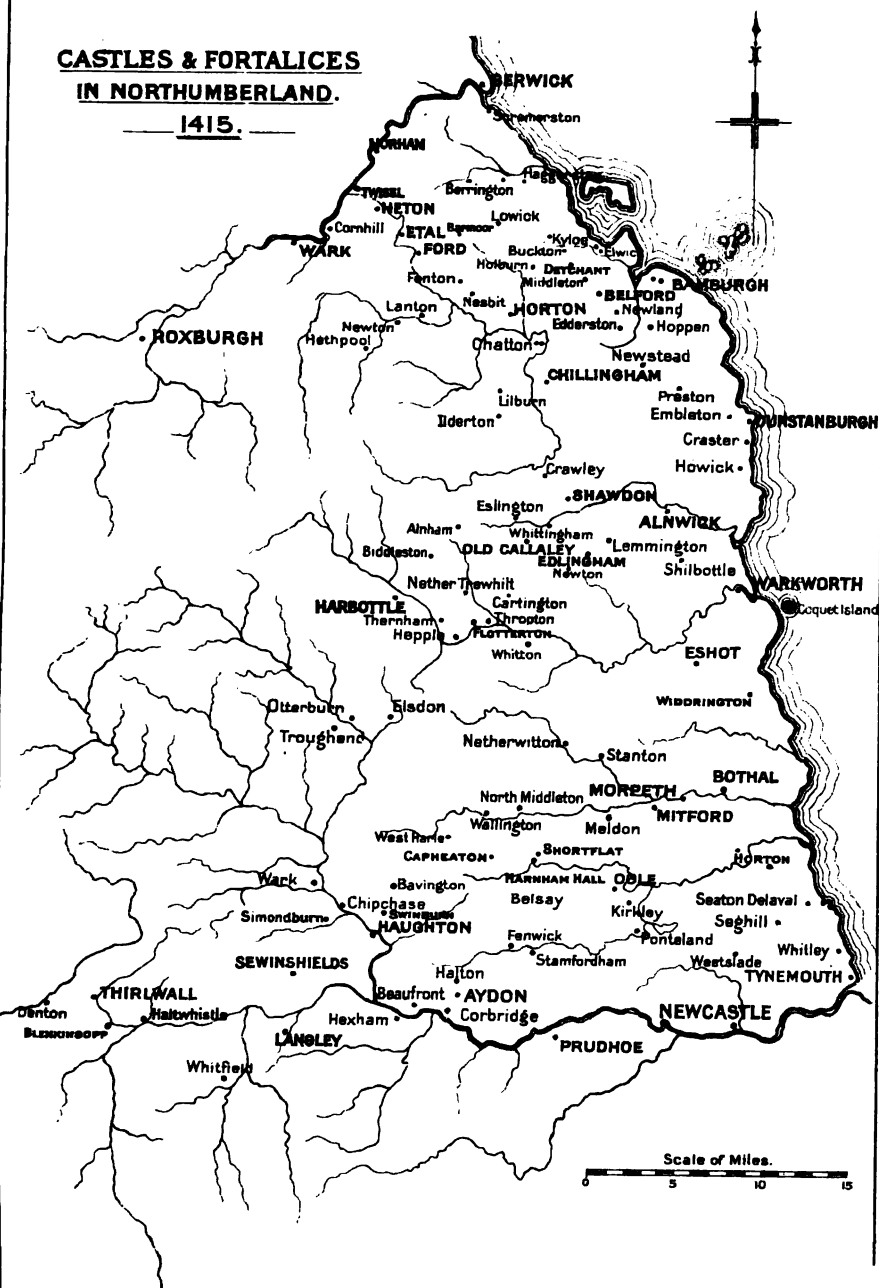
⁷⁸ Sir Edmund Hastings of Roxby, co. York, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John de Felton of Kdlington, and heir of her half-brother, John, who died under age in 1403. He was a knight of the shire for Northumberland, 9 Hen. IV.—8 Hen. V., apparently sheriff of the county in 2 and 6 Hen. V., and died in 1448.

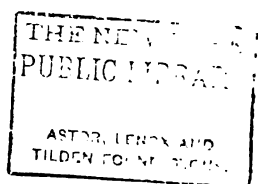
⁷⁹ 'Kaloule vet.' i.e., Old Callaley, probably refers to the Castle Hill, and not the Tower of Callaley. Sir John Clavering of Callaley, died 4 Hen. VI.

⁸⁰ Harbottle belonged to Sir Gilbert Umfreville, but as he entered into indentures on 29th April, 1415, to accompany Henry V. to France (Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II. i. p. 57), while his uncle, the famous Sir Robert, routed the

CASTLES & FORTALICES IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

1415.





	Castrum de Ayden	Robti Ramsey et Doṁ Rādi Grey ⁸⁰
	Castrum de Langle	Comitis Northumbriæ
	Castrum de Thirwall	Rolandi de Thirlwall ⁸¹
fortalicium	Castrum de Blekensope	Johis de Blekensope ⁸²
	Castrum de Prudhowe	Dñi Johi ducis Bedford
	Castrum de Horton in Glendall	Thomas Grey Chlr ⁸³
fortalicium	Castrum de Swinburne	} Johis Widrington Chlr ⁸⁴
	Castrum de Haughton in Tindale	
	Castrum de Sewyngsheles	Robti Ogile Chlr ⁸⁵
	Castrum de Rokesborough	Dñi Regis ⁸⁶
	Castrum de Bothall	Johi Berterham Chlr ⁸⁷
Tholylburne	Castrum de Belfurth	Doṁ de Darce ⁸⁸
fortalicium	Castrum de Dichant	Rici Lylburñ
	Castrum de Shawden	Thome Lylburñ ⁸⁹
fortalicium	Castrum de Kippitheton	Willimi Swinburn Chlr ⁹⁰

Numerus 37

Scots at Gertering on the 22nd of July in that year (*Ibid.* p. 52), it may reasonably be supposed that Harbottle was confided to the latter's keeping during Sir Gilbert's absence abroad, which seems to have lasted till his death in 1421. Sir Robert then succeeded and died in 1436.

⁸⁰ Robert Reymes was witness to a deed in 9 Henry V., and a legatee of John Fenwick in 1416 (Landsdowne MS. 326 fo. 123 in Hodgson's *Northumberland* II. i. p. 368). He died in 1451.

⁸¹ Roland Thirlwall appears among the principal gentry of Northumberland, whose allegiance was taken by Commissioners in 1433.—Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 310.

⁸² John Blenkinsop, living in 1382, appears to have been dead before 1433 (Hodgson's *Northumberland*, II. iii. p. 130n.), when Thomas Blenkinsop occurs in the List of Gentry.

⁸³ Sir Thomas Grey of Horton, is not to be confused with Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton.

⁸⁴ Sir John Widdrington died in 1443 at the advanced age of about 100 years.—Hodgson's *Northumberland* II. ii. p. 234.

⁸⁵ Sir Robert Ogle conveyed his manor of 'Suyngchelys' to William Thimilby, clerk (probably in trust) in 1407.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 386.

⁸⁶ In 1403 Henry IV. had declared the whole of Scotland south of the Tweed to be conquered and annexed to England. Roxburgh was taken by the Scots in 1460 when James II. was killed by the bursting of a cannon during the siege.

⁸⁷ Sir John Bertram, Sheriff of Northumberland in 1415 &c., died 1448-9.—*Ibid.* II. ii. p. 126.

⁸⁸ 'Elizabethhe quæ fuit uxor Phillippi Domini de Darcy et Johannes Darcy filius.—Belford medietas manerii, &c.' Inq. p.m. 13 Hen. IV. num. 36.

⁸⁹ 'Thomas Lilleborne—Belforde maner. et vill. dimid. extant, west Lilborne maner. extant, &c.' Inq. p.m. 17 Hen. vi. num. 26.

⁹⁰ Sir William Swinburne of Capheaton *circa* 1409-1443.—Hodgson's *Northd.* II. i. p. 232.

NOMINA FORTALICIORUM INFRA COMITATUM NORTHUMBRIÆ

Turris de Whitle iuxta Tin- mowth	Prioris de Tynmouth
Turris de Sighale	Willimī de la vaile ⁹¹
Turris de Seton de la uale	Willimī Wychester Chlr ⁹²
Turris de Kirklawe	Willimī Eure Chlr ⁹³
ffortalicium de Harnhamhall	Robto Swinburne ⁹⁴
ffortalicium de Shortflate	Robti Ramese
Turris de Meldon	Nichi Heron ⁹⁵
Turris de Walington	Willi Strothir ⁹⁶
Turris de Northmidleton	Robti Ogille Chlr
Turris de Whitton iuxta aquam	Rogeri Thornton ⁹⁷
Turris de West herle	Johns Herle ⁹⁸
Turris de Babington	Robti Langwath
Turris de Stranton	Johns Corbett ⁹⁹
Turris de Howicke	Emerici Heringe ¹⁰⁰
Turris de Preston	Roberti Herbotille ¹⁰¹
Turris de Hoppyñ	Robti Hoppyñ ¹⁰²

⁹¹ William Delaval of Seghill married Margaret daughter of Sir John Widdrington (*Northumberland Visitation*, 1575). The manor of Seghill forfeited by Walter de Selby for his participation in the rebellion of Gilbert de Middleton was granted to Bertram Monboucher for life in 1318 (Hodgs. *Northd.* II. ii. p. 264). In 1353 the possession of it was confirmed to William Delaval (*Ibid.* III. ii. p. 373) the grandfather probably of the owner of the tower in 1415. For a good general account of 'The Delavals from the time of the Norman Conquest' by the Rev. E. H. Adamson, see *Aroh. Acl.* N.S. XII. p. 215.

⁹² Sir William de Whitchester of Seaton Delaval, whose widow Elizabeth married Roger Widdrington (*Ibid.* p. 218) and died 32 Hen. VI.

⁹³ Sir William Eure of Kirkley (whose son Sir Ralph died during his father's lifetime 10 Hen. V.), probably at Agincourt (Nicolas's *Agincourt*, p. 32).

⁹⁴ The word 'Turris' has been erased, and 'ffortalicium' substituted. The list copied by Hodgson has 'Graye' in the margin.

⁹⁵ Nicholas Heron of Meldon born *circ.* 1386 (Hodgs. *Northd.* II. ii. p. 68), in the List of Gentry, 1443.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* II. i. p. 255.

⁹⁷ Roger Thornton completed the purchase of Whitton in 1411, built the 'castle' there (Newminster Martyrology), and died in 1430 (*Ibid.* II. i. p. 316-317, ii. p. 415).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* II. i. p. 199n-201n.

⁹⁹ John Corbet of Stanton born *circ.* 1341, living in 1401.—*Ibid.* II. ii. p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ Emeric Hering, M.P. for Newcastle 1421-1422.—Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead in 14th and 15th Cent.* pp. 266, 270.

¹⁰¹ Robert Harbottle of Preston 1400, constable of Dunstanburgh Castle, 1417 (Dodsworth MS. 32, Bodl. Lib.); sheriff of Northumberland, 1408.

¹⁰² Robert Hoppyñ witness to a Preston deed 1414 (Dodsworth MS. 32).

Turris de Ederston	Thomæ fforester
Turris Thomæ Bradforth in Elwicke	❖
Turris Thomæ de Elwyke in eadem	❖
Turris de Lowicke	Doñ de Darcy
Turris de Barmor	Johns Preston ¹⁰³
Turris de Holburn	❖
Turris de Haggarston	Thomæ Hagerston
Turris de Berrington	Robti Manores
Turris de Skremerston	Johns Swinhoe
Turris de Cornhill	Willim̃i Swinhoe ¹⁰⁴
Turris de Turis de ¹⁰⁶ Langton in Glendall	Henrici Strother
Thomi } Haisandes }	Turris de Hethepulle ¹⁰⁶
	Robti Manores
	Turris de Ildirton
	Thomæ de Ildirton ¹⁰⁷
	Turris de Krawlawe
	Johns Heron Chlr
	Turris de Whittingham
	Willim̃i de Heron
	Turris de Newton Juxta Ed- lingham
	Johns Barker
	Turris de Ealington
	Thomæ de Hessilrige
	Turris de Alneham
	Comitis Northumberland
	Turris de Terwhit inferioris
	Hugonis Galoñ
	Turris Kartyngton
	Johns Cartington ¹⁰⁸
	Turris de Thropton
	With Grene

¹⁰³ John Preston *armiger* 1415 (Dodsworth MS. 32).

¹⁰⁴ John Swinhoe of Scremerston and Rock, son and heir of Robert Swinhoe setat. 21, 1407, died 1463.—Raine's *North Durham*, p. 237.

William Swinhoe, supposed to be a younger son of Swinhoe of Scremerston, acquired Cornhill by marrying Mary, the only daughter and heir of Robert Gray. He was one of those commissioned to supply provisions to the garrison at Berwick in 1417.—Rot. Scot. II. 222a (Raine's *North Durham*, p. 184).

¹⁰⁶ *Sic* in Harl. MS. 309.

¹⁰⁶ The name of 'Thomas Haisandes' has somewhat unaccountably been made into 'Thotton Sandes' in Hodgson's version of this List (*Northd.* III. i. p. 28n). Haysand (now corrupted into Hazon) was a manor of Alnwick barony, between Shilbottle and Guyzance. It gave its name to a family, one of whom, 'dominus Hugo de Heyssande,' witnesses the grant of Snarridelf to Simon de Montfort (*Ibid.* III. ii. p. 26).

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Ilderton, a knight of the shire for Northumberland, 1423-1424. The name also appears in the List of Gentry in 1443.

¹⁰⁸ John Cartington, a knight of the shire for Northumberland 1443, d. 1459. A 'lance' of this name was at Agincourt.—Nicolas's *Agincourt*, p. 33.

Turris de Whitton iuxta Rothebery	Rectoris eiusdem
Turris de Heppell ffortalicium de ffortwayton	} Robti Ogill Chlr
Turris de Thernham	
Turris de Otiburne	Robti Umfravill Chlr
Turris de Trowhen	Wittus Butecom ¹¹⁰
Turris de Chipchesse	Alexandri Heronn
Turris de Werke in Tyndall	Thomæ Grey Chr
Turris de Simondburn	Wittm̃i Heronn Chr
Turris de Hawtwisill	} . ✥
Turris de Denton iuxta Hawtwisill ¹¹¹	
Turris de Hexham	Archiep̃o Ebor:
Turris de Bewfronte	Dñi Johes Widrington Chlr ¹¹²
Turris de Halton	Wittm̃i Carnaby ¹¹³
Turris de Corbrigge	vicar̃ eiusdem
Turris de ffenwicke	Henrici ffenwicke ¹¹⁴
Turris de Stanwardham	vicar̃ eiusdem
Turris de Belsowe	Johis Midilton Chlr ¹¹⁵
Turris de Neabette in Glendalle	Thomæ Grey Chlr
Turris de Newsted	Robti de Ogill Chlr
* * * * *	* * * * * ¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Robert Horsley, of Thernham, born *circ.* 1381, succeeded his father 1393, witness to a Capheaton deed 1415 (Hodgson's *Northd.* II. i. p. 216, 7c). Thernham, on the north bank of the Coquet opposite Holystone, has been wretchedly corrupted into Fernham and Fairnham.

¹¹⁰ William Buticom, witness to a deed in 1409, and a juror respecting Elsdon Church in 1429 (Hodgson's *Northd.* II. i. p. 136). In Hodgson's List the name (originally Butigcumbes) is misprinted Butecoia.

¹¹¹ 'Denton in Gyldesland' formed part of the Deanery of Corbridge at the time of the 'Nonarum Inquisitiones,' 1340 (Hodgson's *Northd.* III. iii. pref. xxxvii.). It does not appear when it was lost to the County of Northumberland.

¹¹² Hodgson's version (III. i. p. 29) has 'Turris de Beufront—Johis Heryngton,' and an unappropriated note at the bottom of the page 'Margin "Joh's Wedrington chlr."' In the Cotton. MS. 'Johis Herington' is written before Widrington's name, on the same line.

¹¹³ William Carnaby, of Halton, who died 1453.

¹¹⁴ Henr. Fenwike.—Prob. stat. Inq. p. m. 5 Hen. VI. num. 74.

¹¹⁵ Sir John de Middleton, knight of the shire for Northumberland, 1417, sheriff 1423.

¹¹⁶ In the Harl. MS. 'numerus 73' has been written here and erased. Hodgson's version of the List has 'Numerus 57' and before the names of the succeeding towers places the heading 'Quæ sequuntur, aliquant' postea scriptæ fuerunt.'

Turris de Buckton	Withi Atkynson
Turris de Schilbotyll	Ducis Bedford ¹¹⁷
Turris de Chatton	vicarij eiusdem
Turris in eadem	Robti fforstere
Turris Lematon	Withmi Bednell
Turris de Bidilstan	Johis Selby
Turris de Ellysdan	Rectoris eiusdem ¹¹⁸
Castrum Turris de Wodryngton	Johes Wodrington Chlr
Turris de Whitfeld	Mathei Whitfeld
Turris de Bamburgh	Magri eiusdem ¹¹⁹
Turris de Middilton iuxta mare	Withmi Musschamp
Turris de Newland iuxta	✧
Belforth	
Turris de Wittslad iuxt mare	✧
Turris de Ponteland	vicar eiusdem ¹²⁰
Turris de Coketeland	Prioris de Tinemouth
Turris de Newton in Glendall	Thomæ Strother
Turris de Lilburne	Johis Carr
Turris de Kylay	David Gray
Turris de ffenton	Radi Gray Chlr
Turris de Emildon	vicar eiusdem
Turris de Craister	Edmundi Crasestir
<i>Numerus 78</i>	

Over and above the strongholds that have previously been enumerated, it will be found that included in this List of 1415 are the seven castles of Belford, Callaley, Heaton, Horton-in-Glendale,

¹¹⁷ At the death of the Duke of Bedford in 1435, Shilbottle was inherited by his nephew, Henry VI., and appears to have remained Crown property for a considerable period. William Riddall, bailiff of Alnwick barony, is allowed 11½d. in his accounts for 1450-1 for the castle-ward due from Shilbottle, for which he could not distrain there without the King's licence, &c. ('Exoneretur pro warda castri debita per villatam de Shilbotell pro quibus non potuit distringere ibidem sine licencia Dom. Regis, eo quod dicta villa est in manu Dom. Regis, ex quo mortem ducis Bedford', pro hoc anno ut in anno precedentibus xjd ob.)—Vellum Roll, C. viii. 1 e., at Syon. The same allowance of 11½d. is made in the accounts for 1470-1 (C. viii. 1 f.), and for 1481-2 (C. viii. 1 i.).

¹¹⁸ The heraldic panel in the battlement of the south side of Elsdon Tower, which is engraved in Hodgson's *Northd.*, II. i., p. 96, would appear to have been inserted in the time of Sir Robert Umfreville, when Lord of Redesdale, 1421-36.

¹¹⁹ The Master of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Bamburgh, for some account of which see Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. Caley) vi. p. 771.

¹²⁰ It is probable that the tower-vicarage of Ponteland was not the same as Sir Aymer de Athol's castle there.

Twizel, Sewingshields, and Shawden; the three fortalices of Capheaton, Dichant, and Harnham Hall; and the sixty towers of Bamburgh (Hospital), Bavington, Beaufront, Belsay, Berrington, Biddlestone, Buckton, Cartington, Chatton (vicarage), Chatton (Robert Forster's), Chipchase, Coquet Island, Corbridge (vicarage), Craster, Elsdon (rectory), Etherston, Elwick (Thomas Bradford's), Elwick (Thomas Elwick's), Embleton (vicarage), Fenton, Flotterton, Halton, Haltwhistle, Hepple, West Herle, Hethpool, Holburn, Hoppen, Howick, Ilderton, Kirkley, Kyloe, Lanton-in-Glendale, Lemington, Lilburn, Lowick, Meldon, Middleton-next-the-Sea, North Middleton, Nesbit-in-Glendale, Netherwhitton, Newton-near-Edlingham, Newton-in-Glendale, Preston, Scremerston, Seaton Delaval, Seghill, Shilbottle, Simonburn, Stamfordham (vicarage), Stanton, Thernham, Thropton, Troughend, Nether Trewhit, Wallington, Weteslade, Whittingham, Whitton (rectory), and Whitfield.

IV.—TOWERS ERECTED IN THE 15TH CENTURY.

The List of Castles and Towers drawn up in 1415 is unfortunately the only one now known to exist that relates to the whole county of Northumberland. But though hardly so prolific in towers as the close of the 14th century, the 15th added very considerably to the number with which the Border literally bristled. A most remarkable picture of the desolate and barbarous condition of the North of England has been left by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., who passed through it disguised as a merchant in 1436, on his return from a mission to Scotland. The entire male population of the town in which he spent the night after crossing the Border made off, he tells us, at the end of his protracted supper, for a tower at some distance for fear of the Scots, who were accustomed to take advantage of the tide being out to make a nocturnal raid across the river.¹²¹

¹²¹ Sacerdos, et hospes cum liberis virisque omnibus Aenea dimisso abire festinantes, dixerunt se ad turrim quandam longo spatio remotam metu Scotorum fugere, qui fluvio maris refluxu descrescente noctu transire, prædarique soleant.' — *Commentarii Pii Papæ II.*, Rome, 1584, lib. I. fo. 7. This episode in the adventures of Æneas Sylvius has been related by Sir Walter Scott in his *Essay on Border Antiquities*, and most excellently by Dean Milman (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*, 3rd ed., VIII. p. 419); but the whole account is so curious, especially the statement that the men only took refuge in the tower, while the women were considered safe from the Scots, that the original Latin text and a translation, with some critical remarks, will be found in Note (D), p. 61.

In 1434 Henry VI. had granted the 2nd Earl of Northumberland and the burgesses of Alnwick a license to enclose that town with embattled and machiolated walls. The Bond Gate Tower there was consequently begun by the Earl in about 1443.¹²² It was not, however, finished till 1450.¹²³ In the latter year, too, the Earl built a tower at the end of the chapel of South Charlton for the safety of the village in the time of war.¹²⁴ The great gate-house known as Bywell Castle is first mentioned in connection with the miraculous escape of Henry VI. from the battle-field of Hexham.¹²⁵ John Birtley, Abbot of Newminster, built (probably in about 1467), a tower at Rothley,¹²⁶ and before the Dissolution, towers appear to have been erected at the granges belonging to that Abbey at West Ritton and Nunnykirk.¹²⁷ To judge from the heraldic panels in their walls, the splendid tower of Cockle

¹²² Pat. Roll, 12 Hen. VI. m. 5.—De includendo murando et battellando villam de Alnewyke.—Translated in Tate's *Alnwick*, I. p. 237.

¹²³ 'Factura 1 hostie duplicis (vs. ijd.) pro nova turri in Bond gate.'—Comptus of Thos. Archer, Reeve ('præpositus') of Alnwick Castle, Mich. 21 Hen. VI.—Mich. 22 Hen. VI. Syon Muniments. C. viii. 1. a. These particular accounts are unfortunately mutilated, more having been lost than remains. Mr. Tate has made most erroneous and uncalled for attacks on the share taken by the Earl of Northumberland in building the walls and gates.—*Hist. of Alnwick*, I. pp. 237, 241.

¹²⁴ 'Custus turris et Porte de Bondgate infra villam.'—Comp. of Will. Cokke præpositus of Alnwick Castle, Mich. 28 Hen. VI.—Mich. 29 Hen. VI. at Syon. The total sum of 17l. 17s. 2d. was laid out 'super turrin porte de Bondgate in Alnewyk,' and in this was included a payment of 80s. to Matthew 'Mason de Abathia' for carving the stone lion over the gateway. In architectural history absolute facts like this are worth volumes of conjectures.

¹²⁵ 'South Charleton. Ad edificacionem unius nove turris defensibilis ad finem capelle ibidem pro salva custodia dicte ville tempore guerre. lxxvs. viiijd.'—*Ibid.* In the same roll the accounts for repairs show that the Scots had recently (probably in 1448 when they burnt the town of Alnwick) burnt the mill of South Charlton, the homesteads of 28 of the Earl's tenants in Houghton, of 28 in Lesbury, of 12 in Tughall, of 16 in Swinhoe, of 23 in Chatton, and the houses held by James Huntley and John Wilson in Wooler and Heworth (Ewart). Both tower and chapel at South Charlton have disappeared. The present church there is quite modern. The strong church towers of Ancroft, Long Houghton, and Ingram also served the purpose of refuges in time of war.

¹²⁶ 'Deliberata sunt in breve domino de Mowntagu castra de Langeley the Tawne (sic), turris de Exham; castrum etiam de Bywell. In quo quidam castro inventum est le helmet regis Henrici cum coronâ et gladio et faleris dicti Henrici. Et quo modo aut quo ipse evasit, novit deus, in cuius manu corda sunt Regum.'—*15th Cent. Chron.* in Camden Soc. Publ. 1880, p. 179.

¹²⁷ 'Perambulacio bundarum commune pasture de Rothlee, capta per dominum Johannem Birtlee, abbatem Novi Monasterii, qui sedificavit turrin de Rothlee in diebus suis.'—*Newminster Chartulary* (Surt. Soc. Publ. 66), p. 262.

¹²⁸ In 1547 Richard Tyrell, Esq., assigned to Sir Thomas Gray, among other lands late possessions of Newminster Abbey, all 'the Graunge of Westryghton and a Towre there,' also 'all that Graunge called Nonnykirke together with a Towre there.'—*Ibid.* p. 311.

Park was not built before 1461,¹²⁸ nor that on the Heiferlaw, near Alnwick, before 1470.¹²⁹ An old inscription in Hulne Priory informs us, in a most fortunate and unique manner, that the well-preserved tower there was built by the 4th Earl of Northumberland in 1488.¹³⁰ According to Leland,¹³¹ the tower on Farne Island was built by Thomas Castell, Prior of Durham (1494-1519). A tower at Choppington, in Bedlingtonshire, 'was buylded by Gawen Ogle' about 1508. The Fenwicks owned a tower at Ryal, near Stamfordham, in 1519.¹³²

At Dunstan Hall (Proctor Steads near Craster), Newburn Hall, Welton (in Ovingham parish), Cocklaw (near Chollerford), Bitchfield (near Belsay), Cresswell, Long Horsley, Blanchland, Dilston, Causey Park, Burradon (near Seghill), and Rock, are towers of much architectural interest that must, in a general way, be attributed to the 15th century, in default of documentary evidence relating to their early history. To some period in the same century belongs the marvellous donjon of Warkworth. James IV. of Scotland, when he ravaged Northumberland in 1496 in support of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck, destroyed, as will be seen from the subsequent surveys, the towers of Tilmouth, Howtell, Branxton, Shoreswood, Twizel, and Duddo, all mentioned for the first time, as also the castle of Heaton and the tower of Lanton.

Seven fresh holds—Fowberry, Hezelrigg, Hebburn (in Chillingham Park), Bewick, Wooler (on a mound once occupied by a Norman castle), Ingram, and Screenwood—make their appearance in the following return, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509)¹³³ :—

¹²⁸ *Hodgs. Northd.* II. ii. p. 140. The arms of OGLE quartering BERTRAM were there supported by two antelopes collared and chained. (*Grose's Antiquities*, IV., p. 81.) Though the use of supporters was not absolutely restricted to peers, yet it seems probable that Sir Robert Ogle did not assume them till he was created a baron in 1461.

¹²⁹ There seems to be no evidence of the Percy badge, a crescent enclosing a locket, earlier than the time of the 4th Earl of Northumberland (1470-1489).—Longstaffe's *Percy Heraldry* in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. IV. p. 197.

¹³⁰ *Proc. Arch. Inst. Newcastle* 1852 ii. p. 270.

¹³¹ Leland, *Itinerary*, V., fo. 106 (Hearne's ed. 1769, Vol. V., p. 115).

¹³² Raine's *North Durham* p. 371. *Hodgs. Northd.* II, ii. p. 267. n. 7.

¹³³ Chapter House Book. B 44 Northumberland, fo. 116 (Publ. Rec. Office). A summary of this List has been printed in Hodgson Hinde's *Hist. of Northd.* p. 339. The date is substantiated by the fact that Thomas Grey, the minor for whom the Bishop of Durham is stated in it to hold the castles of Chillingham and Heton, succeeded his father, Sir Ralph Grey, in 1507, and died 2nd Aug., 1509. (*Raine's North Durham*, pp. 326-327.)

Owners inabytaunttes,
or officers.

Holdis and Towneshyppes too lay in
Garnysons of horsmen And how fer
they bee from Tevedale & the Mars¹⁵⁴
& who be the owners & the inaby-
taunttes in the howses.

Menne.

Syr Jamys Strangwys Harry Denton & Robert Awarke own' & inab't	}	Lowyke iiij ^{xx} . and from Twede vj myle & from tevedale viij myle.
George Mostians own' & inab't	}	Barmer xxx & from Twede vj myle & from tevedale vij m.
Thomas Forster own' & inab't	}	Ederston lx & from tevedale x myle and from the mars xij m.
My Lorde Conyers and Thomas Armorer	}	Belford lx & from tevedale ix myle & from the mars x m.
Thomas Holborn own' & inab't	}	Holborn xx & from tevedale vij myle & from the mars viij m.
My Lorde of Dorram for mast'. Gray & inab't	}	Heton xx & from the mars ij myle & from tevedale iiij m.
Raffe Candelyng ¹⁵⁵ My Lorde Ross & inab't John Colyngwod	}	Etall c & from the mars & from tevedale iij m.
Christoffer Clapam inab't	}	Fenton xl & from tevedale v myle & from the mars vj m.
Syr Rog ^r . Graye own' & inab't	}	Horton lx & from tevedale vij myle & from the mars viij m.
Syr Rog ^r . Graye rewler & a Wedow inab't	}	Fulbery xx & from tevedale vij myle & from the mars viij m.
My Lorde of Northumber- land & Thomas Revelay inab't	}	Chatton iiij ^{xx} & from Tevedale viij myle & from the mars ix m.
Thomas Hagerston own' A wedow inab't	}	Heselryg xx & from tevedale viij myle & from the mars viij m.
My Lorde of Dorram for m'. Graye & Edward Graye inab't	}	Chelynggam c & from tevedale viij myle & from the mars x m.
Thomas Hebborn own' & inab't	}	Hebborn xx & from tevedale viij myle & from the mars x m
The Prior of Tynmouth inab't Gylberd Colyngwood	}	Bewyk xl & from tevedale viij myle & from the mars xj m.

¹⁵⁴ The Merse is a level district of great fertility, extending for nearly twenty miles along the north bank of the Tweed, and about ten miles in breadth.

¹⁵⁵ Sic in orig. MS.; but it is evidently meant that 'Raffe Candelyng' was the inhabitant of Heton. Hodgson Hinde has erroneously made his name into 'Chamberleyne.'

Jeffere Prkt' & reowler Lyell Graye	}	Lylborn & lylborn ¹²⁶ xl & from tevedale vj myle & from the mars ix m.
Christoffer Clapam inab't Ector G ^{ye} ¹²⁷	}	Woller xx & from tevedale v myle & from the mars vij m
Wylliam Heron inab't William Selbye	}	Fowrde xl . and from tevedale or the mars iiij m.
Lorde Ogell inab't nihil	}	Inggerram xl & from tevedale iij myle & from the mars xv m.

Norram from the mars the brede of twede & from
tevedale v m.

Berwyk from tevedale x m.

Heselryg own' Robert Colyngwood inab't	}	Eslyngton xx men & from tevedale ix myle & from the mars xv m.
Wylliam Heron own' inab't nihil	}	Wittynggam xl & from tevedale x myle & from the mars xv m.
My Lorde of Northumber- land inab't nihil	}	Elnam ¹²⁸ xl & from tevedale vj myle & from the mars xvj m.
Thomas Horsley own' & inab't	}	Skrynwood xx & from tevedale vj myle & from the mars xvj m.
John Selbye own' & inab't	}	Bedylsden xx & from Tevedale iiij myle & from the mars xvij m.
Syr George Tayleboys Rewler & gov'ner My Lorde Dakers	}	Herbotelle lxxx & from tevedale v myle & from the mars xix m.
Rog' Horsleye own' inab't nihil	}	Thernam xx & from Tevedale vj myle & from the mars xix m
My Lorde Oggel inab't nihil	}	Heppelle xx & from Tevedale vj myle & from the mars xvij m.
Syr Edwarde Bateleff inab't nihil	}	Thropton xx & from tevedale x myle & from the mars xvj m.

Sum of the number of thys men m^ccclxx men

Over and above Noram and Berwyk.

¹²⁶ Referring to the two towers at Lilburn; Hodgson Hinde has merely 'Lilburn' once. A list of the gentlemen of Northumberland printed in his History at p. 347 states that 'Lyell Gray, being porter of Berwick, is a younger brother, and hath the rule of Lilburn under divers gentlemen, inheritors of the same': and the survey of 1541 plainly says that Lyell Gray was the farmer and occupier of both the towers at West Lilburn.

¹²⁷ Hodgson Hinde has 'Ector Gray.' The first name is very badly written in the MS., and may be 'Erthor' for Arthur.

¹²⁸ Alnham.

Before the battle of Flodden in 1513, the Scots destroyed the little tower of the parson of Ford. The stone-house attached to the tower of Kirk Newton appears to have been burnt by them during the foray they carried as far as Fowberry in 1532.

V.—BORDER SURVEYS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

In 1538, or soon after, John Leland, the Royal Antiquary of Henry VIII., arrived at Newcastle on one of his long journeys through the kingdom. For his information concerning Northumberland he appears to have been chiefly indebted to Anthony Musgrave, Vicar of Corbridge, and Dr. Robert Davell, Master of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin in Newcastle and Vicar of Bedlington. Of a most disappointing character, very meagre and often inaccurate, it comprises the following notices of our ancient bulwarks :—¹³⁹

There appere ruines of arches of a stone bridge ouer tyne ryuer at
castelle¹⁴⁰ longging to y^e erle of westm^r a ('litle' erased). 3. mil^{es} lower on the
ryuer then Corb'dge

* * * * *

Hasilrig of Northamptonshire¹⁴¹ hath about a .50.li lande in Northubreland
And Esselington wher is a pratie pile¹⁴² is Hasilrigg^{es}: and one of the Colinwoodd^{es}
dwellith now in it and hath the ouer site of his land^{es}.

* * * * *

Tarset castelle ruines in Northumbreland ha'd by north Tyne long now to the
lord Borow.

* * * * *

The waulle^{es} of Newcastle were begon as I haue harde in King Edward y^e
firste day as I harde by this occasion A great riche man of Newcastle was taken
prisoner by the Scottes owt of the town self as it is reported. Whe'apon he was
raunsomid for a greate sum : And returning home he began to make a waulle on the
ripe of Tyne ryuer from Sandehille to l'andon gate and beyound y^e to the towre
agayne the Augustine freres.

¹³⁹ Leland's *Itinerary* (Orig. MS. Bodl. Lib.) vol. v. fo. 102. The date of this portion of the work is approximately fixed by the mention it makes of Harbottle's lands coming 'of late days to 2 doughters wherof the one was married to Sr Thomas Percy that was for treason hangid at Tiburne. The other was married to Fitton of Chestershire.' Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the 6th Earl of Northumberland was executed at Tyburn in June 1537 for the share he took in Aske's rebellion.

¹⁴⁰ i.e. Bywell Castle.

¹⁴¹ This is corrected by the words 'Leicest'shire of Nouseley' in the margin, said to be in the hand of Dr. Burton.

¹⁴² Leland seems to use the word 'pile' much in the modern acceptation of 'a pile of buildings', and not at all in the modern acceptation of 'pele.' Caverswall Castle in Staffordshire and many more in the southern parts of England are 'castelets or praty piles' in Leland's diction. See Note (C) p. 57.

The residew of the marchauntes of the tounne seyng this towardness of one man : sette to their helping hande and continuid on tyll the hole toun was strongly about waulld and This worke was finished in Edwarde the .3. dayes as I have harde.

The strength and magnificens of y^e wauling of this towne far passith all y^e waulle¹⁴⁵ of the cities of England and most of the townes of Europa.

Prior castel of Dyrham the last saue one buildid the toure in Farne isleland for defence owt of the grounde Thier was a chapel and a poore house afore.

* * * * *

Morley of Morpath was ons lord of we^cworth castel on Coket mouth.¹⁴⁶

Possibly Leland paid a second visit to Northumberland, as in his seventh volume¹⁴⁴ he traces his *Itinerary*

Over the little brooke¹⁴⁵ of Poltrosse the which deuideth Gillesland in Cumberland from Sowth Tyndale yn Northumbreland. then to a castel caulld Thirlewal stondyng on the same, thens directly est thorough Sowth Tyndale not far from the great ruines of the castel of cairuorein the which be nere Thyrllewal and so ouer North Tyne . . from a ('place called Cholle . . 'erased') . . hen directly thorough the hedd¹⁴⁶ of Northumbreland.

* * * * *

[Coquet¹⁴⁷ cummithe by herbotell a goodly castle and thens to linne briggs sumtyme of stone now fallen. Therabout was great buyldinge but now desolation

* * * * *

morpet a market towne is . xij longe miles frm new castle, wansbeke a praty ryver rynnithe thrwge the syde of the towne on the hetharsyde of the river is the principall church of the towne, on the same syde is the fayre Castle stondinge apon a hill longinge with the towne to the lord acres of Gilsland.

¹⁴⁴ There is no authority for this singular statement. Morwick near Warkworth did certainly belong to the Merlays soon after the Conquest, and was by them given to the monastery of Durham, by which it was lost under obscure circumstances—Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 469.

¹⁴⁵ Leland's *Itinerary* (Orig. MS.) Bodl. Lib. vol. vii. fo. 72. He mentions in it that the wife of Sir Edward Grey of Chillingham had been married to Sir 'Robert Heldercar,' but Sir Edward Grey who m. Anne dau. of Sir Thomas Gower and widow of Sir Ralph Killercar of Risby, d. 6. Dec. 1533.

¹⁴⁶ The letters and words in italics are now defective in the Orig. MS. of the *Itinerary* and are supplied from Stowe's transcript of it.

¹⁴⁷ *Sic* in Stowe's transcript; the Orig. MS. probably read 'thorowgh the bredde (breadth) of Northumbreland.'

¹⁴⁸ Stowe's *Transcript of Leland's Itinerary* (Tanner MS. 464 Bodl. Lib.) fo. 139. It is very disappointing to find that the Original MS. of this the part of the *Itinerary* dealing more especially with Northumberland is lost, while Stowe's text is manifestly most corrupt, e.g. on fo. 139. 'In Ridesdale be but .3. paroches churchus, the cheffest is Ellesdene . then Halistene, and Corsansid . to thes parochis resorte the *niteriding* men other wyse *thenes* of that englishemarche.' On this passage Hodgson has based a most erudite note on the survival in Redesdale till the 16th century of the Witan and the Thanes of Saxon times! *Northd.* II., i., p. 91. Leland no doubt wrote '*niteriding* (or *masteriding*) men othar wyse *thenes*.' Camden called them 'Ranke-riders or Taking-men.'

CASTLES IN NORTHUMBARLAND

new Castle

Chipchace a praty towne and castle hard on the easte parte of the arme of northe Tyne the whiche deuidethe Tyndale frome northehumbarland, for Tyndall thowghe it be as a parte of northumberland, yet it is as a parte privilegyd within it selfe,

Tynmouth abbay sumtym usyd for a castle,

Dalaweile Castle . 4 . miles from Tynemouthe and within a mile of the shore.

Otterburne castle stondinge on otter in Ridesdale the whiche ioynethe hard apon northtyndall,

There be ruines of a castle longynge to the lord borow at mydforde on the sowthe syde of wansbeke . iiij . miles above morpeth,

It was beten downe by the kynge, for one ser Gilbert midleton robbyd a cardinal cominge out of scotland, and fled to his castle of midford,

morpeth castle stondythe by morpith towne it is set on a highe hill, and about the hill is moche wood, the towne and castle belongeth to the lord dacors, it is well mayntayned

witherington castle longinge to the wytheringtons stondethe with in halfe a myle of the shore somewhat as towchinge a gaing Coket isleland, by it runnithe a litle broke on the northe syde and there is a litle village of the same name, the broke renneth in to the se by it selfe,

werkworthe castell stondythe on the southe syde of Coquet watar, it is well maynteyned and is large, it longed to the erle of northomberland it stondithe on a highe hille the whiche for the more parte is includyd with the ryver, and is about a mile from the se, ther is a plety (*sic*) towne and at the towne ende is a stone bridge withe a towre on it beyond the bridge is banborowshire

Alnewik castle,

Howwike a litle pile longinge to the a mile from the shore,

Dunstaneborowgh a . 2 . miles beyond howwik harde on the se shore, it stondethe on a hy stone rok the castle is more than halfe amile in compase and there hathe bene great building in it, therby is a strong,

betwixt dunstanborow and banboro is Embleton a mile fro the shore and a mile from dunstanboro

bamborow, sometyme a huge and great castle one of the strongest in thos partes, Agerston a towre apon the southsyde of lindis ryver,

Chillingham castle longinge to ser Edward Grey, whos wyfe was married to ser Robert heldercar,

foord castle in Glyndale apon the east syd of the Tille it is metly stronge but in decay

Etel castle stondinge on playne grounde hard on the este syde of Tylle longynge to the erle of Rutland,

Eyton castle longing to ser Edward Graye . 2 . miles lower on Tyle the Etel it stondithe on the west syd of Tylle, the scotts at floden fild bet it sore,

werke Castle on the southe syd of Twede, a praty towne there,
 norham Castle on the same syde,
 berwike on the northe syd,] * * * * *

CASTLES.

*Hutton*¹⁴⁸ a faire Castle in the midste of Northombarland, as in the Bredthe of it. It is a iiii. or v. Miles Northe from *Fenwike* Pile, and this is the oldest Howse of the *Swynburnes*.

Wallington Castle 2. Miles Est from *Hutton*. It is the cheifst Howse of the *Fenwiks*. Ser *John Fenwike* is now Lorde of it. * * * * *

Glyne risethe in *Chivet* Hills, and so into *Glyndale* on to *Newton* Village, where is a Towr. Ther is a litle Broke cawlyd *Bonbent* cumminge owt of *Scotland* rennithe into *Glyn* to *Langton* Village 9. Miles of. where is a Ruine of a Towre a Myle of. So to *Copland* Village a Mile, where the Watar brekethe into Armes makynge Islets; but sone aftar metynge, and so a 2. Mills a this Syde *Forde* Castle in to *Tylle*.

Tyle risethe in the Hills of *Chivet*, and so cummithe into *Glindale* unto a Castle caullyd *Chillingham* Castle a vi. Miles from the *Chyvet* Hylls, so to *Forde* Castle an viii Miles of, to *Ethell* Castel on the Bridge of Stone downe on the Est Syde a Mile, to *Hetton* Castle on the West Syde of the *Tylle* a 3. Miles and halfe off, so to *Twislebridge* of Stone one bow, but greate and stronge, where is a Townlet and a Towre a 2 Miles of. * * * * *

At . . *Carham* is a litle Towre of Defence agayne the *Scotts*. So to *Werke* Castle a Mile of and more, a meatly stronge Fortresse to *Cornehil* a litle Pile 2. Miles of, agaynst the whiche on the farther Rype in *Scotland* is *Cauldstreame* a Place of Nunes. So to *Norham* Castle where is also a meatly good Toun about a 3 Miles of.

We are, fortunately, able to contrast with these scanty and confused notes of Leland, the official *View of the Castles, Towers, Barmekyns, and Fortresses of the Frontier of the East and Middle Marches*, drawn up with great care by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker at the end of the year 1541.¹⁴⁹ The part of Northumberland embraced by it, however, is only that to the west of a line drawn from Haggerston on the coast to Featherstone on South Tyne so as to include, roughly speaking,

¹⁴⁸ Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. vii., prt. I., fo. 78-81 (Hearne's ed. 1769, vii., pp. 65-66). By Hutton is meant Capheaton.

¹⁴⁹ Cotton MS. Calig., B. vii., fo. 636. (n.p.) 'Wrytten at his maties towne of Newcastle upon Tyne the ij^a daie of December in the xxxiiijth (*sic*) yere of his most gracyous reigne.' The 2nd Dec. 33. Hen. VIII. was in 1541, not 1542 as in Hodgson's *Northd.*, where the whole Survey is printed, anything but accurately, III. ii. pp. 171-242 nn. Sir Robert Bowes was taken prisoner by the Scots at Halydon Rigg, 24. Aug. 1542, and was still in captivity at the end of the November following.—*Cal. State Pap. Scotland*, I., p. 41, consequently he could not have commenced the Survey with Sir Ralph Ellerker on the 8th Oct. of that year.

Chillingham, Rothbury, Wallington, Haughton, and Langley. The importance of this document is such that no apology is needed for again printing the portions of it that relate to the strongholds themselves :—

The townes lyinge upon the northe & west syde of the ryver of Tyll wthin the said East marches of England foranempst Scotland & howe the same be at this p'sent peopled & plenyshed and what castells towres & fortresses be at this daie wthin the said precyncte and howe the same be maynteyned & reparelyd¹⁵⁰ with certayne other devyces for the repayingr & fortefyinge and strenghthenynge of those borders muche necessary to be releved in brefe tyme

Towns &c. in the EAST MARCHES

Fyrste upon the Ryv' of Twede & upon the west side of the ryv' of Tyll nere unto where the same ryv' falleth into Twede standeth a towne called Tyльмоthe of th' inherytaunce of one Claveringe being at this p'sent a childe wthin age . In the same towne be tenne husbandlands well plenyshed and in yt standeth a pece of an olde tower whiche was casten downe brenghete & defaced by a knyghte of Scottes¹⁵¹ in a warre tyme more then fortye yeres paste And yet standeth more the half p'te of the vawte & walls of the same tower . The costes of the repayingrge whereof ys estemed to amount & entende nere unto one hundredth m'ks

Tilmowthe

Claverings inheritance

an olde tower defaced by the warres

reparacions estim. 100 marks

Nexte thereunto wthin a myle & a half of the said ryv' of Tyll standeth the towne of Heaton of xij husbandlands well plenyshed . In the which standeth the ruynous walls of an olde castell lykewyse rased & casten downe by the kinge of Scottes in the warre aforesaid and bothe the said castell and towne be of thinberytaunce of Graye of Chyllingham now beinge a chylde wthin age & warde to the kings ma^{ty} A great p'te of the vawtes & walls of the said castell be yet standinge wthout any rouffes or flores And the repayingrge of the same as yt is estemed well amounte unto two hundreth m'ks or nere thereabouts

Heaton

a ruynous castle defaced by the warres

Gray of Chillingham's inheritance

reparacions estim. 200 m'ks

The tower of Cornell standing upon the banke of the said ryver of Twede in yt be twelve husbandlandes well plenyshed

Cornell

¹⁵⁰ 'REPAELLE. To repair. *He salle . . . reparelle this citee, and bigge it agayne also rele als eer it was.*—MS. Lincoln A. i. 17, f. 11. REPAEL. Apparel, clothing. *To array his garden with notabil reparel.*—Ashmole's Theat. Chem. Brit., 1652, p. 214.—Halliwell *Dict. of Archæic and Prov. Words*, 1847, ii. p. 678. The simple verb APPAREL, old Fr. *aparriller*, Romanic 'adpariculare,' to make equal or fit, is given with the significations, (1) To make ready, put in proper order; (2) to furnish or fit up with things necessary, in *New Engl. Dict.* Clar. Press (prt. ii.) p. 395.

¹⁵¹ *Sic* in Cotton. MS. Probably 'the Kinge of Scottes' was meant, as in the next paragraph.

a tower in good repara-
con
Gilbert Swynnowe's
inheritance and a tower newe embattled cov'ed & put in good reparacon by
one Gylbert Swynnowe gentelma' the owener & inherytur of
the said tower & towne of Cornell who entendeth also as his
powers may serve to buyde a barmekyn about the said tower
and doth prepare stuffe for the same and the said barmekyn
from yt be ons well fynyshed wylbe a greate succor defence
& relefe in tymes of warre aswell for thinhabytants of the
said towne of Cornell as for other neybouris nere adioyninge
thereunto

Warke The towne of Warke standeth also upon the banke of
the said Ryv' of Twede in the which towne bene xvj husband-
lands well plenyshed of the kings Ma^{ties} of inherytaunce .
There ys also a castell of the said kings ma^{ties} of thre wardes
whereof the utter most warde s'veth for a barmekyn¹³² the said
castell ys in greatt & extreme decaye as well by reason that
yt was never p'fytely fynyshed nor the walls of the pryncypall
tower or doungeon thereof was nev' cov'ed as by occasion of
a battrye made upon the utter walls of the same wth greatt
orden'nce at the last sege lade thereunto by the duke of
Albyony .

* * * * *

Learmouth resortes
Warke for relefe in
necessitye The townshippe of Leremouthe standinge two myles of
the said castell & towne of Warke and parcell of the same
lordeshippe conteynes twenty husbände landes well plenyshed
and hath in yt no maner of fortresse but resortes all waies to
the castell of Warke for their relefe in tyme of warre &
necessytye

Carrame The townshippe of Carrame conteynes in yt viij husband-
lands well plenyshed & ys all of the inherytaunce of the
the princes inheritance kinges My^{ties} (as of th' augmentacons of his graces crowne and
late belonginge to the suppressed monastery of Kyrkeham
a littell tower for a wthin the countie of Yorke Hereyn ys a lytle tower wythout
sodayne reskue other- barmekyn or iron gate metely for the defence of thinhaby-
wise hath Warke for tants of the said towne in a sodenly occurrante skyrmyshe
refuge and in tyme of warre they may resorte for theyr relefe to the
said castell of Warke.

Presfen The townshippe of Presfen¹³³ conteyneth in yt viij hus-
bandlands plenyshed & thereyn is nether tower barmekyn nor
other holde by occasion whereof in every apparence of warre
the ten'ntes there recules¹³⁴ inwarde to some fortresse for their

¹³² On the word 'Barmekyn,' see Note (E) p. 64. For the repairs of Work Castle. 12 Feb.—10 Nov., 1543, see Harl. MS., 1724.

¹³³ Presfen near Carham now corrupted into Presson.

¹³⁴ Sic in Cotton. MS.

suertye & leaves the same towne waste redye to be spoylled or destroyed wth enemyes and the said towne ys of the Inheritaunce of Graye of Chyllingham and now in the order of lyonell Graye esquier porter of the said towne of Barwyke.

The townshippe of Myndrome conteynes in yt xvj husband lands nowe plenyshed and of thinherytaunce of the said Graye of Chillingham and because there ys nether towre barmekyn nor other fortresse yn yt whereyn the ten'nts maye be releved in tyme of warre Therefore in ev'y apparence of a troublous worlde or warre yt ys abandoned & left waste as an easye praye for enemyes to ov'ronne

The townshippe of Monylawes conteyneth in yt ix husbandlands & ys nowe plenyshed In yt ys nether tower barmekyn nor fortresse & therfore yt suffereth greatt hurte in tyme of warre Wyll'm Strouther of Easte Newton gentlema ys the Inherytur & owener of this towne

The townshippe of Downeham conteyned in tyme passed viij husbandlands and when yt lay waste by occasion of warre Sr Cuthbert Ogle clerke purchased yt & hath buylded thereyne an newe tower as yet but of two house heichte and not fully fenyshed by one house heichte and imbattlements nor hath not as yet any barmekyn and the said Sr Cuthbert occupieth the said towne nowe but with two plowes of his owne The resydewe thereof he kepeth to medowe and pasture for his owne cattall

The townshippe of Pawston conteyneth xij husband lands now plenyshed one Garrarde Selbye gent. of late purchased this towne and in yt hath buylded a lytle tower wthout a barmekyn not fully fynished

The townshippe of Kylham conteyneth xxvj husband lands nowe well plenyshed and hathe in yt nether tower barmekyn nor other fortresse whiche ys greatt petye for yt woulde susteyne many able men for defence of those borders yf yt had a tower & barmekyn buylded in yt where nowe yt lyeth waste in ev'ry warre and then yt is a greatt tyme after or yt can be replenyshed againe and the most parte thereof ys the inherytaunce of the said Mr Graye of Chyllingham

The townshippe of Shotton¹⁵⁶ was sometyme of vj husband lands & nowe lyeth waste & unplenyshed and so hath continued this xxx^{te} yeres & more And the most parte thereof ys the Inherytance of the Erle of Rutland

Myndrome

Gray of Chillingham's inheritance

in warre left to the enemy

Monylawes

Wm Strowthers inheritance No fortresse but desolate in warre time

Downeham

layed waste by warres

a towre built by S^r Cuthbert Ogle

in his private occupying

Pawston

Garrard Selbyes inheritance a little tower unfinished

Kylhame

most part Gray of Chillingham's inheritance

No fortresse desolate therefore by warre Pytve being a good plott

Shotton

most part Erle of Rutland's inheritance. continuyd wast these 30 years

¹⁵⁶ Shotton, now in Pawston township, near where the river Bowmont flows out of Scotland.

Anterchester	The townshippes of Anterchester ¹⁵⁶ was sometye by esty-macon of viij husband lands & hath lyen waste unplenyshed sythence before the remembraunce of any man nowe lyvyng
Gray of Chillingham's inheritance waste out of mans memorye	and ys of the inherytaunce of the said Rauffe Graye of Chyllingham
Elterton	The townshippes of Elterton ¹⁵⁷ hath in lyke wyse lyen so longe tyme waste that yt can not be well p'ceyved howe many husband lands yt dyd conteyne And yt ys of th' inherytaunce of the said Mr Graye
Gray's inheritance waste time out of mind	
Heddon Alesdone & Trohope	And in lyke wyse the townshippes of Heddon ¹⁵⁸ Alesdon ¹⁵⁹ & Trohope ¹⁶⁰ lyinge under the Este ende of Chevyott hath lyen waste and unplenyshed ev' sythence before the remembraunce of any man now lyvyng & ys also of th' inherytaunce of the said Rauffe Graye of Chyllinghame
Gray of Chillingham's inheritance waste time out of mind	
Hethepole	The townshippes of Hethepol conteyneth vj husband lands
a litle stone house	newe plenyshed & thereyn ys a lytle stone house or pyle ¹⁶¹ whiche ys a greate releyffe to the ten'nts thereof And the most parte of thys towne ys of th' inherytaunce of S ^r Roger Graye and other ffreholders have p'cell of the same
most Sir Roger Graye's inheritance	
West Newton	The townshippes of West Newton conteyneth xij husband lands nowe plenyshed & hathe in yt neyther fortresse nor barmekyn but resort for their relefe in tyme of nede unto the towne of Est Newton and ys of th' inherytaunce of Wyll'm Strouther of the said Est Newton gent.
Strouther of Est Newton's inheritance	
No fortresse	
Repayre for succour in time of warre to Est Newton	
East Newton	At Est Newton ¹⁶² there ys a lytle towre and a stone house
a litle towre	

¹⁵⁶ Anterchester has altogether disappeared in the Ordnance Maps. It stood on high ground to the west of Mindrum between the range of Horse Ridge and the Camp Hill. The 'Dercestre' probably of the Pipe Roll 33 Hen. II. (Hodgs. *Northd.* III. iii. p. 43), it appears as the manor of 'Antrichestre' in 1379-80 (Inq. p.m. Sir John de Arundel and Eleanor his wife 3 Ric. ii. num. 1), and corrupted into 'Turn Chester' on the older maps of Northumberland (Armstrong's 1769, Greenwood's 1828, Shadforth and Dinning's 1847).

¹⁵⁷ Elterton, another vanished township, lay on the east side of the Elterburn which formed the march to Scotland to the south of Shotton. 'Nere the fote of Elterburne the Scottes had dem'd the water of intente to make yt alter the course ryv'e towarde England so that thereby they mighte wyne the hauges edlonge that burne syde And S^r Rob't Ellerker had broken the damyng & sett the water againe in his righte course'—Hodgs. *Northd.* III. ii. p. 219 n.

¹⁵⁸ Heddon, represented probably by the Butterstone Shank of the Ordnance Survey, was in the upper part of the valley, in which rises the burn that flows into the Glen at Kilham. Lord Grey was the proprietor of Heddon and of Thompson's Walls, lower down the same valley in 1663—Hodgs. *Northd.* III. i. p. 279.

¹⁵⁹ Now Elsdonburn, on the mountain-stream that joins the College-burn just below Hethpool.

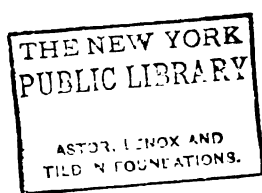
¹⁶⁰ Now Troughburn, situated in the 'hope' that opens out into the valley of the College-burn a little above Hethpool. This was the manor of 'Trollope' in 1379-80—Hodgs. *Northd.* III. ii. p. 251.

¹⁶¹ On the word 'Pele,' see Note (C) p. 57.

¹⁶² Kirk Newton; the stone house was probably burnt in the raid of 1532.

CASTLES TOWERS
BARMKINS & FORTRESSES
along the East & Middle Marches.





joyned to the same the walls of which stone house ys so lowe that in the laste warres the Scotts wanne the said stone house & sett fyer on yt and had thereby allmost brunte the tower & all The experyence whereof sheweth that yt were expedyente to rase the walls of the said stone house higher and to fortefye the same able for the defence of common skrymyshes This tower ys of th'inherytaunce of the said Will'm Stronther and he hath there two husband lands w^{ch} he occupyeth as his demayne wth his owne plowes

requireth more fortification for common forayes

Strowther's inheritance

The towneshippe of Yeverynge conteyneth viijth husband lands all nowe plenyshed & hathe nether in yt fortresse nor barmekyn & is of the Inherytaunce of the said Gray of Chillingham

Yeverynge

Gray of Chillingham's inheritance

No fortresse

The towneshippe of Aykeld conteyneth xvj husband lands all plenyshed and hath in yt a lytle fortelett or bastle house¹⁶³ wthout a barmekyn And the most p'te thereof ys of th'inherytaunce of the said Mr Graye of Chyllingham

Aykeld

Gray of Chillingham a lytle fortelett

The towneshippe of Homyldon conteyneth xij husband lands now plenyshed and hath yn yt nether fortresse nor barmekyn yt is of the Inherytaunce of the Erle of Rutland and of one Ellwycke

Homyldon

Erle of Rutlands and Ellwykes
No fortresse

The towneshippe of Wouller conteyneth xxth husband lands all plenyshed and had a lytle towre standynge strongly whiche dyd muche releyve as well the Inhabytants of the same towne as of two or three vyllages nere adjoyninge thereunto yt stode in a marvelous convenyent place for the defence of the cuntrye thereabout And the half of yt ys fallen downe for lacke of reparacons nowe lately this same yere And yt had muche nede to be reedyfied againe for the defence of all that quarter ffor nere thereby ys the common entree & passage of the Scottes for invadyng this realme or makinge any spoyle in tyme of warre or troubles peace And yt is thought that fourtye pounds would yett repare the ruynes & decayes thereof And yf yt be not shorterly amended yt wyll allwaies in processe of tyme fall in gretter decaye and the more chargeable to repare The said towre and muche of the towne ys of th'inherytaunce of the said Mr Graye of Chyllingham nowe duringe his mynorytie beinge in ward to the kynges ma^{tye}

Wouller

a lytle towre in decay

A necessary place of defence

The Scottes common passage

Gray of Chillingham's inheritance

The towneshippe of Yerdle conteyneth x husband lands and hath in yt a bastell house wthout a barmekyn & ys of th'inherytaunce of Thomas Hebburne esqre and Gylbert Scotte

Yerdle

Hebburn and Scottes a lytle fortresse

The towneshippe of Mydleton Hall conteyneth iiij hus-

Middleton Hall

¹⁶³ On the word 'Bastle,' see Note (F.) p. 65.

two stone howses	band lands plenyshed & hath in yt two stone houses or bastella
Robart and John Rotherforthes	the one of th'inheritaunce of Robt Rotherforthe & thother of John Rotherforthe
Langton	The towneshippe of Langton conteyneth xij husbandlands
an old tower cast down by the Scotts	plenyshed & in yt standeth a greatt p'te of the walls of an olde tower whiche was rased casten downe by the kinge of Scotts in a warre time nowe more than xl ^u yeres paste & by estymacon an hundreth merks would repayre yt agayne and the said tower ys of th'inherytaunce of the Erle of Rutland and of Wyll'm Strother gentleman
Erle of Rutland and Strowthers inheritaunce	
Cowpland	The towneshippe of Cowpland conteyneth x husband
Gray of Chillingham's	lands plenyshed & hath in yt nether fortresse nor barmekyne
No fortresse	and of th' inherytaunce of the said Graye of Chyllingham
Milne feld	The towneshippe of Mylnefelde conteyneth vj husband
Muschien's widow	lands plenyshed w th out any fortresse or barmekyn and ys of th'inherytaunce of a wedowe late the wyfe of Mychaell Muschiens
No fortresse	
Howtill	The towneshippe of Howtill conteyneth x plowe lands
Burrell's inheritaunce	plenyshed and there standeth a greatt parte of the walls of a
a tower caste downe by the Scottes 40 yeres past 40ll wold bld it agayne	tower that was rased and casten downe in a warre tyme by the Kinge of Scottes more than xl ^u yeres paste and by estymacon xl ^u wold repaire yt agayne yt ys of one John Burrells Inherytaunce
Brankstone	The towneshippe of Brankstone conteyneth xvj husband
The Mannors inheritaunce	lands plenyshed & in yt ys a lytle tower w th out a barmekyn
a towre repayred by John Selby	which was lykewyse rased by the Scotts and ys newly repared agayne by one John Selby gentleman Inherytour of the said towre and of one parte of the said towne the resydewe of the said towne ys of th'inherytaunce of therle of Rutland and one Thomas Manors Gentleman
Croukham	The towneshippe of Croukham conteyneth xxj husband
Heron's inheritaunce	lands plenyshed w th out anye fortresse or barmekyn Albeyt the ten'nts thereof in a troublous tyme or warre do resorte for their relefe to the castell of fforde standinge upon the Est syde of the ryver of Tyll and this towne ys of the inherytaunce of the heyre of St Wyll'm heron nowe beyng in warde to the Kings ma ^{tye}
No fortresse	
seckth succors at the castle of Forde	
Eddersley	The towneshippe of Eddersley ¹⁶⁴ conteyneth x husband
Heron's inheritaunce	lands plenyshed w th out fortresse or barmekyn and lykewyse the tenn'nts thereof resorte for theyr relefe in tyme of nede to the said Castell of Forde and this towne ys also of thinherytaunce of the same St Wyll'm Heron's heyre
Succored at Forde Castle	

¹⁶⁴ Now Heatherslaw near Ford.

The townshippe of Eworthe¹⁰⁸ conteyneth xij husband lands well plenyshed without fortresse or barmekyn and ys of thinherytaunce the said Graye of Chyllingham and the ten'nts thereof in tyme of nede do resorte to the tower of Fenton standyng nere thereby upon the southe est syde of the said ryver of Tyll

Eworthe
Gray of Chillingham

succored at Fenton
tower

The townshippe of new Etayle conteyneth viij husband lands plenyshed wthout fortresse or barmekyn and ys of thinherytaunce of the Erle of Rutland and the ten'nts thereof in tyme of nede resorte to his castell of Etayle standyng upon the Est syde of the said ryver of Tyll

New Etayle
Erle of Rutland

succored at Etayle
castle

The townshippe of Foweberye conteyneth viij husband lands well plenyshed & hath in yt a tower wthout a barmekyn in reasonable good reparacons and is of thinherytaunce of Rychard Fowberye gentleman

Fowberye
a towre Fowberye's
inheritance

The townshippe of Chatton conteyneth xxx^v husband lands plenyshed of the kyngs ma^{ties} inherytaunce late of the Erle of Northumberland's lands In yt be two lytle towers without barmekyns thone of thinherytaunce of the said Richard Fowebery¹⁰⁹ and thother ys the mansion of the vycaredge

Chatton
the princes inheritance
two towers without
barmekyns
Fowberyes and the
vicarage

This part of Glendall lyinge upon the west syde of the said ryver of Tyll ys a very good plenteous and fertyll countrye and wyll bere and susteyne a greatt number of men with lyinge able to maynteyne horse & harnes for defence of the borders there Every husband lande a man yf they be not to hys rented

Glendall
this part a very fertile
soil well peopled

Albeyt because there ys not in this said part of Glendale towers and fortresses sufficient to releve all the inhabytants thereof wth theyr horses in tyme of warre nor yet barmekyns for the savegarde of their cattalls so sone as there ys any apperance or suspeccon of warre the most parte of thinhabytants thereof do withdrawe themselves with their goods inwarde to other fortresses for their defence and leaves the said border by west the said ryver of Tyll almost dyssolate & waste and yf warre contynue longe those ten'nts provyde them of other fermes And so yt is a longe season after thende of every suche warre or that frounter and border can be again peopled and replenyshed

from want of relefe
in warres desolate and
not replenyshed in
long time again

¹⁰⁸ Now Ewart.

¹⁰⁹ 'Chatton. Roger Fowberry gent. holdeth there a Tower builded on the Lord's Waste of the Towne aforesaid And Renteth by Yeare at the Termes aforesaid. (Note—This Tower was builded by Lycence of y^e Lord for a Strength to y^e Towne there & now y^e Inherytance thereof claymed by Roger Fowberry).' — Stockdale's Survey, 1586; at Alnwick Castle.

Warke castle repayed
will serveth this purpose

For the remedy whereof we thinke ys most necessary fyrste that the kings ma^{tie} said castell of Warke be repered and fortiffed in forme afore expressed and that in avoydinge of excessyve costs suche towers and fortresses as be in the same precyncte begonne te be buylded may be fynished and lykewyse where there remayneth standyne a parte of anye fortresse whiche hath bene before tyme rased or decayed the same to be newly reedyfied and repared wth barmekyns about every tower

All fortresses to be re-
edified wth barme-
kyns aboute every
towe

A new tower and barme-
kyne to be made at
Kilham

Also that a new tower and a barmekyne be made at Kilham and that the townshippes be so assygned unto such fortresses and barmekynes as they with their goods may be releved in tyme of necessitye and to be so apporconed & rated that at the lest fourty persons or mo be assygned to every fortresse for as we thinke the more men that bene together in any fortresse so that yt may conveniently conteyne them with their goods the more stronger shalbe the defence thereof

Forty persons to be as-
signed to every for-
tresse the mo the
stronger

Great store of lime &
stone

Also we thinke that there ys in those parties convenient store of lymestone fre stone and rough stone suffycient for the buyldinge and reparacons of the said towers and barmekyns but there ys no store of tymbre wood in those parties so that yf yt shalbe the kings ma^{ties} pleasure that suche warkes and buyldings shalbe sett forwarde in those parties there must nedes be a gret provysion of Tymbre made in places upon the sea coste or upon ryvers naverage and the same to be conveyed by shippe to Holly Ilande and Twedemouthe & there to be wroughte and broken in peces after such lengthes and sortes as shalbe requysyte in the said buyldyngs for sparlinge of muche carryage whiche surely ys verry nedefull the caryage of beasts be so small & weake in those parties wth suche good & pollytyke provysion we esteme that the buyldinge of a convenient tower in that countrie shall not excede the charge of an hundreth pounds & a barmekyn two hundreth marks.

Timber to be brought
from other places to
Hollye Ilande and
Twedemouthe there to
be wrought for sparing
carriage

100li hilde a tower 200
mks a barmekin

Competent rewardes to
such as have bilt
Recompence to owners
whose fortresses are
raised by warres wold
encourage others

Also we suppose that yf yt would please the quennes¹⁵⁷ ma^{tie} to gave some competente rewardes unto suche persons as have allredye begonne to buylde fortresses upon those borders and also to such as be owners of the said houses which were rased by the Scottes towarde the sufficientlye repayingne

¹⁵⁷ Sic in Cotton. MS. As this View of the Frontier was completed in Dec., 1541, Katherine Howard was then still Queen of England: but in circumstances that make it evident she could not have been called on to reward the builders of border fortresses. Probably this is a clerical error, due to the Cotton. MS. being a copy made of the original View in the reign of Mary or Elizabeth.

fynnyshyne & performyne of the same they might thereby be induced & encouraged to bere a greatt parte of the chargs thereof themselves as farre as their powers wolde extende

The Fortresses standinge & beinge upon the Frounters & borders of the said marches of England endlonge the ryvers of Twede & Tyll upon the Este syde of the said ryver of Tyll

At Twedemouthe upon the southesyde of the ryver of Twede foranest Barwyke there ys two lytel towers in reasonable good reparacons the one belongeth to the hospytal of Kepeyere within the byshopprycke of Durrysme & thother ys of thinherytaunce of

At Scrymmerstone upon the sea coste a myle from the said ryver of Twede ys a great olde towre muche decayed for lacke of contynuall necessary reparacons and yt is of thinherytaunce of a gentlewoman that is heyre to John Swynowe & married to one Edmund Lawson

At Cheswyke but two myles from the said ryver of Twede there ys a lytle tower of the inherytaunce of one Thomas Mannors & others beinge lykewyse in decaye for a lacke of reparacons

At Braggarstone¹⁸⁸ beinge thre myles from the said ryver of Twede there standeth against the stronge tower of thinherytaunce of one Thomas Haggarrison & yt is in myeserable good reparacons

At Ancrofte two myles from the said ryver of Twede there ys a lytle fortresse standinge nere unto the church of the saide towne of thinherytaunce of Gray of Chillingham scarcely beinge in good repaire

A Lawyke foure myles from the said ryver of Twede there is a towre of thinherytaunce of Mr Swynburne of Captheton

At Byermore beyng of lyke dystance from the said ryver of Twede there ys a tower of thinherytaunce of Mr Muschyens in extreme decaye & almoste ruynous for lacke of reparacions

At Berryngton beyng thre myles from the said ryver of Twede there was a towre of thinheritance of therle of Rutland w^{ch} for lacke of reparacons ys lately fallen to extreme ruynes & decaye

At Shoreswolde but a myle from the said ryver of Twede standeth a pece of a tower that was rased & casten downe by the Kinge of Scotts in a tyme of warre xli^u yeres & more passed and belongeth to the Colledge of Duresme

Fortresses at

Twedemouth
two litle towers

Scrimmerstone
an old towre in decay
a gentelwoman married
to one Lawson

Cheswyke
a litle tower in decay
Thomas Mannors

Braggarstone
A strong tower in reasonable reparacions
one Haggarrison's

Ancrofte
a litle fortresse scarce
in reparation
Gray of Chillingham's

Lawyke
a tower
Swinborne of Cap Hetons

Byermore
a towre in extreme
decay
Mr Muschyens

Berryngton
a towre decayed
Erie of Rutland's

Shoreswolde
a pece of a towre de-
faced in the warres
The Colledg of Durham

¹⁸⁸ Sic in Cotton. MS., which if it had been the original View could hardly have contained such a blunder for 'Haggarstone.'

Norrrham a castle well furnyshed the B. of Durrama	The castle of Norrrham standing nere unto the said ryver of Twede belonginge to the byshoppe of Duresme ys in very good state both in reparacons & fortificac'ons well furnyshed & stuffed with artyllery munyc'ons and other necessaries requysyte to the same
Thornbye a litle towre in good case Heron's	At Thornebie ¹⁰⁰ there is a lytle towre in reasonable good reparac'ons yt standeth within a myle of the said ryver of Twede & ys of thinherytaunce of Sr. Wyll'm Heron's heyre
Newbrigg a towre in reasonable reparations Mr Ordes	At Newebygginge nere to the said ryver of Twede there ys a towre in reasonable good reparacons of thinherytaunce of George Orde esquier & at a place in the felde of the same towne called the gret hewghe there ys a stronge stone house or bastell newly made by one John Smythe
Twisle an old castle rased by the Scotts 40 yeres	At Twysle nere unto the said ryver of Twede there ys standinge the walls of an old fortresse or castell rased & caste downe by the Kinge of Scotts in a warre xli th yeres and more since
Grindon rigge a litle tower repayed Mr Selbyes	At Gryndonrygge there ys a lytle tower of thinherytaunce of John Selbye gent. in reasonable good reparac'on and is a myle & a half from the said ryver of Twede
Duddo a towre rased Clavering's inheri- taunce	At Duddo there standeth a pece of a towre that was rased & casten down by the Kinge of Scotts in the said warre xli th yeres sence & more and yt is of the inherytaunce of Clavering and twoo myles from the said ryver of Twede
Etayle decayed a necessary place for defence to receive a hundred men Erle of Rutland's a bridge over Tyll de- cayed	The castell of Etayle beinge of the Erle of Rutlands inherytaunce standeth upon the Est syde of the said ryver of Tyll thre myles from the said ryver of Twede ys for lacke of reparacons in very great decaye & many necessary houses within the same become ruynous & fallen to the ground Yt were muche necessary to be repared for the defence of those borders aswell in tyme of peace as for the receyvinge and lodginge of a garrison of an hundreth men or mo in tyme of warre for whiche purpose that place ys very convenient
to be reedified for pas- sage of ordenance into Scotland &c.	There was also at Etayle a brigge over the said ryver of Tyll which is decayed & fallen down of late to the great trouble hurte & annoyaunces of thinhabitants thereabouts whiche had allwais redy passage over when the said river is waxen greate & past rydinge upon horsebacke & muche necessary yt were to have yt reedyfied againe as well for the purpose aforesaid as for the conveyinge of orden'nce & armyes into Scotland over the same

¹⁰⁰ Generally called Thornton. Place-names in Northumberland do not end in the Danish 'by.' There was another Thornton Tower at Newbrough on South Tyne.

The castell of Forde standinge lykewyse upon the Est syde of the said ryver of Tyll was bronnte by the laste Kinge of Scotts a lytle before he was slayne at Flodden felde some parte thereof hath bene repareled againe sythence that tyme but the great buyldinges & most necessarye houses resteth ever sythens waste and in decaye the whiche if they were repared were able to receyve and lodge an hundreth & mo horsemen to lye there in garryson in tyme of warre and for that purpose yt is a place mucche convenient & standeth well for servyce to be done at any place within the said Est marche and ys of thinherytaunce of Sr Will'm Heron's heyres

There ys also in the same towne a lytle tower which was the mansion of the parsonage of the same & a quarter thereof was casten downe by the last Kinge of Scotts at the tyme aforesaid and Sir Cuthbert Ogle parson of the church there beganne to reedyfie the same againe & rased the wall thereof two houses highte and there so yt resteth and yt were mucche requysite to be fynysht for defence of that towne

At Fenton lykewyse standinge upon the Est syde of the water of Tyll there ys a grett towre wth a barmekyn in great decaye in the rooffe and floores and the walls of the barmekyn wth other necessary houses wthin the same and yt were mucche requysyte that yt were kepte in reparations for yt standeth in a very convenient & apte place for lyinge of an hundreth men in garryson in tyme of warre against Scotland and yt is of the inherytaunce of the said Graye of Chyllingham

At Nesebytte there was a towre of thinheritaunce of Sir Roger Graye but yt is longe synce for lacke of reparacons decayed & fallen and no fortresse there nowe remayneth

At Wetewood there is a lytle towre of thinheritaunce of one Wetewood gent. in measurable good rep'acons

At Horton there is a greatt towre wth a barmekyn of Sir Roger Grayes Inherytaunce & his chefe house in great decaye for lacke of contynuall reparacons & greatt petye yt were that yt should be suffered to decaye for yt standeth in a very convenient place for the defence of the cuntrye thereabouts

At Holburne ys a towre and a barmekyn of thinherytaunce of Thomas Holburne esquier in measurable good rep'acons

At Hesellerygge ys a lowe towre w^{ch} was never fully fynysht of thinherytaunce of Thomas Haggarstone esquier kepte in measurable good rep'acons

Upon the viewe & examynacon of the estate of these afore-

Forde

a Castle decayed

fit to lodge 100 men
and for any service
on the Est marches

Heron's inheritance

a little towre the par-
son's mansion

unfinished

much for the defence
of the towne

Fenton

a great tower with a
barmekin in decay

mete for a garrison of
100 men

Gray of Chillinghams

Nesebitt

a towre utterly ruyned
Sr Roger Grayes

Wetewood
a little towre in repa-
rations
one Wetewoods
Horton

a great tower with a
barmekin in decay

a place mete for de-
fence & Grayes

Holburne a tower &
barmekyn
Holburns inheritance

Heslrigge a low tower
not finished one Hag-
garstones

Cause of decay

The owners retire for more surety & avoyding expence into the country further from the borders

Fortes left by little & little fell to decay

L'res addressed to the owners for to redresse the same

said fortresses we p'ceyved that a great cause of the decaye of the same was that the oweners thereof for their more easye quyetnes & savyng of expences dyd wthdrawe from their houses standinge nere to the uttermost borders and frounter towarde Scotland and inhabyte themselves in fermes or other smaller houses wthin the cuntreye further dystante from the sayd borders to the great decaye of the same And also not regardinge their said uttermost fortresses or houses at the fyrste made for defence & strengthninge of the said borders for lacke of necessary contynuall rep'acons have suffered them by lyttle & lyttle to fall in extreme ruyne & decaye Whereupon we devysed to geve straye monyc'on & charge in the Kings ma^{tie} name unto all such p'sons as bene fownde in suche defaulte wth convenient spede to reforme the same and for that purpose we addressed l'res of the tenorr hereafter folowinge unto all these p'sons (the said Erle of Rutland onely except) whome as well because he ys not resy- ante in those p'ties as consyderinge his greatt estate & degree we referre unto the Kings ma^{tie} & his most hon'able counsell to take further order wth hym in that behalfe

The copy or minute of the l're aforesaid.—After our ryghte harty cōmendacons these shalbe to adv'tyse you that whereas we beinge by the King our sov'eigne lordes comysson authorysed & appoynted to viewe & survey the wastes & decayes of his graces fronnters & borders of his Este & mydle m'ches of England foranenste Scotland do well p'ceive & knowe that the toure or fortresse of a. b. beinge of yo^r Inherytaunce & standinge & scytuate in a place apt & conveniente for the strength & defence of the said borders of England ys not onely ruynous & in extreme decaye by yo^r neglygence & for lacke of contynuall necessary reparacons but also the same your house is onely used & inhabyted wth herdes & hynds whereof a greatt p'te be Scotts borne for y^r onely lucre & advantage and contrary to the com'on welthe of all the kinge our said sov'eigne lords subiects inhabytinge upon these his graces said marches & borders (for reformacon whereof we in the Kinge our said sov'eigne lordes name and by vertue & auctorytie of his ma^{tie} said com'yasion do wyll charge & admonyshe you thatye wth convenyente expedycon wthout delaye do not onely cause your said house tower or fortresse of a. b. wth all fortificacons belonginge to the same to be putt in able & sufficiente rep'acons but that also ether ye yo^r self or some other apte & able p'son by y^r appoyntemente be p'pared & sett to in-

habyte & dwell wthin your said house by whom as well yo^r owne tenⁿts as other the inhabytants there abouts may be ledde & broughte furthe to fraye & followinge for the defence & savegarde of the said borders & m^ches against the incurres of Scottes & theves as ofte as nede shall requyre Faile ye not hereof as ye will avoyde the Kinges ma^{ty} most dredful displeasure & at y^r further p^yll And thus hertely fare ye well. Wrytten at Hexam. &c.¹⁷⁰

And yf they wyll not upon this monyeon conforme themselves to preferre the com^on welthe of their country & the p^rsvacon of their inheritaunce rather then their owne pryvate profyite or sensuall appetyte then we thinke there would be some meane devysed by the Kings Ma^{ty} or his most hon^oble counsell to compell suche as would be obstynate to apply themselves unto reason in that behalf

* * * * *

The descripc^on¹⁷¹ of the p^rsent state of all the CASTELLS TOWERS BARMEKYNS & OTHER FORTRESSES standinge & scytuate nere unto the utter border & frounter of the mydle m^ches of England wth certayne devyses for the repayryng & fortifyng of the said borders where moste nede requy^reth aft^r our fantasye & opynyon

Fyrste in the towne of West Lyburne there bene two towers the westernne toure whereof ys of thinherytaunce of one Cuthbert Proctour gent. and for lacke of contynuall necessary repac^ons ys fallen in greatt ruine and decaye for all the roves & floors thereof be wasted & fallen downe & nothing standyng but the walles The Esterne toure of the same towne ys the Inherytaunce of S^r Cuthbert Ogle clerke and the rooffe & floores thereof were lately broughte by soden fyar Lyonell Graye porter of Barwyke ys the fermer & occupyer of bothe the said toures And the fermes belonging to the same yt were muche com^odyous for the countrye thereabouts that the said two towers were newly repayred agayne for they stande not onely in a place com^odyous for the defence of those quarters in the tyme of peace but also in the tyme of warre they would be able to receyve and lodge an hundreth souldyours in garryson And the said west lyburne standeth wthin two myles of the waste under the southe syde of Chevyotte

West Lyburne

two towres decayed

The place of mpor-
tance

able to receive 100
men in garrison

The Castell of Chyllingham of thinheritaunce of yonge

Chyllingham a castle

¹⁷⁰ Hodgson in his version has here the droll misprint of 'Vary them by exam.'—*Northd.*, III. ii. p. 194 n.

¹⁷¹ Cotton. MS. Calig. B. 8. fo. 746.

Grayes inheritaunce well repayed	Raffe Graye of the same beinge in the kinges Ma ^{te} warde & order duringe his mynorytie & none age ys in measurable good repac'ons for Sr Robt Ellerker knighte havynge the custodye & gov ⁿ naunce of the said castell hath of late newly reparellled the same
Hebburne a litle tower repayed	At Hebburne ys a lytle toure of thinherytaunce of Thomas Hebburne in reasonable good rep'ac'ons At Bewyke ys a good tower of the kinges ma ^{te} Inherytaunce as of the augmentac'ons of his graces crowne late belonginge to the suppressed monastery of Tynemouthe A parte thereof ys newly cov'ed w th leade & thother p'te ys not well cov'ed nor in good repac'ons And yt is much requysyte that the said tower were kept in convenyent reparll for yt standeth in a fyttle place for the defence of the countrye thereaboutes And is able in tyme of warre to conteyne fyfytie men in garryson
Bewike a good tower the princes inheritaunce	
a good place for a gar- rison of 50 men	
Ilderton a great tower with a strong barmekin of stone	At Ilderton there ys a great tower w th a stronge barmekyn of stone of thinherytaunce of Rauffe Ilderton gentleman whiche for lacke of contynuall necessarye rep'ac'ns ys fallen in extreme ruyne & decaye and all the Rooffes & flores thereof wasted & nothinge standinge but the bare walles It were muche necessarye and requysyte to have the said fortesse repaired for yt standeth uttermost in that p'te nexte unto the waste under the southe syde of Chevyott And yf yt were in good repac'ons yt would well receyve & lodge fyftie souldio ^{rs} in tyme of warre
out of reparacoons	
Ilderton's inheritaunce	
a mete place for garri- son of 50 men	
Roddon a litle tower unrepayed	At Roddome there is a lytle toure w th out a barmekyn of thinherytance of John Roddom esquier the rooffe ys decayed for lacke of necessarye repaco'ns
Roddons inheritaunce	
Crawley	At Crawley there is a lytle toure of thinherytance of the daughter and heyre of S Wll'm Heron in greatt decaye for lacke of contynuall reparac'ons
a litle towre unre- payed	
Tytlington	At Tytlington ys a lytle toure of the kinges ma ^{te} Inhery- tance late belonginge to the Supp'ssed monastery of Kyrke- h'm decayed in the rooffes for lacke of repac'ons And the Imbattlementes thereof were nev' fynyshed
a litle towre the princes inheritaunce decayed	
Shawden	At Shawden ys a toure of thinheritaunce of Cuthb't Proc- tour in measurable good repac'ons
a towre in reparacon	
Whittingame	At Whyttyngame bene two towers whereof the one ys the mansion of the vycarege & thother of the Inheritance of Rb't Collyngewood esquier & bothe be in measurable good repac'ons
two towres repayed	
Callalye a tower	At Callalye ys a toure of thinheritaunce of Claverynge in measurable good repac'ons

At Eslyngton ys a toure wth a barmekyn of the Inherytance of one Heslerygge esquier And in the tenor & occupaco'n of Robt. Collingewood esqui' who kepeth the same in good repac'ons¹⁷²

Eslington
a towre with a barmekyn

At Ingrame ys a lytle toure w^{ch} ys the mansion house of the p'sonage there & for lacke of contynuall necessary repac'ns ys fallen in greatt decaye in the Cov'ynge & Roofes thereof

Ingrame
a little towre decayed

Also a lytle by west the said toure of Ingrame the ryv' or water of Brymyshe by rage of floodes hath worne sore upon the southe banke thereof that except there be shortely made a were & defence of the same yt is very lyke in contynuanee of tyme to were awaye both the said towne of Ingram & tower aforessaid

The water like to wear
the towne of Ingram

At Great Ryle there hath one Thomas Collingewood gent' newly buylded a toure upon the Inherytance of Robt Collingewood And is mynded to buylde lykewise a barmekyn about the same as his power may serve thereunto

Great Ryle a towre

At Prendyke ys lykewyse a lytle toure newlye buylded by one Thomas Aldye gent: thinherytoure of the same

Prendike a little towre

At Alname be two lytle toures whereof thone ys the mansion of the vycarege and thother of the Inherytance of the kinges ma^{tie} p'cell of the late Erle of Northumb'landes landes beinge scarcely in good repac'ons¹⁷³

Alname
two little toures oute of
reparacons

At Scrynwood is a toure & a barmekyn of the Inherytance of John Horseley esquier kepte in very good repac'ons

Scrynwood
a towre and a barmekin

At Byttilsden ys a toure & a barmekyn of the Inherytance of Percyvall Selby esqui' in good repac'ons & nere unto the same ys an other lytle toure at a place called the Cotte walles in measurable good repac'ons of the said p'cyvall Selbyes Inherytance

Bittladsen
a towre and a barmekin

At Borrodone ys a great toure of thinherytaunce of George Fenwycke & Percyvall Lysle in the righte of his wyfe whiche for lacke of necessary repac'ons ys fallen into extreme ruyn & decaye

Borrodone
a great towre in ruine

At Clennell ys a lytle toure of thinherytaunce of one p'cyvall Clennell gent newly reparable and brattyshed by the

Clennell
a little towre

¹⁷² Cf. Leland's *Itinerary*, ante p. 25.

¹⁷³ 'Alnham. The Lord hath there a faire stronge stone Tower of Ancient tyme builded & strongly vaulted over & the Gates & Dores be all of great stronge Iron Barres and a good demayne adjoining thereto, the House is now ruinous and in some decay by reason the Farmer useth to carry his sheep up the Stares and to lay them in the Chambers which rotteth the Vaultes and will in shorte time be the utter decay of the same house if other reformation be not had'—Stockdale's Survey, 1586, at Alnwick Castle.

- same p'cyvall And also he ys in makinge of a newe barmekyn about the same as his power will extende thereunto
- Allaynton**
a little stone howse At Allaynton¹⁷⁴ ys a lytle bastell house of stone the mansion of the vycaredge scaresly in good repac'ons
- The Linnebrigg** At the Lynne brigge there hathe bene a stone house of thinherytaunce of one Rog' Horseley but yt was bronnre & casten downe by the Scottes in tyme paste, and the owener hathe gathered the stones thereof unto a place of more strength nere unto the same, and to buyde a newe bastell house as his power wyll serve hym Intendeth¹⁷⁵
- Tharnam a tower** At Tharnam¹⁷⁶ ys a toure of thinherytance of one Rog' Horseley in measurable good repac'ons
- Nether Trewhytt** ✓
a toure At nether Trewhytt ys a toure of thinherytance of Edward Gallen in measurable good repac'ons
- Hephell**
a towre decayed At Hephell ys a toure of thinherytance of the lorde Ogle decayed in the roofes & scarcely in good repac'ons
- Throptone**
a little tower At Throptone ys a lytle toure of thinherytaunce of S^r Cuthb't Ratclyffe knight
- Cartington**
a good fortresse At Cartington ys a good fortresse of twoo toures & other stronge stone houses of the Inherytaunce of the said S^r Cuthb't Ratclyffe knight & kepte in good repac'ons
- Harbottell castle in great decay** Apone the Southe syde of the ryv' of Cockett ys a stronge place & metely for the defence of all that cuntrye aswell againste the Invasion & Incourses of Scottes in tyme of warre as for defence of the theftes & spoyles of the Ryddesdayle men standeth the castell of Harbottell wythin the said country of Ryddesdayle and ys of the Inherytaunce of the lorde Taylboys heyres & is for lacke of necessary repac'ons fallen into extreme ruine & decaye that greatt pety yt is to see for suerly that castell ys muche necessary for the comon welthe of those p'ties to be reparell'd & kepte in repac'ons For it serveth not onely for defences as ys aforesaid but also yf yt were in suche good state as hath bene yt would in tyme of warre receyve & lodge an hundrethe souldio's & their horses And also there is no other convenient place for the keeper of Ryddesdayle to dwell in to conserve the Ryddesdayle men in good rule & for the chastysinge of the evell desposed people of the same when they offende And yt is so farre ruine in ruine in the cov'ture Roofes floores & walles both in stone worke tymbre & leade
- a very convenient place for to lodge a garrison of 100 horse
- for the kepar of Riddesdale

¹⁷⁴ Alwinton.¹⁷⁵ Cf. Leland's *Itinerary*.¹⁷⁶ Thernham in Coquetdale, now miscalled Fairnam. This permutation of 'Th' into 'F' is curious; it reminds one of the way in which the Greek Θ is pronounced like F in Russian, &c.

That we can not esteeme the charge of the repac'ons thereof to bringe yt into suche a conveyent state as yt hathe bene & as yt was ordeyned afore to be any lesse some then foure hundreth poundes And the owener thereof hathe no tymber of his owne in those p'ties to repare yt wth all nor none groweth nere thereunto but that the kirges ma^{tie} hath in Rothebury forrest & breakeburne being p'celles of thaugmentac'ons of his graces crowne asmuche tymbre growinge as we esteeme will sufficiently serve for the repac'ons of the castell And yf yt be not amended in brefe tyme yt will more & more decaye & shortly be paste Inhabytac'on which would be a m'velous great hurte & loss to all that countrey

In short time wilbe unhabitable

We have not dyrected any l'res of monyc'on to the lorde & owener of the said castell for the reparelleinge of the same because we knewe not certainly who is the Inherytour thereof nor he dwelleth not in these p'ties And as we thinke he would be better & more soner p'swaded thereunto by moc'on of the kirges ma^{tie} & his most hon'able counsell then by our l'res unto whom we reserve the p'mysse as matter of greatt Importaunce & necessarye for the comon of these marches

At Barrowe a lytle above Harbottell upon the southe syde of the same ryv' of Cokett standeth the olde walles of a lytle fortesse of the Inherytance of one Gerrard Barrowe which in tyme past was brounte & rased by the Scottes in a warre tyme And so remaineth still waste because the oweners thereof have bene but poor men and not able nor of power sythens to reparell the same

Barrow
a little fortesse ruyned
by the warres

At a place called the hare clewgh one Rog' hangingeshawes hath lately buylded upon his owne Inherytance a stronge pele house of stone in a conveyent place for resystence of the Incourse of theves of Ryddesdayle and he ys not able in defaulte of substance to p'forme & fynyshe the same

Hare Clewgh
a stone pile not finished

At Great Tosson is a tower of the lorde Ogles Inherytance & not in good rep'ac'ons

Great Tosson
a towre

At Whytton nere unto Rotheberye is a toure & a lytle barmekin beinge the manc'on of the p'sonage of Rothbery and is in good reparco'ns

Wyton
a towre and a little
Barmekin

At Elyburne p'cell of the lordeshippe of Rotheberye is a strong pele house of the kings ma^{ties} Inherytaunce as of thaugmentac'ons of his graces crowne & p'cell of the late erle of Northumb'lands landes¹⁷⁷

Elyburne
a strong pile

¹⁷⁷ All memory of the strong pele house of Elyburne has been lost; the very name has perished. It was evidently between Whitton and Ritton; and the passage 'Rothebury: Thornyhaughe—Roger Mutford tenet unum tenementum

Rytton a stone house oute of reparacions	At Rytton is a stone house & a lytle barmekyn of the kinges ma ^{ties} Inherytance p'cell of thaugmentac'ons of his graces crowne lately belonginge to the supp'ssed monastery of Newemstre scarcely in good repac'ons
Grenelighton a little stone house wth a barmekin	At Grenelyghton is a lytle stone house w th a barmekin of the same Inherytance & not in good repac'ons
Rotheley a little toure	At Rotheley is a lytle towre of the same inherytance in measurable good reparacions
Harterton a strong house	At Harterton hall ys a stronge bastell house of the In- herytaunce of S ^r John Fenwyke in good repac'ons
The Sawnes a little pile	At the Sawnes ¹⁷⁸ is a lytle pele house or bastell of thinhery- taunce of the said S ^r John Fenwyke in measurable good re- p'ac'ons
Wallington a strong towre	At Wallyngton is a stronge toure & a stone house of thin- herytaunce of the said S ^r John Fenwyke in good rep'ac'ons
Little Harle a towre	At lytle harle ys a toure of thinherytaunce of Thomas Fenwyke in good rep'ac'ons
Kirk Welpington a little towre	At Kyrke Whelpyngton is a little toure the mansyon of the vyccaredege in good rep'ac'ons
Hawike a bastell howse	At Hawyke ys a bastell house of thinherytau'ce of one Bellyngiam in good rep'ac'ons
Swetehope a bastell howse	At Swetehope is an other bastell house of thinherytaunce of S ^r John Fenwyke knighte in good rep'ac'ons
Fylton more a bastell howse	At Fylton more is a bastell house called the Whyte house of the kinges ma ^{ties} Inheritance p'cell of the Augmentac'on of his graces crowne belonginge to the late supp'ssed monas- tery of Neweminster in measurable good rep'aco'ns
Carre Cottes a bastell howse	At Carre Cottes ¹⁷⁹ in the said Fylton more is an other bastel house of the same Inherytance in measurable good repac'ons

&c. in Elybornemouth' in Hall and Humbertson's Survey of the confiscated estates of Thomas Earl of Northumberland in 1569 (Vol. I, p. 65, P.R.O.) seems to prove the Elyburne to be the same stream as that now known as the Forest Burn which flows into the Coquet near Thornyhaugh. Consequently we may be justified in regarding the Lee, a farm house on the Forest Burn, in the direct line between Whitton and Ritton, as occupying the site of Eliburne pele. Mr. D. D. Dixon of Rothbury, it is gratifying to find (considering the great knowledge he possesses of the Forest and its history), agrees with this identification. 'The proximity (to the Lee) of an old hollow way—the ancient road—seems,' he remarks, 'to denote the spot as an old centre.'

¹⁷⁸ i.e., the Fawnes, to the north of Wallington, so called in Swinburne deeds of the 15th century. See Hodgs. *Northd.* III. ii. p. 10. Accordingly to Jamieson's *Dict. of the Scottish Language*, Paisley, 1833, white spots on moorish ground are called *Fawns* in Ettrick Forest.

¹⁷⁹ Carry Coats may possibly be derived from the Celtic *Caer y coed*—'the stronghold in the wood.'

At lytle Swyneburne is a lytle toure of thinheritaunce of Thomas Mydleton of Belso esqui' decayed in the roofes

Little Swinborne
a little towre decayed

At Mykle Swynburne¹⁰⁰ hath nebe a great toure of the Inherytaunce of S^r John Wetherington knyghte but all the roofes & floores thereof bene decayed & nothings standinge but the walles

Mickle Swinborne
a great towre decayed

At Gonnerton is a toure & a stone house of thinherytaunce of S^r John Fenwyke knyghte in good repac'ons

Gonnerton
a towre & a stone howse

At Chypchase ys a fare tower & a mano^r of stone warke Joyned thereunto of thinherytaunce of John Heron of the same esquier kepte in good repac'ons

Chipchase
a fayre towre and manor
of stoneworke

At Symondburne ys a stronge toure of foure house height of thinherytaunce of S^r Wyll'm Herons heys and yt standeth of a very stronge ground a myle from Chypchase upon the west side of the ryv' of northe tyne & ys in measurable good repac'ons

Symondburne
a strong towre in a very
strong ground

And in the same towne of Symondburne ys a nother lytle towre the manc'on of the p'sonage there in measurable good repac'ons

a little towre

At the hall barnes in the same towne ys a bastell house of the late Inheritance of S^r Will'm Heron in good repac'ons

The Hall barnes
a bastle howse

At Hawghton two myles southeate from the said towne of Symondburne standeth the walles of an olde castell or fortresse very stronge but the roofes & floores thereof bene decayed & gone And an olde barmekyn p'tely decayed in the walles thereof of thinherytaunce of S^r John Wetherington knyghte & in greatt decaye

Hawghton
a fortresse very strong
but decayed

At Tekett ys a strong stone house of thinherytaunce of Wyll'm Rydley in good repac'ons

Tekett
a strong stone house

At the Carrowe is a toure & a stone house ioyninge to the same of the kinges maties Inherytance p'cell of the augmen-tac'n of his graces crowne late belonginge to the supp'ased monastery of Hexam and by a lete dymytted unto S^r Reynold Carnabye knyghte for certayne yeres yt lyeth in decaye & not Inhabytet nor in good repac'ons

Carrow
a towre and a stone howse

in decay

At Sewyngeshealles is an olde towre of thinherytaunce of John Heron of Chypchase esquier in great decaye in the roofes & floores & lyeth waste & unplenyshed

Sewyngesheales
an old toure wast

At Braydley ys a stone house of the inherytaunce of Nycolas Carrowe & lyeth wast & unplenyshed

Braydley
a stone howse

At Satlyngstones ys a toure of thinherytaunce of Will'm Carnabye esquier in measurable good rep'aco'ns

Satlingstones
a towre

¹⁰⁰ Swinburne Castle.

Wawetowne a towre	At Wawetowne ¹⁸¹ is a toure of thinherytaunce of John Rydley of the same, and is not in good rep'aco'ns
Thirlewall a towre	At Thyrlwall ys a toure of thinherytaunce of Rob't Thyrlwall of the same in measurable good rep'aco'ns
Blenkinsopp a towre decayed	At Blenkinsoppe ys a toure of thinherytaunce of John Blenkinsoppe & is decayed in the rooffe & not in good rep'aco'ns
Bellester a bastell house	At Bellester is a bastell house in thoccupac'n of one Blenkinsoppe & is in measurable good rep'aco'ns
Fetherstonhawgh a towre	At Fetherstonhaughe ys a toure of thinherytaunce of Alexander Fetherstonhaughe of the same in good rep'aco'ns
Hawtewysle a towre	At Hawtewysle is a toure of thinherytaunce of Sr Will'm Musgrave knyghte in measurable good rep'aco'ns
Willimowteswyke a good towre and a stone howse	At Willymonnteswyke ys a good toure & a stone house ioyninge thereunto of the Inherytaunce of Nycolas Rydley kepte in good rep'aco'ns
Langley	At Langley standeth the walles of an olde castell of thinherytaunce of the kinges ma ^{tye} as p'cell of the augmentaco'ns of his graces crowne late of thinherytaunce of therle of Northumb'land All the rooffes & flores thereof be decayed wasted & gqne & nothings remayning but onely the walles and yt standes in a very convenyent place for the defence of the Incourses of the Scottes of Lyddesdale & of the theves of Tyndale Gyllesland & Bowecastell when they ryde to steall or spoyle w th in the byshoprycke of Duresme
an old castell defaced	
in a very convenient place	
the princes	
Newbrough a towre	At the Newbrough is a toure of thinherytaunce of the lorde Burrowe in measureable good rep'aco'ns
	* * * * *
Bellingeam theyr towne and assembling place	. . . In all the said cuntrye ¹⁸² of Tyndall there ys not any other towne or place of Cōmon resorte where vytalles ys to be solde for money but onely at Bellingeam aforesaid nor there ys now standinge w th in the said cuntrye of Tyndall any towers save one lytle tower at heslesyde of thinherytaunce of one Charleton sōne to Edward Charleton deceased
Tarsett hawle defaced	There was w th in the said cuntrye of Tyndall an other tower called Tarsett hall of the lorde Burrowes Inherytaunce the which was brounte by the said Tyndalles xvj yeres sythence & more at a tyme when Sr Rauffe Fenwyke lay w th

¹⁸¹ 'Wawetowne' (for Walltown) may only be a case of phonetic spelling. The late Dr. Lyon, Headmaster of Sherborne School, a native of Hexham, used to declare that he could tell from what particular township along the line of the Wall any man came by hearing him pronounce the word 'Wall.' Some would say 'Wa', some 'Wo', some 'Wael', &c., &c., &c., the only thing none of them said was 'Wall.'

¹⁸² Cotton. MS. Calig. B. viii. fo. 856 (n. p.)

a certayne garryson in the tower at Tarssett hall for the re-
formac'on of certayne mysorders wthin the said countrey of
Tyndall There ys also an olde mansion and apparence of a
fortresse that hathe bene in tyme passed at a place in Tyndall
called Warke wythin twoo myles or lesse of the said Bellin-
geam of the kinges ma^{ties} Inherytaunce which Warke ys the
chefe Sygnoury & Manor whereof aswell all the said country
of Tyndall as almost all the townes standinge betwene the
said riv's of north tyne and South Tyne bene holden and at
the said Warke ys there a courte or lawe daye kepte at suche
tymes as the kep' of Tyndale doth appoynte the same

Warke the chefe seign-
ory of Tyndale and al
the countrey betwene
North Tyne and South
Tyne

The houses buildinges & Inhabitacons of the said country
of Tyndale ys muche sett upon eyther syde of the said Ryv'
of Northe Tyne & upon other lytle brokes & rynnelles run-
ninge and descendinge into the said ryv' in strong places by
the nature of the grounde and of such strengthes naturally
fortefyed aswell by reason of mosses and marresces w^{ch} wth
great dyffyculty maye be passed wth horsemen as of bankes
& clewghes of wood whereyn of olde tyme for the more
strength great trees have bene felled and layde so ov' thwarte
the waies & passages that in dyv's places onlles yt be by suche
as knowe & have experyence of those said strate & evell waies
& passages yt wylbe harde for straungers havynge no know-
ledge thereof to passe thereby in any order & sp'c'ally upon
horsebacke

Theyr howsing

Inaccessable wth
horsemen

In which naturall strength & fortyficac'ons of such places
almost inaccessible the said Tyndalles do muche rejoyce &
Imbolden themselves & when they be affrayed do rether trust
in the strength of suche places wthout their houses then to the
suertye or defence of their houses And yet suerly the hed-
desmen of them have very stronge houses whereof for the
most p'te the utter sydes or walles be made of greatt sware
oke trees strongly bounde & Joyned together wth great teno's
of the same so thicke mortressed that yt wylbe very harde
wthoute greatt force & laboure to breake or caste downe any
of the said houses the tymber as well of the said walles as
rooffes be so greatt & cov'ed most p'te wth turves & earthe
that they wyll not easily burne or be sett on fyre

Theyr howses strong

It will not escape notice that this Survey of 1541 states that the
towers at Great Ryle, Prendwick, Filton Moor, and Carry Coats had
only been recently built, while those at Downham, Pawston, and
Hezelrigg, as well as Roger Hangingshaw's 'strong pele house of

stone' at the Hare Cleugh, and 'the stronge stone house or bastell at the Great Heugh,' were not yet quite finished. Roger Horsley at the Linnebrigg had already gathered on a fresh and stronger site the stones of a house destroyed by the Scots, in order to build 'a new bastell house of stone.' The tower of Cornhill is especially mentioned as having been 'new embattled'; the 'imbattlements' of Titlington had never been completed. Instead of building these towers, as the Normans did their keeps, in areas already enclosed by an outer wall, the Borderers of the 16th century, as instanced at Clennell, Cornhill, and Great Ryle, seem to have added their barmekins afterwards.

The terms used to describe the various strongholds are worthy of close attention. Scremerston, Borrowden, Horton, Ilderton, Mykle Swinburne, and Fenton are called 'great towers,' which, judging from the last of these, meant that they were capable of holding garrisons of a hundred men. Bewick, a 'good tower,' could accommodate fifty. At Kirk Newton, Wallington, Gunnerton, Chipchase, Carraw, and Willimoteswyke, stone houses had already been joined to the towers for the purpose of affording better accommodation for the owners and their families. The disadvantages of this in case of a siege had been experienced at Kirk Newton, apparently in 1532, since the Scots 'wan the stone house and sett fyre on yt and had thereby allmost burnt the tower and all.' These strong stone houses with gable ends when they stood alone were called 'bastells,' as we learn from the alternative designation of those at Middleton Hall, and the Great Heugh. Akeld is 'a little fortelett or bastell house.' Earle, Alwinton (vicarage), Harterton Hall, Hawick, Sweethope, the White House on Filton Moor, Carrycoats, and Bellester are 'bastell-houses,' though by some confusion, Hebburn (in Chillingham Park), the most characteristic 'bastell-house' imaginable, and one that still retains that name,¹⁸³ is called a tower. While the stronger stone houses were known as 'bastells,' the smaller came to be termed peles; Hethpool is 'a lytle stone house or pyle.' The fact that Roger Hangingshaw's abode at the Hare Cleugh is mentioned as being 'a stronge pele house *of stone*,' suggests that a pele might have been constructed of wood. There

¹⁸³ The Ordnance Surveyors seem to have been much puzzled by the term 'bastell' still applied to Hebburn, and have marked it on their maps as **The Bastile**, at the same time misspelling Hebburn, *Hepburn*, as though it had been in Scotland.

was a 'strong pele house' at Elyburn, and 'a lytle pele house or bastell' at the Fawnes; but the sparing use made of the term 'pele' is remarkable. The instances of its employment are, however, sufficient to clearly prove that at that time it by no means conveyed the idea of a large tower. As has been already noticed, the word was originally used in the 14th century as the equivalent of a moated stronghold, while the country people in Northumberland still apply it to the remains of old fortified farm houses, never to towers of any consequence.¹⁸⁴

The Book of the State of the Frontiers and Marches betwixt England and Scotland, which Sir Robert Bowes wrote in 1550 at the request of the Marquess of Dorset, then Warden-General, informs us¹⁸⁵ that:—

"There is ij myles or more west from warke a towne that liethe waste in every warre called Myndrom whiche standithe upon the water of bowbent in a very fertile soille, and might be fortified for the suddeine, wthout it were assailed wth a powre or great ordynance, wth no great charge. If there were there made a strong towre wth stables bynethe and lodging^{es} above after the fashion of Roclyf¹⁸⁶ my Lord Dacres house upon the west borders able to conteigne many men and horses, and in circuyte about it a large barmekyn or fortylage for save garde of cattle, whiche might easely in that place have water in a ditche rownde aboute. And that towne so fortified might be a savegarde for men, horse and cattalle of sondry villages in that q^{ter} whiche now for lacke of suche fortresses lye waste in every warre or troublesome tyme.

Also that towne of Myndrom well plenyshed, liethe so in the highe strete, and waye, whereby the Scottes passe and repasse into those merchies of englande, that it wolde not onely be a great reliefe or defence to that frontier, but also (having ij litle piles or watche houses, the one upon Teversheughe betwene it & Warke, and the other uppon Heddon Lawe betwene it & Chevyot¹⁸⁷) there colde no scottesmen passe into Englande nor from englande, but one of those houses might discover them. And so by burnyng of beacons or shoote of a goone to give knowlege of and warnyng frome one to an other. Whereby they might assemble to resiste, repulse, or anoye thenemye, as occasion and theyre powre might serve them. The uttermost frontier thus fortyfyed upon theast m^{ches}

¹⁸⁴ On the word 'Pele,' see Note (C.), p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI., vol. iv., No. 30, fo. 73b. This appears to be the original of which Cotton. MS. Titus F. 13. (printed in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III., ii. p. 171) is a copy. The title, however, is wanting, and it has consequently been tentatively placed in the printed Calendar (p. 421) under the year 1552.

¹⁸⁶ Rockliff, in Cumberland, 5 miles N.E. of Carlisle.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 'Pauston, Pytmyers, Ryehau-ford, Shotton-buramouth, Turnchester-bogg, North side of Myndram-bogg, Teuers-heughe, to be watched with fourteen Men nightly, of the Inhabitours of Langton, Mylnefeld, Edderslaw, Brangestome, Heton, Howtyll, Pawston, and Myndram.'—Nicholson's *Border Laws*, 1705, p. 138.

wolde cause that sondry vyllages wasted by warres and lieng long tyme uninhabited to be repeopled and plenyshed whiche were a great strengthe to those borders.

The moste parte of the fortresses towres and piles upon the utter side or frontier of those east m'ches have bene in tymes past rased and casten downe by the Scottes, and yet be not repared whiche is muche pitty to se, as the castle of Heton belonging to Mr. Gray, the towre of Twisell belonging to the heires of Heron of foorde, The towre of Howtell belonging to one burrell. The towre of Shoreswoode belonging to the College of Durham, The towre of barmo^r belonging to Edward Muschaunce. The towre of Duddo belonging to Robert Clavering. And the most parte of all the other Castles, fortresses, towres, and pyles, wthin the saide este m'ches belonging as well to the kings ma^{ty} as to any other person be suffred to decaye, whiche wolde be amended, otherwise it wilbe great daungier if the Scottes shalbe hereafte able and of powre to invade those m'chies and remayne any tyme in the same without repulse."

* * * * *

"The forte of Beblowe¹⁰⁰ wthin that (Holy) Islande liethe very well for the defence of the haven there. And if there were about the lowe parte thereof made a ringe wth bulwarks to flank the same the ditche thereabout might be easely watered towards the lande. And then, I think, the saide forte were very strong, and stode to great purpose bothe for the defence of the forte and anoyance of the enemies, if they did arrive in any other parte of that llande."

The Survey Book of Norham and Islandshire in 1561¹⁰⁰ has many particulars relating to the defences of those districts, though, except for the notices of the 'bastall house of smale strength' at Felkington, the tower of Fenham, and the 'good pile' of Goswick (which may be supposed to have been built since the time of the Survey of 1541), these do not add much to our knowledge:—

"NEWBIGING. 'In the same towne is one tower in good reparacions, and a good barnkin about the same.'

TWIZELL. 'There hath beene in the said towne one towre, or pile, which is of aunyent tyme decayed and cast downe, and there remayneth one parte or quarter thereof, and a barnkin about it.'

TILMOUTH. 'In the same towne is a little tower or pile much in decay, and a little barnekin about y^e same.'

¹⁰⁰ State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI., vol iv., No. 30, fo. 75.

¹⁰⁰ 'THE SURVEY BOOKE OF NORHAM AND ILANDSHIRE, taken and made in the third yeare of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Def. of our Faith, etc., by Anthony Roone, Esq^r., one of the Queene's Ma^{ty}. Auditors, and Thomas Baytes, Gent., Surveyor of her Ma^{ty}. Lands in the County of Northumberland.'—Raine's *North Durham*, p. 15.

CORNEHYLLIE. 'There is in the same one towre, or pile with a barnekin about the same, and is in indifferent good reparacyons.'

HEATON. 'In the same towne is the scite of a fayre castle decayed, which was destroyed by the Scotts in tyme of Kinge Henry the Seaventh, and neuer syne repaired, so that there remayneth no buildings save y^e vaults of y^e same, and a dwelling house for y^e fermor, and a barnekin.'

DUDDOO. 'In the same is one pile, or tower, which is decayed by reason it was cast downe by the Scotts at Flodden-field,¹⁹⁰ and nyver repayred senths, and there standeth bot the halfe y^r of, about the which is one barnekin.'

GRYNDON. 'There is at Grindon Ridge a towre in good reparacions.'

ANCROFT, FELKYNGTON, AND ALLERDEN. 'In the same towne of Ancroft is one pile, builded to the end of the church, and dyvers good howses beside.' 'In the towne of Felkyngton is noe tower, or pile, but one bastall house of smale strength.'

ROOSE. 'There is in the same Towne no towre nor pile.'

ELLWICK. 'There is in the same towne twoe towres.'

SHORESWOODE.

FENHAM. 'There is in the same towne one towre in good reparacions.'

THORNTON. 'There is in the same one towre which was cast downe at Flodden field by the Scotts,¹⁹¹ and is not yet well repayred, bot y^t one peece yett is in decay, and a barnkin about it.'

GOREWICK. 'There is one good pile there builded vppon the inheritaunce of Thomas Swinhoe, and in good reparacions.'

SKREMERSTON. 'There is in the same towne on good towre, with a barnekin in good reparacions.'

CHESWICK. 'There is a little towre, ruinous and in decay, of the inheritaunce of Thomas Maners.'

LOWLYN. 'Hath neither towre, nor any hovse of defence.'

It appears that, in accordance with the views of the Commissioners of 1541, a strong house was built at Kilham. This has been unfortunately recently destroyed, but it is said to have closely resembled,

¹⁹⁰ Really in 1496, see *ante* pp. 22, 38.

¹⁹¹ This, too, seem a mistake; 'the lytle towre of Thornbie' was 'in good case' in 1541, see *ante* p. 38.

on a smaller scale, the bastle-house at Doddington, one of the most charming remains of Border architecture, only finished, as an inscription on it informs us, in 1584. Nothing seems known of the 'castle' of Hurst, near Woodhorn, before 1562, nor of the tower of Kirk Harle before 1588.¹⁹² The great tower of Coupland is probably of even later date, and may possibly not have been completed till 1619, sixteen years after the personal Union between England and Scotland.

In addition to the number of castles and towers which are recorded in the old Surveys, or still impress the traveller in their ruined state, there are scattered up and down Northumberland traces of fortified dwellings of a humbler order, and possibly more recent origin, some of them sites and nothing more, others perfectly imbedded in modern houses. These it is purposed to enumerate and describe in a separate chapter. A comparative account of the architectural features of the various surviving castles, towers, bastle-houses, and peles is only possible after the buildings themselves, and their history, have been studied in detail.

¹⁹² In 1581, an Act (23. Eliz. cap. iv.) was passed to appoint Commissioners to report on the defences of the Border, see Note (G.) p. 65.

APPENDICES.

(A.)

Note, p. 7.—BRETESCHE.

A *Bretesche*, according to Viollet-le-Duc (*Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, II., p. 244), signified primarily an embattled wooden erection of several stories used for the attack or defence of a fortress. This signification is brought out very distinctly in the account given by Guillaume le Breton in his *Gesta Philippi Augusti* (Duchesne, *Historia Francorum Scriptores*, V., p. 63) of that king erecting, in 1202, seven double *breteschies*, or very strong forts (*Bretaschias duplices per septem loca, castella videlicet munitissima*) round Château Gaillard which he was besieging, each *bretesche* being surrounded by a double quadrangular moat with draw-bridges over it.

One important characteristic of a *bretesche* was the ease with which it could be moved from place to place. William of Normandy (*Roman de Rou*, prt. xi., v. 9448-51) having gained possession of Domfront, ordered the *breteschies* there to be carried to Ambricres, where he fortified a castle:—

'Li *breteschies* en fit porter.

A Aubrieres les fit lever :

Un chastel fit iloez fermer.'

In like manner Henry III., in 1221, directed Daniel, the son of Nicholas the Constable of Newcastle, and Robert de Whitchester, Sheriff of Northumberland, to remove to Bamburgh the large building timber ('grossum maeremium') and the *brutesche* at Nafferton, though he afterwards sent them instructions to convey them to Newcastle instead, and there to erect the *brutesche* in the place of a turret which had fallen down on account of its bad foundation (*Calend. Rot. Claus.*, i., p. 459 b).

The great value of these *brutesches* and the recent importation of the term into England is made manifest by the description Matthew of Paris gives of the famous siege of Bedford Castle in 1224. It was not, he tells us, till the royalist troops had stormed two shelters, called *Brutesches* in French (*duæ testudines, quas Gallice Brutesches appellant*), and had many of them been severely wounded in the process, that they were enabled to pour from all sides into the castle.

The correspondence of Matilda Countess of Nevers in 1245, in a passage where the Bishop of Auxerre accuses a certain esquire of having made in his house a wooden *brutesche* and other things of the nature of fortifications (*Episcopus (Autossiodor.) dicebat dictum armigerum fecisse in domo sua quandam Breteschiam ligneam et quædam alia ad fortensiam pertinentia*).—Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ed. Favre, in voc. 'Breteschia') affords a curious parallel instance to that at Nafferton of the erection of wooden towers of this description without the permission of a feudal superior, being considered a dangerous piece of insubordination.

Nothing can be more bewildering than the changes of meaning acquired in the course of history by technical terms of military architecture. The name *brutesche* was afterwards applied (Viollet-le-Duc) to (1) a permanent wooden story placed on the top of a tower so as to project slightly over it; and to (2) a pent-house, with loops and *meurtrières*, attached—generally over a gate-way—to the side of a tower or wall, and differing from a *hourd* in not forming a continuous gallery around or along it. It is in this last signification that it now seems employed in Archaeology. The word, from which the English 'brattice' is derived, is of uncertain origin.

(B.)

Note, p. 7.—SIR DAVID LYNDESEY'S TOWER IN TYNDALE, 1237.

Among the Royal Letters, not yet calendared, at the Public Record Office, is one, with no date nor signature, relating to the repairs of the castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh which proves on internal evidence to have been written to Henry III., in 1237 by Hugh de Bolebec, then 'custos' of Northumberland. In the concluding paragraph of this letter, Bolebec informs the king that in Tyndale, which the King of Scotland held of him in the county of Northumberland, a certain knight named David de Lyndesey is building a house with remarkably thick walls in the form of a tower. It was reported that this was being done not without the approbation of the King of Scotland himself. Already the tower was built up to the walks of the battlements, and the walks

also were completed. Lyndesey intended to crenellate the tower and to surround it with a moat. If these fortifications were to be finished and a store of arms laid in, the place would become an admirable rallying-point for any who should come from the North with evil designs on England and on Northumberland in particular. Bolebec therefore asks the king to let him fully know his pleasure in the matter.

[Noveritis etiam, domine, quod quidam miles David de Lyndesey unam domum mire spissitudinis in Tyndal quam Rex Scocie tenet de vobis in Comitatu Northumbrie ad modum turris edificat et, ut dicitur, non sine assensu ipsius Regis, que jam ad ambulaciones facta existit, et ipse ambulaciones jam parate existunt, et kernell' et fossato eam munire proponit. Que si perfecta extiterit et armis munita sicut iste miles eam munire proponit ut dicitur, malevolentibus regno vestro et maxime Northumbr' si qui tales ex Aquilone venirent, optimum foret eis refugium et terre vestre magnum nocumentum. Quid ergo voles inde, plenarie mihi si placet significetis.]

A letter written by Bolebec to Henry III. in October, 1245* (*Royal Letters Hen. III.*, No. 858, Rolls Ser. i., p. 187), mentions a David de Lindesey, Justiciary of Lothian (Laundia) at the head of the Scottish Commissioners for determining the line of the Borders near Carham; and on 9th May, 1255, Henry III., at Reading, confirms to David de Lindesey and his heirs the whole of 'Chirden' in Tyndale which Margaret, sister of Alexander, formerly king of Scotland (i.e., Margery, the youngest sister of Alexander II., *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scot.* I. Intr. lii.) had given him.—*Rot. Chart.*, 39 Hen. III., m. 4. There can therefore be little doubt that the tower built by David de Lindesey is Dala (Dallie 1663, Dale 1769) Castle, situated on the north bank of Chirdon Burn. Hodgson in his 'Minutes of a Journey to Mouncees, a seat of Sir John Swinburne, in North Tyndale, Aug., 1814,' wrote:—'Dalley Castle is on the brow of a hill against the Girden (Chirden): the stones of it all led away: the ground on the left side dry and fertile: on the right side rather swamped and wet, but inclosed and in grass.'—*Raine's Memoirs of the Rev. John Hodgson*, I., p. 159. Recent excavations, however, undertaken by Mr. W. L. S. Charlton, show that far from all the stones having been led away, the walls are still left seven feet high in places. An account of these remains, which from description appear to tally very well with the date 1237, will fall better under the heading of 'Dala Castle.'

* The Rev. W. W. Shirley, who edited this volume for the Master of the Rolls, has falsely ascribed this letter to Oct., 1222, and led Mr. Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, 1817, II., pp. 80-81, and the Editor of the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, I., p. 147, into the same error—a good illustration of the folly of printing hap-hazard selections from a series of National Documents. If Mr. Shirley had not even printed, but merely read the very letter that comes immediately before this, viz.: No. 857 (see *App. to Deputy-Keeper's Report*, V., p. 83,) he would have seen that the English and Scottish Commissioners really met on the Friday after St. Luke's Day (18th Oct.), 1245, instead of which he wholly ignores letter No. 857, and refers to *Cal. Rot. Claus.*, i. p. 496 b., where Henry III. orders, 10th May, 1222, the Sheriff of Northumberland (Robert de Whitchester) to take Hugh de Bolebec and other knights, not to meet Scottish Commissioners, but to report on the line of the Border, a very preliminary stage of the proceedings.

(C.)

Note, p. 10.—PELE.

The use and abuse of the word 'Pele' requires almost an essay to itself.

Far from being an isolated tower, built in a sort of traditional imitation of a Norman keep, a pele, in the mediæval acceptation of the term, was rather, as Sir Walter Scott defines it, 'a place of strength, the defences of which are of earth mixed with timber, strengthened with palisades.'—*Waverley Novels*, ed. 1884, vol. 48, Glossary, p. 471.

Apparently *Pill* was the name given in Celtic to the primæval hill-fort (Richard's *Welsh and English Dictionary*), though both this and the English word may possibly be derived from some common root.

Horton-next-the-Sea, licensed to be crenellated in 1292, is called a 'pelum' by John de Trokelawe in his account of Gilbert de Middleton's rebellion in 1317 ('Walterus de Selby in pelo de Horton latuit.'—Trokelawe, *Ann.*, Rolls Ser. p. 101), and by Walsingham (Rolls Ser., I, p. 153) a 'refortiuuncula.' In 1415, it appears as a 'castrum,' though a marginal note would reduce it to the rank of a 'fortalitium.' This 'pelum' at Horton was defended by a *double moat and rampart of earth*.—Hodgson's *Norikd.*, II. ii., p. 265. Connected also with the Rebellion of 1317 were the 'pila' at Bolton and Whittingham.

The term 'pele' was not even then confined, as seems generally supposed, to the North of England. Mention occurs of the royal pele of Clipstone in Nottinghamshire in 14 Ed. II. (Abbrev. Rot. Orig., i. p. 254). This pele stood between Mansfield and Ollerton, *on an eminence* above the village, and continued down to the time of Henry V. to be a sort of royal hunting-lodge for the Forest of Sherwood. The gothic windows of *the hall* survived till 1813.—*Beaut. of Engl. and Wales*, XII, pt. I. p. 385.

In 20 Ed. II., Roger de Mauduit, constable of Prudhoe, was ordered to construct a certain pele without the gates of that castle, at the expense of twenty marks. (Abb. Rot. Orig. i., p. 299.) This appears to relate to the fortification of the area between the outer and the inner moats, in which stood the 'elder chapel' of 'Our Lady at the foot of the mount' (Wallis) and the 'lodgings there situate without the castle.' This pele was entered by 'a large gate-tours' to the west of the barbican (Stockdale).

Robert de Brunne (*Chron.*, p. 157) writing (1327-1338) of Cœur-de-Lion in Palestine, says:—

'Richarde did make a pele

On kestelle-wise allwais wrought of tre full wele,'

thus showing the extent to which wood was employed in early defences. Indeed, as has already been remarked (*ante*, p. 50), the manner in which the Border Surveys of the 16th century specify 'piles of stone' implies that even then the name 'pele' could be applied to defences of wood or earth.

Langland, too, in his *Vision of Piers the Ploughman* (1369) C. Pass. xxii., 364-369 (19.358-63), Early English Text Soc. ed. Skeat III., p. 418, alludes to a

pele with a deep ditch or 'muché mot' round it :—

'He (Kynde Wit) criede, and comaundede alle cristyne people
To delue and *dike a deop dike* al aboute vnite,
That holychurche stod in holynesse as hit were a *pile*.
Conscience comaundede tho' alle crystene to delue,
And make a *muché mot* that myghte be a *strengthe*,
To helpe holychurche and them that hit kepeth.'

In a note on this passage Mr. Skeat says 'Holy Church (or Unity) is here represented as being a castle. Holiness is the moat that protects it, the water being the tears of penitents,' but then proceeds to misinterpret the word 'pile' as if it were 'a heavy pier or abutment such as a bridge rests on.'—*Ibid.*, IV. p. 436.

In relating the exploits of Wallace, Thomas the Rhymer (Bk. IV. v. 213) informs us :—

'On Gargownoo was byggyt a *small peill*
That warnyt was with men and wittaill weill,
Within a dyk, bathe close, chawmer and hall.

The moat enclosing both hall and chamber was, we see here again, the main feature of the pele.

The situations of the best known 14th century peles in Northumberland, that at Staward on a precipitous headland above the Allen, that at Wark-in-Tyndale on a high Mote Hill, fully bear out the view here taken of the mediæval *pilum*.

Edward III. in 1386 (Rymer, iv., p. 686) gives orders: 'Quod custodes omnium castrorum, *Pelorum* et fortalitorum, in dicta terra Scotiæ, et alii in eis ad fidem nostram commorantes, eadem castra, *Pela* et fortalitia libere et absque perturbatione qualibet exire valeant.' In 1400, the grant by Henry IV. of the Isle of Man to the Earl of Northumberland (*Ibid.*, viii., p. 95) specifies 'the island castle, pele (*pelam*) and lordship of Man.' The castle is now Castletown; the remains of the pele (which gave the name of Peel to the town previously known as Holme Town) are situated on a small rocky island, joined by a stone wall to the mainland. The walls are flanked with towers, and the enclosed area is almost filled with the ruins of walls, buildings, and dwelling-houses; in the centre is 'a *pyramidal mound of earth, surrounded by a ditch*.' (Lewis's *Top. Dict. Engl.*, iii., p. 223.) In 1403, the same king bestowed on the earl extensive territories in the south of Scotland, with their 'castles, peles (*pelas*), fortalices, manors, &c.' (Rymer, viii., p. 289.) It will not fail to be noticed that a 'pele' at the close of the 14th century was something more than a 'fortalice' but less than a castle.

The contemporary ballad on Henry the Fifth's Expedition to France, attributed to Lydgate (Nicolas's *Battle of Agincourt*, 1827, cclii.), carries the term 'pyle' across the Channel :—

'Oure Kyng with riall aray
To the se he past,
And landyd in Normandye, at the water of Sayn,
At the *pyle* of Ketecaus.'

Leland was particularly devoted to the word 'pile,' and certainly he did not restrict the use of it to the North of England nor to single towers. He seems to have applied it at random to any smaller castle. Thus he speaks of 'The Castel or preaty Pile of Caveswell' in Staffordshire, and informs his readers that 'By the Chyrch Garth of Thurne' near Doncaster 'is a praty Pile or Castelet wel diked, now usid as a Prison for offenders in the Forestes.'—*Itinerary*, vol. i., fo. 40. There is therefore nothing peculiar, when he comes to Northumberland, in his speaking of 'the little Pile at Howick,' of 'Fenwick Pile' (a stronghold in a low situation, occupying a considerable space, and possessing certainly more than one tower), or of the 'little Pile' at Cornhill.

In his spirited account of the expedition of the Duke of Somerset to Scotland in 1547 (published 'out of the parsonage of St. Mary Hill in London this xxviii of Jan', 1548,' and reprinted by Sir John Graham Dalyell in *Fragments of Scottish History*) William Patten uses the word 'pele' across the Border in precisely the same sense as Leland, thus he speaks of 'Thornton and Anderwike (Innerwick) two pyles or holdes' (Dalyell's *Fragments*, p. 35), and of 'a litel castel or pile' on Fauxsyde Braye' (p. 74) which he had previously designated 'a sory castell' (p. 46).

The most remarkable of all references to *peles* is, however, to be found in the treatise *De Origine Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scottorum*, by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (Rome, 1578, p. 61), where in describing the manners and customs of the Scots on the Border, he says that while the greater part of their houses were cottages and huts so wretched that they did not care whether these were burnt or not, the more powerful among them constructed for themselves *pyramidal towers made of earth only*, which could not be set on fire nor be destroyed except by the labours of a considerable armed force, and that to these earth-towers they gave the name of *pailles* (*Potentiores sibi pyramidales turres, quas pailles vocant ex sola terra, qua nec incendi, nec nisi magna militum vi ac sudore deici possunt, sibi construant.*) In an Appendix to his *Essay on Border Antiquities* Sir Walter Scott translates *pyramidales turres* . . . *ex sola terra*, 'towers of stone,' without any comment; the phrase seems to signify something much more like the 'pyramidal mound of earth' at Peel (see *ante* p. 58); while it will be instructive to recall the account given in the *View of the Borders* in 1541 of the 'very stronge houses' of the Hedesmen of Tyndale, with their walls of great oak trees so strongly bound together and morticed that 'yt wilbe *very harde withoute greate force and laboure* to breake or caste downe any of the saide houses,' while on account of the great size of the timber of the walls and roofs and its being for the most part covered with turf and earth, 'they wyll not easily burne or be sett on fyere.' (See *ante*, p. 49.)

The distinction drawn between a Tower and a Pele is brought out in boldest relief in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 346, A.D. 1535 :—

For bigging of Strenthis on the Bordouris.

It is Statut and ordaint for Saiffing of men thare gudis and gere upoun the bordores in tyme of Ware and all uther

Consulatur Rex.
(*erased.*)

Deleatur.

trubulous tyme That every landit man duelland in the
Inlande or upone the bordouris havand thare ane hundrethe
punde land of new extent sall big ane sufficient barmkyne
apoune his heretage and landis In place maist convenient
of stane and lyme contenand thre score futis of the square
ane Eln thick & vj Elnys heicht for the Resett and defense of
him his tennents & there gudes in trubulous tyme with ane toure
in the samie for him self gif he thinkes it expedient And that
all uther landit men of smallar Rent or Reuenew, big pelis
and gret strenthis as thai plesse for saifing of thare selfis men
tennentes and gudis And that all the saidis strenthis
barmkynis & pelis be biggit & completit wthin twa yeres
under the pane.

Here the Tower may be built by the great man for his own protection; the barmkin which he is to be compelled to build for the protection of his tenants is to be of stone and lime; nothing is said as to the materials out of which the smaller men are to construct their *peles* and great *strengths*.

It probably happened that while the more powerful Borderers lived in towers, the poorer went on inhabiting the old-fashioned *peles* of wood and earth, and when they in their turn migrated to stone buildings of a humble order the name of *pele-tower* or *pele-house*, and finally *pele*, was transferred to these.

The Border View of 1541 mentions *peles* only at Hethpool, the Hare Cleugh, Elyburn, and the Fawns; the Book of the State of the Frontiers in 1550 contrasts the Tower it wishes built at Mindrom with the two *little peles* or *watch-houses* it would like erected on Teversheugh and Heddon Law; but by the time of the Survey Book of Norham and Islandshire, in 1561, the word is used in a much laxer fashion, as the equivalent of a little tower like that at Tilmouth, and is even applied to the singular tower of refuge at the west end of Ancroft Church.

At the present day the word '*pele*' is employed by natives of Northumberland to denote, strictly speaking, a small tower of rough masonry with a high-pitched roof. An excellent type of what is now really meant by a *pele* is afforded by the engraving of a '*Peel on Chirdon Burn*' in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III., ii., p. 267. There is a small woodcut of a very characteristic *pele* at The Raw near Elsdon in Richardson's *Borderers' Table Book*, II., p. 347. Dr. Bruce in his *Wallet-Book of the Roman Wall*, 1863, p. 106, has the following with '*Peels*' in the margin:—'Whilst the Lords of the Marches reared for themselves castles like Langley, the commonalty took refuge in a class of fortified dwellings called Peel Houses. These consisted of strong buildings, having one apartment on the ground floor and another above it. The upper room was approached by a flight of (external) steps. At night the cattle belonging to the farmer were secured in the apartment below, whilst he and his family barricaded themselves in the

room above. This upper room was floored with stone flags, resting upon heavy oak-beams, which would long resist the action of fire. The grey slates of the roof were pinned down with sheep's shanks. Arrow loops were placed in various parts of the building, so as to expose an enemy to the utmost disadvantage. Of course technical precision in the use of a word is not to be expected from country-people, and old buildings are often called peles that would perhaps be more accurately described as bastles (see Note (F.) p. 65).

In the Rothbury district, for instance, the term 'pele,' Mr. D. D. Dixon, who is thoroughly acquainted with the local phraseology, obligingly writes, is only applied by natives to the small tower at Thropton (possibly the 'Turris' of 1415, probably the 'lytle toure' of 1541) and the ancient fortified dwellings at Woodhouses and the Craig. Occasionally the towers at Hepple and Tosson are called peles, but generally by natives towers; while Crawley, Whittingham, Whitton, and Elsdon are always towers.

Mr. Hartshorne seems to have originated the unfortunate practice of persistently styling every tower on the Border a pele, as though some sovereign balm lay secreted in the term. With no authority, either historical or popular, he recklessly applied it to Chipchase, Cockley (? Cocklaw or Cockle Park), Bywell Morpeth, etc.—*Proc. Arch. Instit.*, Newcastle, 1852, ii., pp. 78-79. Already in serious Archæological publications not only single towers like Belsay and Coupland, but even castles of such dimensions as Mitford and Edlingham, are called peles, because it is supposed to sound pretty and to show a wonderful knowledge of Border History. It is impossible to say where the evil will stop unless it can be checked by a vigorous protest.

The only proper course is, it is maintained, to apply the word 'pele' in its mediæval sense of a moated stronghold to such places only as are called *pila* in ancient documents, and in its modern provincial sense of a small gabled tower or strong house to such buildings only as received the name from genuine inhabitants of the locality before the advent of southern archæologists.

(D.)

Note p. 20.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS ON THE BORDER, 1436.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, secretary of Cardinal Albergata, who had been sent as Legate to France, in 1435, to mediate between Charles VII. and our Henry VI., was despatched from Arras on a special mission to Scotland. Having with difficulty reached London, he found it impossible to proceed North on account of the suspicions of the English, and was obliged to cross to Flanders, whence (before 21st Sept., 1435) a most stormy voyage of twelve days' duration landed him on the coast of Lothian. Having accomplished his mission, he determined that nothing should induce him to return by sea; and (after 22nd Dec., 1435) "disguised as a merchant travelled through Scotland to the English Border. He crossed in a boat a river which, expanding from a high mountain, separates the two countries, entered a large town about sunset, and found

lodging in a cottage where he supped with the priest and his host. Plenty of food, both fowls and geese, was set before him, but neither wine nor bread. All the men and women of the town crowded to see him as a novelty, and stared at him as Italians would have done at a negro or Indian, asking the priest whence he came, what was his business, and whether he was a Christian. Æneas, however, being thoroughly acquainted with short commons on his route, had procured some loaves and a measure of red wine at a certain monastery. Their display heightened the wonder of the barbarians, who had never seen wine nor white bread. Women with child sidled up to the table, and their husbands handling the bread and smelling the wine began asking for some. Æneas was obliged to give them the whole. The supper lasted till the second hour of the night, when the priest and his host with all the men and children took hasty leave of Æneas, and said that they must take refuge in a certain tower a long way off for fear of the Scots, who on the ebb of tide were wont to come across at night for plunder; nor would they on any account take Æneas with them, in spite of his many entreaties, nor any of the women, though many of them were young girls and handsome matrons. They did not think the Scots would do them any harm, so small was the account these Borderers made of chastity. Æneas remained with his two servants and his guide in the midst of a hundred women who, sitting in a ring round the fire carding their hemp, spent a sleepless night in conversation with the interpreter. After great part of the night was passed, there was a violent barking of dogs and cackling of geese. The women ran away, the guide with them, and there was a great confusion, as if the enemy were there. Æneas thought it more prudent to await the course of events in his bed-chamber, which was a stable, lest, being ignorant of the way, he should become the prey of the first person he ran against. Presently the women and the guide returned to say that there was nothing wrong, friends not enemies having arrived. At day-break Æneas set out again, and arrived at Newcastle, which was said to be a work of Cæsar. There he seemed for the first time to again catch sight of something like the world and the habitable face of the earth: for Scotland and the part of England that borders on it had nothing in common with Italy, being rugged, uncultivated, and in winter sunless. From Newcastle he proceeded to Durham, where the tomb of the Venerable Bede, a priest and holy man, was to be seen, an object of great devotion to the people of the country."—Translation adapted from Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, bk. XIII. chap. xvi. (4th ed., 1872, vol. viii. pp. 419–420), and Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Bannatyne Club, Edin. 1866, pref. xci. *et seq.*

An extremely imaginative version of the story will be found in Professor Creighton's Opening Address to the Historical Section at the Newcastle Meeting of the Archæological Institute (1884), *Archæological Journal*, vol. XLII, p. 55, printed also in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October, 1884.

[Æneas , dissimulato habitu sub specie mercatoris per Scotiam transivit in Angliam. Fluvius est, qui ex alto monte diffusus utramque terram disternit: hunc cum navigio transmeasset, atque in villam magnam circa solis

occasum declinasset, in domum rusticanam descendit, atque ibi coenam cum sacerdote loci, et hospite fecit: multa ibi pulmentaria, et gallinae, et anseres afferebantur in esum, sed neque vini, neque panis quicquam aderat, et omnes tum feminae utrique (*emend.* 'virique' ed. Francof. 1614.) villae, quasi ad rem novam accurrerant: atque ut nostri vel Aethiopes, vel Indos mirari solent, sic Aeneam stupentes intuebantur, quærentes ex sacerdote cuius esset, quidnam facturus venisset, Christianam ne fidem saperet. Edoctus autem Aeneas itineris defectum, apud monasterium quoddam panes aliquot, et vini rubei metretam receperat, quibus expositis major admiratio barbaros tenuit, qui neque vinum, neque panem album viderant. Appropinquabant autem mensæ prægnantes feminae, earumque viri attractantes panem, et vinum odorantes portionem petebant, inter quos totum erogare necessum fuit. Cumque in secundam noctis horam coena protraheretur, sacerdos et hospes cum liberis virisque omnibus Aenea dimisso abire festinantes, dixerunt se ad turrim quandam longo spatio remotam metu Scotorum fugere, qui fluvio maris refluxu descescente noctu transire, prædarique soleant, neque secum Aeneam multis orantem precibus quoquo pacto adducere voluerunt, neque feminarum quampiam, quamvis adolescentulae, et matronæ formosæ complures essent: nihil enim his mali facturos hostes credunt, qui stuprum inter mala non ducunt. Mansit ergo illic solus Aeneas cum duobus famulis, et uno itineris duce inter centum feminas, quæ corona facta medium claudentes ignem, cannabumque mundantes, noctem insomnem ducebant, plurimæque cum interprete fabulabantur. Postquam autem multum noctis transierat, latrantibus canibus; et anseribus strepantibus ingens clamor factus est: tumque omnes feminae in diversum prolapsæ, dux quoque itineris diffugit, et quasi hostes adessent, omnia tumultu completa. At Aeneas potior sententia visa est in cubiculo, id enim stabulum fuit, rei eventum expectare, ne si foras curreret ignarus itineris, cui primum obviasset, ei se prædam daret: nec mora, reversæ mulieres cum interprete nihil mali esse nuntiant, atque amicos non hostes venisse. Qui ubi dies illuxit, itineri se commisit, atque ad Novum castellum pervenit, quod Cæsaris opus dicunt: ibi primum figuram orbis et habitabilem terræ faciem visus est revisere: nam terra Scotia, et Angliæ pars vicinali Scotis, nihil simile nostræ habitationis habet, horrida, inculta, atque hiemali sole inaccessa. Exinde de (ad) Dunelmiam venit, ubi sepulchrum venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri sancti viri hodie visitur, quod accolæ regionis devota religione colunt.—*Commentarii Pii Papæ II. Rome, 1584, lib. i. fo. 6-8.*]

It has been very generally concluded that the Border river which Æneas Sylvius crossed was the Tweed. However, as Mr. Robertson, in the most admirable preface to his *Statuta Ecclesiarum Scotiarum* (xcvi. n.º) remarks, 'Æneas does not name the stream, but from what he says afterwards about the Scots crossing when the tide was out, it seems to have been the Solway. The strange night scene which he describes is more likely to have been witnessed on the West March than on the East, which was comparatively quiet and civilized.'

The necessity of avoiding the attention of the English authorities which Æneas was under, prevented him from taking the direct road over Berwick bridge,

and the detour by which he smuggled himself into England was of no consequence compared with the chance of being again tossed about for a fortnight on the North Sea. The high mountain from which the river he crossed seemed to spread out (*ſuavius . . . ex alto monte diffusus*, see also Aen. Sylv. *De Vir. Clar.* XXXII.) was no doubt the Criffel; there is no mountain that occupies such a position in regard to the Tweed. The account of the Scots making a foray at low water is wholly inapplicable to a river, on which there were no less than seven or eight ordinary fords between Berwick and Norham; while there was no large town with a priest between those two castles, and if there had been, its male population would have taken refuge in one of them and not in a distant tower. On the other hand Camden tells us that on the Solway as far west as Bowness 'every ebbe the water is so low, that the Borderers and beast-stealers may easily wade over.' There seems every probability that the future Pope passed this eventful night at Bowness itself.

The descriptions left by early antiquaries of the wild state of the country along the Roman Wall, and the mention in Roger North's account of Lord Guilford's journey from Newcastle to Carlisle as Judge of Assize, in 1676, of 'the hideous road along by the Tyne, for the many sharp turnings, and perpetual precipices, for a coach, not sustained, by main force, impassable,' make it not at all surprising that Æneas Sylvius should be delighted to reach Newcastle after passing through such a country in winter. He was no doubt told that the keep of Newcastle was the work of Julius Cæsar, who was (it seems difficult now to believe) supposed to have built the White Tower at London, and the Keep of Kenilworth. The intellectual vigour of Æneas Sylvius in an age of ignorance appears conspicuous in his visit to Durham, where he mentions Bede with the greatest respect but is wholly silent as to St. Cuthbert.

(E.)

Note, p. 30.—BARMKIN.

Murray's *New English Dictionary* has 'BARMKIN, *north. arch.* Forms: barmekin, barmekynch, barmekyn, barmekine,' with, as instances of its early use, A.D. 1840 *Alexander* (Stev.) 1801: 'Balaam in the barmeken sa bitterly fightin.' A.D. 1440 *Sir Degrev.* 375 'At the barnekynch he abad, And lordelych doune lyght.' It has been seen that in the Scottish Statute of 1535 (*ante* p. 60) every owner of land on the Border worth a hundred pounds a year was to build a *barmkin* of stone and lime containing sixty square feet, an ell (a Scottish Ell = 34½ English inches) thick, and six ells high, and if he thought it expedient he might erect a tower for himself within this statutory *barmkin*. This shows that a *barmkin* might be a perfectly independent fortification by itself without any tower, and seems fatal to the suggestion of its being derived from *barbican*, a word with a relative meaning, since barbicans were always the *antemuralia* or outworks of a fortress and could not stand alone. The words 'Castells Towers Barmekyns and other Fortresses' in the Border View of 1541 (*ante* p. 41) show that *barmkin*

could be used in the same sense in Northumberland. This View tells us that the outermost of the three wards of Wark Castle served for a *barmkin* (*ante* p. 30) and recommended that *barmkins* for the 'savegarde' of cattle should be erected round every tower (*ante* p. 36). In the same way Sir Robert Bowes in 1550 was of the opinion that a strong tower with stables beneath and lodgings above should be built at Mindrum, and 'in circuite about it a large barmekyn or fortylage for savegarde of cattle' (*ante* p. 51). It seems impossible to explain satisfactorily the origin of the word.

(F.)

Note, p. 33.—BASTLE.

Till the end of the 13th century, according to Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française* II. p. 166, the word *bastide* was principally used to designate a temporary work for the protection of an encampment; after that period *bastide* or *bastille* came to mean a detached work of defence forming part of a general scheme of fortification, and by extension an isolated house built beyond the walls of a town. The several *bastilles* of Paris were originally independent towers in front of the walls, of these that of St. Antoine became celebrated as the Bastille *par excellence*. The older form of the word was applied to country-houses in the south of France, e.g. *London Gaz.* No. 6073/2 in 1721 'The *Bastides* and Farm-Houses in that Neighbourhood'.—Murray's *New English Dictionary*.

In England the word seems to have been first employed in the beginning of the 15th century. e.g. 'Square bastiles and bulwarkes to make'.—Lydgate (1430) *Bochas*. II. xvii. Among the 'Townes Brent by my lorde of Glocester in Scotland' in 20 Ed. IV. we meet with the entries 'Mordington & y^e Bastile wonn', 'Brownhyll & y^e Bastile wonn', 'Dunslawe & y^e Bastile wonn', 'Mikell Swinton & the Bastell won', and 'Litell Swinton & the Bastell won', while 'my lorde of Northomberlande' descending on Yetholm, won the Bastiles of Primside and Longhouses.—*MS.* at Alnwick Castle. The *Statistical Account of Scotland* mentions Kello-bastel in Edrom parish, Foulden-bastel, etc. In Northumberland the very interesting ruin at Hebburn in Chillingham Park is, as has been said, still called the 'bastle'. Even a building of the size of Bellister is called a 'bastell-house' in the View of 1541. The great tower at Burrowden in Coquetdale was termed a 'bassel-house' by old people who remembered it (*ex inform.* D. D. Dixon), and the same appellation was given to the *Old Walls* at Newton Underwood, near Mitford, in Hodgson's time (*Northd.* II. ii. p. 72).

(G.)

Note, p. 54.—ACT OF PARLIAMENT, 23 ELIZ. CAP. IV.

In consequence, probably, of the arrest of Morton, and the ascendancy of Lennox and Arran in the affairs of Scotland, the English lords framed in the beginning of 1581, 'An Acte for fortifieng of the Borders towardes Scotland.

This they sent down to the Commons, who, however, instead of amending, ignored it altogether, and returned an entirely new project of their own to the Upper House. In spite of the officially recorded resentment of the Lords at this treatment of their Bill, they ultimately passed that of the Commons, in a somewhat altered form, on the 15th of March.—*Ridpath's Border History* 1810, p. 657; *Parl. Hist.* p. 235; *D'Ewe's Journal*, p. 305, 273.

This Statute, 23 Eliz. cap. iv., enacted that the Queen should appoint, under the Great Seal, Commissioners to inquire in the Border counties what 'Tenancies and Houses of Habitation were decayed, and not occupied by Men able to serve as Horsemen or Footmen, according to the ancient Duty of those Tenancies, and to examine the probable Causes of those Ruins, and of all the Wants and evil Furnitures of the said Horsemen and Footmen, and to give Order for the Reformation thereof with all Speed, for the Defence of the Frontiers toward Scotland.'—*Statutes at Large*, Vol. II., p. 615. But perhaps the most important clause it contained was that which revived 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, cap. 1, a measure the legal duration of which had been limited to a period of ten years by the Parliament which had met at Westminster on 21st October, 1555, and promulgated it in the following terms:—

An Acte for the Reedyfieng of Castelles and Fortes, and for thenclosing of Grownides from the Borders towardes and against Scotlande.

For the better habytacion restoryng and reedyfyeng of the Castelles Fortresses and Fortellettes Villages and Houses that bee decayed withyn the Counties of Northumberlande Cumberlande Westmerlande and the Bishoprike of Durham, And for the better manuryng and employeng the Groundes withyn the same, and for the more encrease of Tillage: Bee it enacted by the Kyng and Quenes Ma^{ties} the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall and the Commons in this presente Parliament assembled and by the authoritee of the same, That from and after the first daye of December nexte ensuyng, Commission under the greate Seale of Englande shalbee directed from tyme to tyme as nede shall requyre, to such persons as shalbee therunto named and appoynted by the King and Quenes Ma^{ties} and Theires and Successoures of the Quene, by theyr Bill or Billes signed wth theyr Signe Manuell to bee directed to the Chauncellor of Englande for the time beyng, w^{ch} Commissiones shalbee according to the manner fourme tenour and effecte hereafter ensuing: Philip and Mary &c. Knowe ye that Wee have assigned you or any number of you, being syxe at the least, of whom A. B. and C. shall bee three to be our Commissioners to surveye our Counties of Northumberlande, Cumberlande, Westmerlande, and the Bishoprick of Durham and by suche waies and meanes as you best can, tenquire what and howe many Castles Fortresses and Fortellettes Villages Houses and Habitacions have beene decayed within the same, and by whom and by what Occasions, and howe many of them are meete to bee reedified; And also howe many Castles Fortresses and Fortellettes Villages Houses and Habitacions were meete to bee made of newe within the said Counties and Bishoprike, and

in what places the same were most meete to be scytuate; and what partes of the said Counties and Bishoprike bee most apte for to bee enclosed and converted to tyllage or other necessarye manurance meete and convenient for those Countries and the People of the same; and also to enquire what persons bee Owners Lordes Proprietaries Fermors and Possessors of the same or clayme any Interest in the same, and what estate or estates tearmes of interestes they or any of them have of and in the same: And thereupon to take such Order for the reedifieng of such the Castles Fortresses and Fortelettes Villages Houses and Habitacions heretofore decayed, and for the newe erectyng and makyng of others and the scytuations of the same, and for thenclosyng and converting to tyllage or other necessarye manurance suche partes and porcions of the saide Counties and Bishopricke as to you or syxe of you, whereof A, B, and C shalbee three shalbee thought most meete and convenyent: Provided Alwayes, That by Colour or Vertue of this Commission you doo not reedifie newe make or inclose or cause to be reedified newe made and enclosed as abovesaid in any place or places in any of the said Counties or Bishoppricke being in distance and lyeng above twentye Miles from the knowne partes of the borders of Scotlande &c.'—*Statutes of the Realm* IV. part 1, p. 266.

Further powers were conferred on the Commissioners for levying taxes and impressing workmen, cattle, and materials if the fortification of the Borders should require it.

Little seems to have been done to carry out this Act, on its revival in March, 1581, till 11th August, 1588, when the Council wrote from the Court at Oatlands to the Commissioners on the Borders to the effect that 'Her Majesty having sent you her commission to inquire of the decays of the castles, fortresses, &c., upon the Borders, according to the Statute made 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, revived in the last session—wishes that before any reparations are made, you should send a certificate of your surveys, and receive directions for your further proceeding. You are first to survey and inquire by jury of the ruin and decays of the old castles in cos. Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric of Durham, where you, the Lord Bishop, especially, if cause require, shall give out a commission, under the seal of your county palatine, to the commissioners mentioned in Her Majesty's commission, agreeable with the latter. You shall be informed how and by whom they have been decayed, and how many of them are necessary for defence of the Borders, and estimate the charges, and certify by whom they are borne.'—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda* 1580-1625, p. 92.

At that time 'the distribucion of the Comissioners for the Execution of the comission for the Borders' appears to have been:—

'S^r Johne Forster, S^r Fra: Russell, S^r Henry Wytherington, S^r John Selbye, De La Vall, Robert Bowes, Raphe Rokesbye, Henry Chceke, W. Bowes, D. Lawer, W. Reade, D. Gibson, Mar: Birket. Christofer Waidaforth.—*Esto Marches*.
E. of Cumberlande, S^r Johne Forster, S^r Fra: Russell, S^r Henry Wythering-

ton, De La Vall, Robert Bowes. Raphe Rokebye, Henrie Cheeke, W. Bowes, Christofer Waidafworth, Martin Byrket, Walter Reade.—*Midle Marches*.

E. of Cumberlande, L. Scroope, S^r Fra: Russell, S^r He: Wythrington, S^r Johne Selbye, De La Vall, Robert Bowes, H. Cheeke, Marten Byrcket, W. Reade, W. Bowes, Raphe Rokebye.—*West Marches*.

S^r Thomas Graie, S^r Cuthberte Collingwood, S^r Symon Musgrave, Johne Davison.—*To suplie the Nombers of the Comissioners in renewinge of the Comission.*—*Dom. State Pap. Eliz. Addenda*, vol. xxviii. 25, iii.

The instructions of the Council to the Commissioners on the Borders were probably taken north by Elizabeth's secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, who was then starting on an embassy to the court of James VI. On Aug. 12, 1583, the day after these instructions were issued, Sir Valentine Browne, who as Treasurer of Berwick had made himself well acquainted with Border matters, wrote to Walsingham from 'Hoggesden':—

'I wish your journey prosperous, and so write that you may understand the matters, and make a better report upon your return. Therefore,—not dealing with the behaviour of the people who will resort to you after you have passed the Tyne, or before, nor their long speeches, tending to the praise of themselves and their great services to the realm, I mean of those parts on this side Scotland,—I crave, for the good of Her Majesty and our country, that in your passage or returning, you will visit Newcastle and Her Majesty's house there, with the river and the fort standing upon the mouth of the haven, which was called Tynemouth Abbey, and so along the sea coast; where, besides the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth, belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, and other houses of gentlemen kept in good repair, you' will see the great and ruinous castles of Dunstanborough and Bamborough, with the towns adjoining, that were of great receipts for Her Majesty's forces in my time, but now laid waste for sheep and husbandry, and the people clean driven away that should have been succours to such as might have been placed there. I do not mention the towns and villages by the west from the sea, likewise laid waste for profit of cattle, where the armies have had victuals and lodging, but which is now as dear there as any from foreign parts.

'These parts are little out of your highway to Berwick, where of courtesy they will show themselves to the uttermost, and in better order than, when time may be required, they be able, and yet the consideration of the place itself, and that which shall be in the best part brought to you, must induce you to a good understanding thereof.

'West of Berwick, four miles, is Norham Castle, with a proper town, which was until lately in the Bishop of Durham's hands, and was kept by a captain and crew, with a good family of strength, and the town well peopled, and always able to serve the Queen and Warden with 40 good horsemen, and as many more footmen; but all now left to husbandry of hinds, for the most part Scottish lowns. In like estate is Etal castle, with the manor and town, five miles

from Norham, both which were houses and towns well peopled, and able to receive the Lord Warden and 1,000 persons, but now not able to lodge and victual 200 men. As these are, so are many other towns and villages on the Borders, far out of your way, being all in the keeping of those countrymen that would have cried out of the decay of the Borders, if themselves had not had the government of the same, in which number, if the Governor of Berwick had not well weighed the sequel of the rule of those countrymen, Berwick itself might have been accounted. Nevertheless, those countrymen be both wise, able and stout men, so long as they be governed by others that are not allied to their affections.—*Cal. of State Papers, Dom., Add.* 1580-1825, p. 92.

Whatever Walsingham may have seen or done, it was not till the autumn of the following year that the Commissioners on the Borders drew up a report. By that time Christopher Dacre, of Lanercost, had been added to their number, a man, it would appear, of considerable ability and great energy. On 8th Sept., 1584, Henry Lord Hunsdon and nine other Commissioners ('Jho. Selbye, Ro: de la Vale, Frauncis Russell, Thomas Gray, Ra: Gray, John Forster, Henry Woddrington, Chr. Dacre, William Reed') inform the Council from Alnwick:— 'According to Her Majesty's commission and your instructions, we have viewed the decayed castles, towers, and fortresses meet to be repaired, and such other new fortresses and enclosures as are meet to be newly made and enclosed in the county [of Northumberland and the] bishopric of Durham, within 20 miles of the borders of Scotland, for the better strength and fortifying of these East and Middle Marches, and with advice of skilful artificers, we have drawn up the book enclosed.'—*Ibid.* p. 127.*

The book forwarded by the Commissioners is preserved at the Record Office (*St. Pap. Dom. Add. Eliz.* vol. xxviii. 95, iv.):—

'A certificate unto the right honorabill Lords of the Quene her majestyes most honorable counsell from the commissioners whose names are here unto subscribed, as well of all the decayed castles and fortresses by them thought mete to be repaired upon the east and middle marches of England foranempste Scotland, and of certaine newe fortresses there to be devised and maid for the better strengthe of the said borders, as also of suche landes and groundes as by them the sayd commissioners are thought fitt to be enclosed upon the sayd borders accordinge to her highnes commission and speciall direction from the sayd right honorable Lordes of her majestye said counsell to them directed as followethe

* In the Calendar of State Papers this letter of the Commissioners, dated 8th Sept., is made to enclose not only their Certificate, but also four Abstracts of Presentments as to decays of forts, castles, tenements and forces. That for the East Marches is, however, dated 'Sept. 24. 26°. Eliz.'

First as towchinge the
castles and fortresses
decaied upon the said
east and middle march-
es

Dunstonebourghe Castle belonginge to her majestye standinge upon the sea cooste aboute xvij myle southe and by east from Barwike and xvij myle from the border of Scotland decaied for want of repairinge by long contynnuance.

Dunstonbourghe Castell

This castle or fortresse we the said commissioners doe thinck not so needfull to be repaired nor so necessarye as other for defence of the country or annoance againstes the enemyes of the opposit border of Scotland because the same is so farr distant from the sayd border of Scotland and yet a howse of verye great force and strength if it be thought gude by her majestye for any other respect towchinge the sea coastes or otherwise to be repaired, the chardges of which reparacion as it hath bene before we esteeme to a thousande pounce, or if her majestye thinke good to make of the same a sufficient fortresse for receite of a guarrison of one hundreth horsemen or footmen and no more then we esteeme the chardges of the same to foure hundreth poundea.

1000^{li} as it hathe bene before,
or 400^{li} for a guarrison of C. men.

Bambourghe Castell

Bambourghe Castle belonginge to her majestye standinge upon the same sea cooste about xij myle southe and by east from Barwike and xij myles from the nearest parte of the border of Scotland decaied for wante of repairinge by longe contynnuance as aforesayd.

This castle or fortresse we in oure opinyons doe thinck of in everye respect as to the castle of Dunstonebourghe we have before declared savinge that we esteeme the charges of the repairinge of the same as it hathe bene before to eight hundreth poundea, or to foure hundreth poundea to make a sufficyent place of strengthe and receipt for a guarrison of one hundreth horsemen or footmen if to her majestye it seeme so needfull and convenient.

800^{li} as it hathe bene before,
or 400^{li} for a guarrison of C. men.

Shorswoode Towre

Shorswoode Towre belonginge to the decane and chapter of Duresme standinge neere Tweede about two myles west and by south from Barwick within a myle and a half of the border of Scotland decaied by warres and partlye by meanes as aforesayd but by whome to be repaired we cannot learne otherwise then either by her majestye in respect to have the use of the same in tymes of service, or by the Lords and owners.

This towne or fortresse we doe thincke a verye fitte and convenient place as well to defend the countrie as annoye the enemye upon the opposite border if it were repared the charges of which reparacions we esteeme to two hundreth and fortye poundes.

240^{li}

Norham Castell

Norham Castle belonginge to the bishoppe of Duresme standinge upon the same river of Tweed about two myles west and by south from Shorswoode aforesaid and hard adjoininge to the border of Scotland decayed by want of reparacion of long contynuanace but whether to be repaired by her majesty or the said bishoppe of Duresme we cannot certainly understand because it seemeth to be a matter in question and therefore doe referr the same to youre honorabill consideracyons.

This castle or fortresse we doe thincke to be one of the most fit places to be repared for the causes and consideracions aforesaid the charges of which reparacion with the five decayed turrets upon the wall of the utter ward as the same hath bene before we esteeme to a thousand two hundreth pounde and without the same five turrets which we thinck not gretly needfull to eight hundreth pound which we referr to her majestie and your honorabill considerations.

1200^{li} with the five turrets,
or 800^{li} without the turrets.

Heton Castell.

Heton Castle belonginge to Sir Thomas Gray standinge about a myle from the said water of Tweed and the border of Scotland and about two myles west and by south of Norham, decayed by warrs and by means aforesaid, but by whome to be repared we cannot learne, otherwise then either by ber majesty in respect to have the use of the same in service or by the lord and owner of the same.

This castle or fortresse we doe thinck a verye fit and convenient place to defend the countrie and annoye the enemye as aforesaid if it were repaired the charges of which reparacion we esteeme as it hath bene before to fyve hundreth thre score pound or to thre hundreth pounde to make it sufficient for a guarrison of l. horsemen.

560^{li} as it was before,
or 300^{li} for l. horsmen.

Cornell Towre.

Cornell Towre belonginge to Thomas Swynney gentleman, standing nere to Tweed upon the border of Scotland about a myle west and by south of Heton aforesaid decayed by warres of late tyme, by whom to be repared we cannot learne otherwise then as aforesaid.

This towre or fortresse we also do thinck a verye fit and convenient place for the consideracions as aforesaid if it were repared the charges of which reparacions as before it hath bene we esteeme to a hundreth pound.

100^{li}

Warke Castell

Warke Castle belonging to Sir Thomas Gray standinge upon the said river of Tweede about a myle west and by northe from Cornell aforesaid hard adjoininge to the border of Scotland, decayed by want of reparacion of a longe contynuaunce but by whome to be repared we referr to youre honorabill consideracions because it seemeth by good testimony that her majestie and her noble progenitors have used to repaire the same.

This castle or fortresse we doe thincke to be one of the cheife and principall places to defende the country and annoyne the enemye if it were repared, the chardge of which reparacions we esteeme as it hath bene before to eight hundreth ponde, but we thinck that foure hundreth pound wold there repaire a sufficient rowme for a guarrison of a hundreth horsmen to defend the countrye and annoyne the enemye as aforesaid, which we referre to youre honorabill consideracions.

800^{li} as it was before,
or 400^{li} for a c. horsmen.

Howtell Towre.

Howetell Towre belonginge to John Burrell gentleman standinge about two myle southe and by east from the castle of Warke within thre myle of the border of Scotland decayed by warres as we are crediblye enformed but by whome to be repared otherwise then as before in the like case is declared, we knowe not.

This towre or fortresse beyng a verye small thinge we thinck a verye convenient place for such a number as the same will serve to defende the countrye and annoyne the enemye if it were repared the chardges of which reparacion we esteeme to fiftye ponde.

50^{li}

Lancton Towre.

Lancton Towre belonginge to John Collingwoode gentleman standing aboute a myle southe and by east frome the said towre of Howetell within foure myles of the border of Scotlande decaied partlye by warres and by want of reparacion of a longe contynnance but by whome to be repaired otherwise then is to the last before declared we knowe not.

This towre or fortresse we thincke also verye fitt and convenient for the consideracons aforesaid if it were repaired, the charges of which reparacion we esteeme to a hundreth pound.

100^{li}

Etell Castell.

Etell Castle belonginge to her majesty standinge about thre myles east and by southe frome the sayd towre of Lancton within sixe myles of the border of Scotland decaied for want of reparacion by longe contynnance.

This castle or fortresse we thinck to be one of the chiefe places and at least chardges to be repaired the chardges of whiche reparacyon we esteeme to two hundreth ponde.

200^{li}

Foord Castell.

Foorde Castle belonginge to William Carr esquier standinge about a myle southe and by east of the sayd castle of Etell decaied by want of reparacion of a longe contynnance and by whome to be repaired we knowe not otherwise then in other lyke cases is before declared.

This castle or fortresse we thincke also verye fitt for the consideracions aforesayd yf it were repaired, the charge of which reparacions we esteeme to three hundreth ponde.

300^{li}

Wooler Towre

Wooler Towre belonginge to Sir Thomas Graye standinge upon the verye penished ringe of the border about thre myle south south west frome the said castle of Foord, decaied either by warres or for want of reparacions by longe contynnance and by whome to be repaired otherwise then in lyke cases is before declared we knowe not.

This towre or fortresse we thincke also to be a verye fit and convenient place for the consideracions aforesayd for a small number if it were repaired, the chardges of whiche reparacion we esteeme to thre score ponde.

60^{li}

Bewicke Towre.

Bewyke towre belonginge to her majesty standinge about thre myles east and by southe of the sayd towre of Wooler within seven myle of the border of Scotland decayed by meanes as last aforesayd.

This towre or fortresse we thincke also verry fit and convenient for the consideracions aforesaid to be repaired with an augmentacion of a stone wall or barmekin of thirtye yarde square, and also stablinge for fiftye horse, the chardges of which reparacyons we esteeme to twentye pound and the said augmentacion to two hundreth pounde.

20^{li} as it was before,
and 200^{li} for ane augmentacion.

Lowyke Towre.

Lowyke Towre belonginge to Sir Cuthbert Collingwoode, Sir John Selbye, Thomas Swynborne and Cuthbert Collingwoode standinge about sixe myles southe frome Barwicke, within sixe mile of the border of Scotland by what meanes decayed or by whome to be repaired we knowe not otherwise then in lyke cases is before declared.

This towre or fortresse lyenge somthing more inward in the cuntrye we thinck fit for sundrye consideracones to be repaired as well as those upon the ring of the border, the charges of which reparacion we esteeme to fiftye pounde.

50^{li}

Harbottle Castell.

Harbottle Castle belonginge to her majesty standinge about eight myle south southwest from the towre of Woller aforesaid and within vj myles of Scotlande, decayed for want of reparacions by longe contynuanee.

This castle or fortresse we thincke to be one of the most fit for the consideracions aforesaid and for rewling the brockill and disobedient subjectes there to be fullye repaired the charges of which reparacion we esteeme to two hundreth fortye pound.

240^{li}

Newe fortresses to be devised upon the east and middle marches.

As towchinge the makinge of newe fortresses for the better strength of the said borders accordinge to oure said commission and direction. We in oure opinyons doe thinck that for so moch as her majesty hath not any castle or fortresse of her owne betwene the river of Tweede and her majestys said castle of Harbottle which is about xx^{li} myles, neither betwene the said castle of Harbottle and the west borders which is about xx^{li} myles (but not so needfull) endlonge all

the plenished ringe of the east and middle marches, and her majesty therby when need of service dothe happen, enforced to use the howses and places belonginge to her subjectes, beyng for the most part of very small rowmes and receites, and her majestyes said subjectes theire famelies and gudes beyng by that meanes many times so pestered as is to theire great trouble and hinderance. It were therefore a thinge as we thinck very convenient if it might so please her majesty, *that thre newe towres and fortifications were maid by her majestie betwene the said river of Tweed and her majestyes said castle of Harbottle*, endlonge the plenished ringe of the border, and *another betwene the said castle of Harbottle and the west border in most convenient places, everye tower and fortification to serve for a guarrison of C horsemen* when need of service shall so require, and in tymes of no service to be kept at such small and convenient charges as shall seeme best to her majesty. and youre honorabill wisdomes, which newe towres and fortifications shall not onely in tyme of warre be a great helpe for defence of the whole cuntrye about, and annoyance to the enemye, but shall also in the peace tyme be a great fear and terrore for the malefactoures inhabitinge on both sides of the borders to committe any spoiles or disorder, *the charges of everye which newe towre and fortification as we thinck may be done with fyve hundrethe pound apece sufficient* for that purpose.

Towching enclosures
upon the east and
middle marches.

And lastlye as towchinge oure opinyons what landes or groundes within the countye of Northumberland and byshoprike of Duresme is most fit to be enclosed within xxⁱⁱ myles of the border of Scotland for the best defence of the east and middle marches, we verely doe thinck that if there were first such a hoodge* and mane ditche set with quickset maid frome the water of Tweed thorough the east and middle marches unto the west borders, as M^r Dacre one of us the said comissioners hath nowe devised and begunne upon the said west borders whiche dike or defence with a nightly watch or serch betwene every towne and towne upon the same, the said M^r Dacre upon this vewghe nowe taken of the said east and middle marches by good and sufficient reasons hath perswaded us may well be done at the small and easye charges of the said two wardenryes, like as the charges of the said dike or newe defence upon the said west borders is borne by the whole wardenrye there, as by a plat and certaine articles nowe drawne and

* hoodge (! huge, cf. next page l. 10) and mane (main).

showne unto us by the said M^r Dacre more at large may appeare. And besides the same stronge enclosure and defence so to be maid endlong and thorough the said east and middle marches, the inhabitantes within the same yearly porcion after porcion at their convenient leisure, and as their powers may serve to enclose their townes and feildes and also the waist groundes and commons lyenge betwixt their feildes, everye close or enclosure to conteine xx^{li} or xxx^{li} acres and not above, savinge and exceptinge all suche great hoodge waistes and commons as cannot conveniently be enclosed, and which were not of any profite or comoditie to be enclosed, and savinge to every lord and tenant their lawfull profittes and rightes with condicion that if any tenant who hath no interest but at will shall happen within a certaine tyme to be expelled by the lord then the lord or the newe tenant to recompence him that shalbe so displaced for the costes and charges that he hath sustained by the said enclosing, at the sight and judgement of the said commissioners the same stronge enclosure and defence which is mente to goe endlonge and thorough the sayd borders with also the other lesser enclosures within the same and the townes also beyng closed about as by this device is intended wold be in tyme so great a defence and safetye to the said borders and to all her highnes subjectes within the same as might be to their great common wealthes and quiet and they by that meanes the better able to doe her majesty service and to defende the said borderes which we refer to youre honorabill consideration.

H. HUNSDON

RA: GRAY

JHO. SELBYE

JOHN FORSTER

RO: DE LA VALE

HENRY WODDRINGTON

FRAUNCIS RUSSELL

CHR. DACRE

THOMAS GRAY

WILLIAM REED.

Christopher Dacre (who seems to have been the leading spirit of the Commission, and with Delaval and one of the Grays to have formed the quorum of three instituted by the Act of 1555) thought it best to himself forward the plan of his proposed dyke and the explanation of it to Walsingham direct. This he did in a letter dated Newcastle, Sept. 11 (1584)*:—

‘Chris. Dacre to Sec. Walsingham. In execution of Her Majesty’s commission and the Council’s direction, con-

* Mrs. Green, the editor of the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda* 1580-1625, has erroneously placed this letter with the accompanying plan, explanation, etc., under the year 1580, pp. 17, 18; in spite of the most clear internal evidence that they belong to 1584.

cerning the decayed fortresses &c. upon the Borders, I repaired to Morpeth, to meet the Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, and the other Commissioners on 28 July last; but as we could not then doing anything, I returned. I repaired again to Alnwick, 14 Aug., and thence to Berwick, and have continued thereabouts ever since, with assistance of the other Commissioners, in furtherance of the said commission, as by our certificate will appear. I have drawn a plan with articles, which though not cunningly done, may further the better understanding of our certificate of things necessary to be done, if it be Her Majesty's pleasure to proceed.

P.S.—I must commend the great trouble and diligence of M^r. Delaval and M^r. Gray, my two fellows of the quorum. Having now made certificate touching the East and Middle Marches, we of the quorum shall travel upon the West Borders. In the rating and estimate of decays, some things are set down of very small value, but great care was had not to draw any more charge than needful; yet with what is set down, I dare adventure every decay may be repaired.'—*Cal. of State Pap. Dom. Add.* 1580-1625, p. 17.

This letter was accompanied by Christopher Dacre's 'Plan of all forts and castles upon the Borders, from Tynedale, Redesdale, and the Cheviots to Berwick and Dunstanborough, with notes of the distances to Scotland, the state of the country, waste lands, etc.' (*State Pap. Dom. Add. Eliz.* vol. XXVII, 44, I) here reproduced from the original; as also by his explanation of it (*Ibid.* XXVII. 44 II.):—

'For the better understandinge of the plat or carte which is herewithe sent, the articles here followinge will declare.

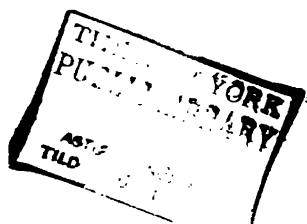
1. First by the said plat all the castles and fortresses decayed which are thought mete to be repaired shall, there in the same plat plainly appeare howe and in what place they be scited and howe farr distant they be from the border of Scotland the said plat with the booke of certificat considered.
2. Secondly within what compasse the new devised fortresses upon the east and middle marches arre thought good to be planted howe farre from the said border of Scotland and howe nere and necessarye for defence of the plenished ground of England.
3. Thirdly by what townes and places the new devised dike or defence is to goe, which is to passe thorough the said east and middle marches endlong the plenished ringe of the

borders levying out certaine places which cannot conveniently be brought within the same, to the joyninge of the dike or defence that is alredy devysed and begunne to passe thorough the west borders, and what is intended to be contained within the same dyke or defence, and what to be left out of the same.

The causes and consideracons howe this newe devised dike or defence may be a great strength and defence to the border, howe the same may be brought to passe, and for what causes there be certaine townes to be left without the same.

1. First it is to consider that both in the time of peace and warre all the hurt and annoyance that doth come to the trewe subjectes by the malefactors and disordered people upon the borders, is onely by meanes of open waies and skoupe that the said malefactors have without stoppe, cause of abode or any forewarnyng, whereby the power of the trewe subjectes might be in a redines to resist them, which in every respect by this newe device and defence which is to pass frome towne to towne thorough all the marches endlong the plenished ringe with a nightly watch and serch frome towne to towne upon the same may be sewerly provided for and sufficiently prevented.
2. Secondly, to declare howe the same device or defence shall easely be brought to passe without any great charg. It is to consider that in the best tyme of peace and a great deale more in tyme of warre the hurt and damag that the said trewe subjectes doe sustaine in some one yeare and the charges that they in the furdest partes ar at by comminge to daies of marches which ariseth upon attemptates done upon the borders, and by cominge downe to defend the said borders for want of other strengthes and defences, dothe surmount the whole charges that wold make and fynishe the same device or defence and therfore good reason for the inhabitantes of the whole wardenrye and cheifly the nerest to the dainger the depest to be charged with the whole charges of makinge and mainteininge of the same, lyke all the whole charges of the like device or defence which is nowe taken in hand and begunne upon the said west borders by all the inhabitantes of the whole wardenrye there is done. And for the nightly watch or serch which is a thinge most needfull to be had and kept betwixt towne and towne in every place upon the same defence, the same to be either at the

thre men in a watch for
every myle sufficient.





1163

Exorable and animal ground
two miles to the north of
the place

Exorable
ground

Exorable
ground

Exorable
ground

Exorable
ground

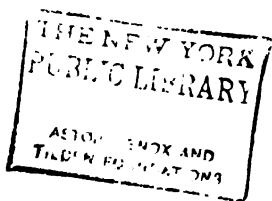
Exorable
ground

Exorable
ground

Exorable
ground

with new fort
at the foot of
the hill and the
border but the
wall had the
gate on the side





charge of the whole contry beyng so necessary a thinge for the benefit of the country or otherwise those townes within . . . myles next adjoyning to discharge the same nightly watch or serch, and in consideracion of the same they to be eased and the whole country besides to beare the whole charges of makenge and manteininge the same defence, or otherwise all those that have at any tyme bene wont to be charged in any wardens tyme with nightly watchinge at any place or passages for preventinge of malefactors which notwithstanding the longe discontinuance of the same the wardens nowe or at any tyme may take uppe and direct againe, as they see cause and occasion to be indifferently assessed to beare the charge of the said watch or serch upon the said dike which is the onely device that is intended to manteine the serching watch betwene towne and towne upon the said dike or defence which is newe devised and begunne open the said west borders, and the same watch upon the said west border therbye intended to be brought to a great deal more east and lesse charges then had wont etc

3. Thirdly and lastly nowe to declare the gude causes whye there be some townes and places to be lefte out and not enclosed within this defence intended upon all the said marches beinge but of little account in respect of the greatest parte that is so to be inclosed, and by other meanes or some other device may be otherwise provided for as here followinge shall appeare, one cause is that by fetchinge in of the same fewe townes and places so to be left out wold be of farr greater charge then by other meanes they may be defended, another cause, because the nature of the groundes and places doth not so well serve to make it that way so defenceible as the way which is intended, another cause that the same device by reason of the great waste groundes and places and in some partes nere to the well disposed who had rather hinder then further the same, and therefore in those partes neither so gud and easy to be manteyned, nor yet so well to be watched to the ease contentment and safetie of such as shalbe to watch the same, as in the plenished groundes nere to the helpe and rescue of the true people, and lastly and chief of all that a gude parte of that which is to be so lefte out is inhabited by such as have alwayes bene as hurtfull to the trewe subjectes as the Scottishe borderers, and at no tyme any hurte done by the said Scottes but by some of their helpes and further-

ance as hath alwaies bene reputed. And therefore and for all these gude consideracions befor alledged for so many of these small number of townes and places which for the better purpose are so to be without this defence and inclosure, it shalbe well that some convenient care be had to enclose theire severall townes about every towne by itself with the lyke inclosure for theire better defence, which may easelye be done for so many of them as have any desire to be so defended and to leve within the boundes of trewe subjectes.

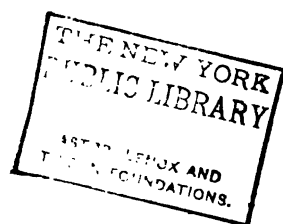
CHR. DACRE.

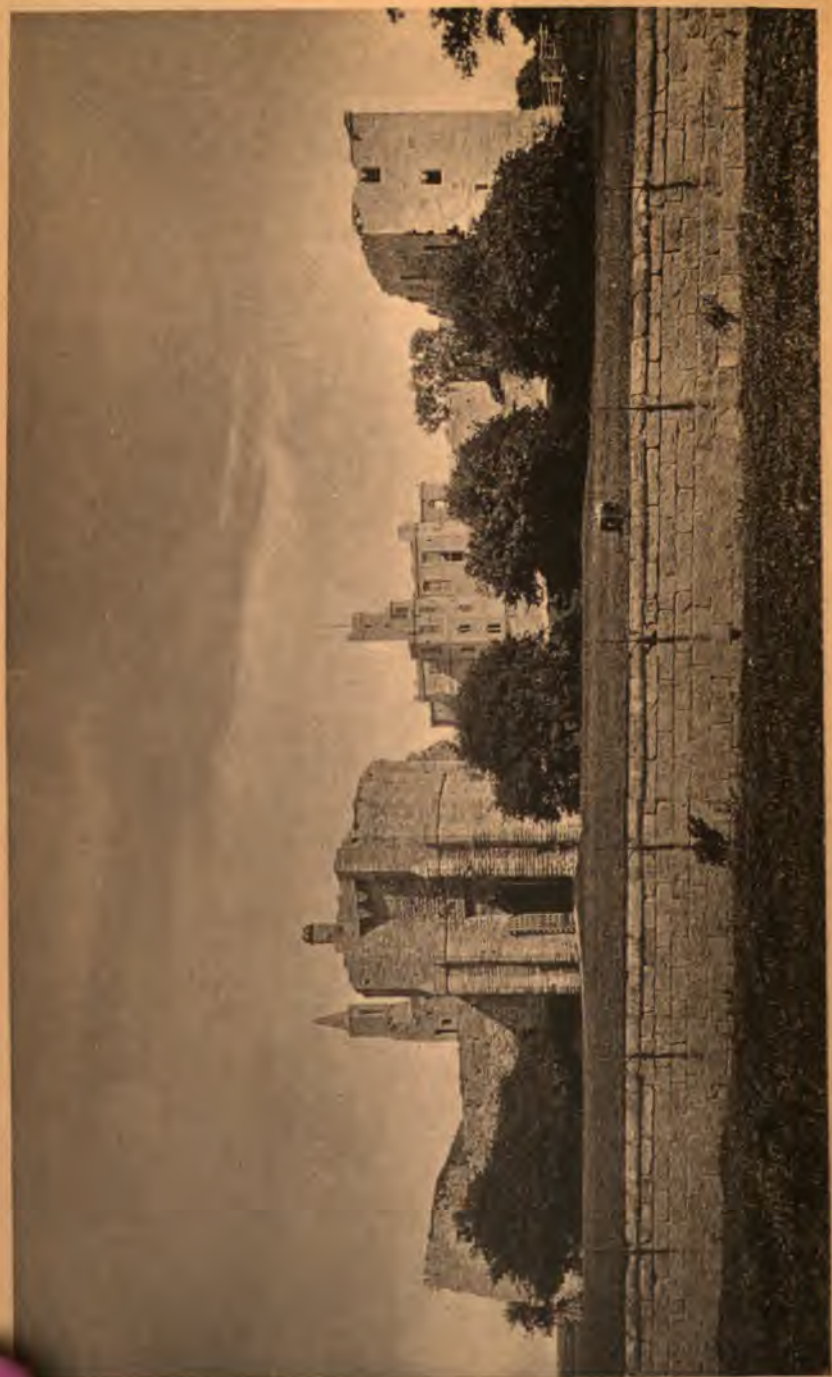
From this it appears that the great frontier works of the Romans were very nearly being unconsciously imitated in the reign of Elizabeth. The close of the History of the Border which practically opens with the construction of the Wall of Aulus Platorius Nepos might have found a fitting memorial in the Dyke of Christopher Dacre.

The Abstract of the Presentment of the decays of the East Marches (*St. P. Dom. Ellis. Add.*, vol. xxviii. 95, v.) made by an inquest there impanelled and sworn the 24th of September, 1584, mentions only these castles and towers,

- 'Woller. One gentleman's house with a tower of defence there built, decayed by Sir Thos. Gray and his fermers.'
- 'Cadmertounne [Coldmartin]. One tower of stone and lime of Roger Fowberry's of Fowberry gent. utterly decayed notwithstanding it hath land belonging to it able to keep 2 men and horse fit for service.'
- 'Cornehill. One gentleman's mansion house, a tower decayed by Sir Thos. Gray of Chillingham Knt. 8 tenements unfurnished through their own default &c.'
- 'Norham. 7 tenements decayed, 4 unfurnished with horse for service and the Castle of Norham decayed. The default of all in the owners and farmers thereof.'
- 'Gryndon. One gentleman's house or tower unfurnished by Ric. Owrd of Heckeley.'
- 'Shoreswood. One tower in the occupation of Mr. Selbye, decayed and a gentleman's house made void also by him.'
- 'Bambrough. The Castle of Bamboroughe decayed by Sir John Forster and one gentleman's house and 6 ten^{ts} decayed by him also and his farmers.'
- 'Heaton. 13 tenements made unable by Sir Thos. Gray Knt. through exchange of the farmers' lands and overcharge of carriage and one castle and one gentleman's house decayed also by him.'

The similar Abstract for the Middle Marches contains no distinct notices of castles or towers.





J. F. Gibson, Photo.

WARKWORTH CASTLE.

WARKWORTH CASTLE.

THE moated mound, on which now stands the donjon of Warkworth Castle, was, in all likelihood, originally occupied by the 'Worth'¹ or palace of the Ocgings, a line of Bernician princes who claimed descent from Ida of Bamburgh, though not from his queen. A considerable tract of country was attached to 'Werceworde'² in those early days, stretching, we are told, from the Line Water nearly to Alnmouth along the coast, and as far inland as the *civitas* of 'Brincewelæ'.³

In the beginning of the eighth century a revolution raised the Ocging Cenred to the Northumbrian throne, on which he was succeeded eventually by his brother Ceolwulf in 729. On the first appearance of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, King Ceolwulf requested that it might be sent to him to read, and to 'Ceolwulf the Most Glorious' Bede subsequently addressed the preface, extolling him

¹ 'WORTH, a hall, palace; the Latin 'Atrium.' Cf. Cambridge Gospels, Matt. xxvi. v. 69—'Peter sat without in the 'worth' (palace);' Mark xiv. v. 54—the 'worth' (palace) of the high priest'.—Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. The termination 'worth' in names of places, of which we have other instances in Northumberland in Backworth and Killingworth, is not now met with, it seems, north of Warkworth; but Ewart in Glendale was formerly Eworth, and just over the Border was Jedworth, a name now lost in that of Jedburgh.

² The first syllable of Warkworth may, of course, refer to the 'wark' or castle; but the ending 'worth' is usually affixed to a personal name. Werce (in Latin, Verca) was the name of the Abbess who gave St. Cuthbert the fine linen sheet he kept always by him for his shroud.—*Reginald. Dunelm.* cap. xli. (Surt. Soc. Publ. i. p. 86.)

³ 'Et hi sunt termini istius villæ (Werceworthe). Ab aqua quæ vocatur Lina, usque ad Cocwuda, et inde usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur Brincewelæ, et a Cocwuda usque ad Hafodscelfe (Hauxley) versus orientem, et ab Alna usque in dimidium viam inter Cocwud et Alna.'—Sym. Dunelm. *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, § 8 (Rolls ed. i. p. 201). By *civitas* mediæval writers meant a Roman *chester* or British *caer*; and considering that the boundary must be traced from the head of Line Water, near Gorfenletch, on the south of Long Horsley Moor, to the Coquet, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing with Hodgson Hinde and others that the '*civitas* of Brincewelæ' is the camp on the hill above Brinkburn, the 'Brincaburch' of John of Hexham (*Ibid.* II. p. 329). Ceolwulf at the same time also gave to the church of Lindesfarne Woodchester (probably Woodhorn), Edlingham, and Eglingham, and to round off this tract Warkworth must have extended as far as Brinkburn. Symeon, in recounting this Donation of Ceolwulf, places 'Bregesne' (probably the same as 'Brincewelæ') before Warkworth, as though it were the more important place (see *post.* n. 4). It seems hardly likely that *Brainsbaugh*, on the north bank of the Coquet opposite Acklington, can ever have possessed this pre-eminence. Clarkson's Survey in 1567 tells us that Acklington itself was 'in the old Ynglish tongue (what does this mean?) called Brainshawghe' (*Arch. Æl.* N.S. IV. p. 1); and John fitz Robert Lord of Warkworth (1214-1240) had given the meadow of *Braineslawe* to the monks of Durham.—*Raine's North Durham*, App. p. 787.

for his own love of history, and his desire that the knowledge of it should be spread among his subjects. In an appendix written in 731, however, our great historian had to confess that the opening of Ceolwulf's reign was so full of civil disorder that it was impossible to write an account of it, or to predict the turn events might take—apprehensions more than justified, for, in the very next year, the king was seized, shorn, and forced into a monastery, and then almost immediately restored. The remainder of Ceolwulf's reign did much to add, in all outward appearance, to the glories of Northumberland; and Warkworth could have been in little dread of any foreign invasion when Ceolwulf laid the foundations of the Church of St. Lawrence there on the very brink of the Coquet. Bede, however, with the political insight of a true historian, foresaw the dangers likely to arise from the fashion of crowding into monasteries, then prevalent among Northumbrians, to the entire neglect of the profession of arms. 'What will be the result,' he adds almost prophetically, 'the next age will show.' He had been dead only two years when Ceolwulf himself resigned his crown in 737, and not only became a monk at Lindisfarne, but bestowed on St. Cuthbert Warkworth and other large estates.⁴

The exemption of the inhabitants of monastic lands from the duties of military service must have been a great weakness to Northumberland when exposed to the ravages of the Danes in the ninth century. On this account, possibly, King Osbert took Warkworth from the monks; but his doing so was regarded as sacrilege, and held to be metely punished by his death in battle in 867.⁵ Eight years later, the savage Halfdene sailed into the Coquet, and, verifying as it were the prediction of Bede, laid waste 'Wyrcesforde.'⁶

⁴ 'Intravit autem (Ceolwulfus) Lindisfarnense monasterium, sancto Cuthberto secum conferens thesauros regios et terras, id est, Bregesne et Werceworde, cum suis appendiciis, simul et ecclesiam quam ibidem ædificaverat.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. ii. c. i. (Rolls ed. I. p. 47). 'Werchewurd quoque ipsius ecclesiæ possessio erat, donante rege Ceolwifo cum omnibus appenditiis suis. Hanc enim mansionem ipse rex, abrenuntians mundo, secum ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensi contulit.'—Ibid. *Hist. Regum*, § 89 (Rolls ed. II. p. 102).

⁵ 'Osberhtus rex abstulit sancto Cuthberto duas villas Werceworthe et Tyllemuth. Sed post spatium unius anni eripuit Deus ab eo vitam et regnum.'—Ibid. *Hist. de S. Cuth.* § 10 (Rolls ed. I. p. 201).

⁶ 'Halfdene rex Danorum in Tinam intravit, et usque Wyrcesforde navigavit, omnia vastans, et contra sanctum Cuthbertum crudeliter peccans.'—Ibid. § 12 (Rolls ed. I. p. 202). Warkworth was the first place north of the Tyne where Halfdene could 'cruelly sin' against St. Cuthbert. The termination 'ford' seems in a great many cases to be a corruption of 'worth'—e.g., 'Kentisford or Kentisworth, anciently Kentlesworth.'—Hutchins, *Dorset* (1st ed.), II. p. 397.

The moral of Osbert's fate was thrown away on the succeeding kings and earls who retained the possession he had resumed. The great Norman earl, Robert de Mowbray, increased this sin in the eyes of the monks of Durham by giving the very tithes of Warkworth to his rival foundation at Tynemouth; and the church itself, conferred by Henry I. on his chaplain Richard de Aurea Valle, afterwards came into the patronage of the bishops of Carlisle.

A tradition, preserved by Leland, declares that Warkworth Castle once belonged to the Merlays, who were followers of Geoffrey of Coutances and his nephew, Mowbray. They certainly gave Morwick, in the immediate neighbourhood of Warkworth, to Durham at the end of the eleventh century. Warkworth may have been confiscated on account of the share the Merlays took in Mowbray's rebellion, and their gift of Morwick, though subsequently confirmed by them, invalidated on the same grounds.

During the troublous reign of Stephen, a curious number of historical facts have been preserved in charters connected with the salt-works at Warkworth. One of these salt-works was granted to the Cistercian community, which settled at Newminster in 1138, by Simon de St. Liz Earl of Northumberland, the eldest grandson of Walthof.⁷ His half brother Henry, the son of David King of Scotland, who was made Earl of Northumberland by the Treaty of Durham in 1139, confirmed this charter,⁸ and bestowed another of these salt-works on the priory of Brinkburn.⁹ The Abbey of Alnwick, too, received from its founder Eustace fitz John in 1147 a salt-work at Warkworth;¹⁰

⁷ 'Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Simon comes Northumbrie monachis Novi Mon. concessi et dedi pro salute an. m. et meorum antecessorum propinquiorem salinam de Werkword,' etc. etc.—*Newminster Chartulary* (Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 212). Had it not been for this charter we should not have known that Simon de St. Liz was ever Earl of Northumberland. He does not appear as such in Dugdale, nor *a fortiori* in Hodgson, etc.

⁸ 'Henricus comes, filius regis Scocie . . . Salinam unam apud Werkworth, propinquiorem scil. villæ quam Comes Simon frater meus,' etc.—*Ibid.* William del Velzpont (*sic*.? Veteriponte) gave to Newminster his land near the salt-work granted to it by Earl Henry.—*Ibid.* p. 213.

⁹ *Brinkburn Chartulary*, MS. copy in Library of Soc. of Antiq. Newcastle.

¹⁰ 'Vnam salinam in Werkwordia.'—*Proceedings of Archaeol. Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. p. 273 n. It does not appear how Eustace fitz John obtained this salt-work, the first possession of his family in Warkworth. The right to it was afterwards in dispute between the 'domus de Werkword ordinis Præmonstratensis' and the Abbey of Newminster.—*Newm. Chart.* (Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 205.)

while, after the death of Earl Henry in 1152, his young son William, our last hereditary viceroy, confirmed the Brinkburn canons in their briny rights.¹¹

By this time a castle of some sort must have risen at Warkworth, since Henry II., in a charter attested by his brother William of Anjou, gave and confirmed to Roger the son of Richard, for service rendered, the castle and manor of 'Werkewrde,' to be held by him and his heirs as the hereditary fee of one knight, with all that belonged to them as well and as entirely as ever his grandfather Henry I. had held that manor.¹² The Richard in question was Richard fitz Eustace, Constable of Chester,¹³ son, by his first marriage, of Eustace fitz John, lord of Alnwick; the Roger was one of this Richard's younger sons.

Eustace fitz John had fallen, an aged warrior, in the ambushade laid for Henry II. by Owen of North Wales in the wooded defile of Coleshill, between Flint and Holywell, in 1157. The English army was in danger of annihilation. The Constable Henry of Essex, believing the King had been slain, threw down the royal standard and took to flight. A total rout was only averted by King Henry proving himself alive by raising the vizor of his helmet, and by the Earl of Clare

¹¹ *Brinkburn Chartulary*. The style of Earl William in this charter is very remarkable:—*'Willelmus de Gwaren Comes Northumbriæ.'* His mother, the Countess Ada, was daughter (but not heiress) of William de Warren 2nd Earl of Surrey. The young Earl William was not the only lord of Warkworth who for want of a paternal surname adopted that of his mother's family (see *post*. p. 89).

¹² *Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dux Normandiæ et Aquitanie et comes Andegaviæ Archiepiscopis Episcopis Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Angliæ francis et anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et confirmasse Rogero filio Ricardi in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis pro servicio suo castellum de Werkewrda et manerium cum omnibus suis pertinentiis sic Henricus Rex avus meus manerium illud melius et integris tenuit quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod ipse et heredes sui manerium illud habeant et teneant bene et in pace libere quiete et honorifice cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in aquis stagnis et molendinis et in omnibus rebus et locis cum tol et team et soca et saka et infangenthef et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus cum quibus illud tenui in dominio meo. Test. Willielmo fratre Regis, &c.*—*Assize Roll* (M. 4. 36) 10; *Cal. Placit. de Quo Warant*. p. 595; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. i. p. 157. The final '&c.' is most provoking. It will be noticed that in the time of Henry I. the *manor* only is mentioned, so that the *castle* (such as it was) must have been built during the reign of Stephen. If, as is stated by Richard of Hexham, the castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh were at one time excepted from the grant of Northumberland to Earl Henry, it seems possible that he may have built Warkworth in order to have a place of residence south of the Tweed.

¹³ Ormerod's *Cheshire* I. p. 509, where there is an engraving of the large and very characteristic seal of Richard fitz Eustace; the reverse has a classical gem—a nymph and pillar-like altar—surrounded by the enigmatical legend, SECRETUM DOMINI CELOFERO RESERO.

providentially arriving with fresh troops.¹⁴ Henry marched on to Rhuddlan in a rage,¹⁵ and there issued a charter confirming William de Vesey, the eldest son of Eustace fitz John's second marriage, in the barony of Alnwick and other possessions of his father.¹⁶ It is probable that the grant of the castle and manor of Warkworth to Eustace's grandson, Roger fitz Richard, was made at Rhuddlan at the same time, and was the reward of Roger's bravery at Coleshill.

At any rate, Roger became closely connected with the events of that fatal day. Six years later Robert de Montfort, in the King's presence, called Henry of Essex a coward for his conduct, and resort was had to wager of battle on an island of the Thames near Reading. Henry of Essex was struck down and carried for dead into the neighbouring monastery, where, on his reviving, his life was spared on condition of his entering the order. He, himself, regarded his defeat as a judgment, not on his cowardice at Coleshill, but on his disputes with the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, and his having tortured to death Gilbert de Cereville, a knight whom the wife of Essex had falsely accused in endeavouring to hide her own shame.¹⁷ The Honour of Clavering forfeited by Essex, and Adeliza de Vere, his wife of sullied repute, were both bestowed by the king on Roger fitz Richard.¹⁸ With her consent and approbation Roger gave to the monks of St. Mary of Newminster his salt-work at Warkworth, situated near where the

¹⁴ Willielm. Neubrig. lib. II. cap. v. (*Chron. Steph. Hen. II. &c.*, Rolls series I. p. 107.); Giraldi Cambrensis *Itinerarium* lib. II. cap. X. (Rolls ed. VI. pp. 137, 138); Jocelin de Brakelond, Camden Soc. Publ. 13, p. 50.

¹⁵ 'Ac yna kynnullaw aoruc y brenhin y lu ygyt amynet hyt yn Rudlan yn greulawn.'—*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls. ed. p. 186. 'Rex Henricus primum exercitum duxit in Walliam et capit Rueland.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, ann. 1157.

¹⁶ Regt. ii. Abb. ii. 53 (Publ. Rec. Off.); *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cx. The attestation is instructive:—'Test. Willielmo fratre Regis, Rogero Com. de Clara, Gaufrido Com. de Essex, Ricardo de Humet constabulario, H. de Essex constabulario, Willielmo de Braosa, Mauricio Biset dapifero, Warino filio Geroldi camerarii, Ricardo de Luci, Gilberto de Monfichet, Ricardo de Campivilla, R. Dunester, Jocelino de Bailliolo et Gaufrido de Valoniis apud Ruellentum in exercitu de Walliis.'

¹⁷ Jocelin de Brakelond's *Chronicle* (Camd. Soc. Publ.) p. 51. There is a very amusing translation of this story in Carlyle's *Past and Present*, bk. ii. chap. xiv.

¹⁸ Dugdale's *Baronage* I. p. 106; Morant's *Essex* II. p. 611. It is to be hoped that Adeliza did not, like the wife of Robert de Mowbray, avail herself of the civil death of her husband in order to marry again. Robert, her son by Roger fitz Richard, does not appear to have been born before 1169.—*Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 188. Hartshorne there gives the minute details of the early manorial history of Warkworth from the Pipe Rolls, etc., with comparatively few misprints.

stream from below Gloucester falls into the Coquet, and included within bounds which he and his heir had perambulated in company with the monks and his own men.¹⁹

The manor of Warkworth as granted by Henry II. to Roger fitz Richard was something very small in comparison with the wide domain that had belonged to Warkworth in the days of Ceolwulf. The latter comprised the whole ancient parish of Warkworth and in addition at the very least the chapelries of Widdrington and Brains-hangh; whereas the extent of the manor fell far short of the limits of the parish which included not only Amble, Hauxley, Morwick, and East Chevington, parcels of the great barony of Alnwick, but also the capital seats of the Morwick²⁰ and Heron baronies at West Chevington and Hadston. A lord of Warkworth possessed of nothing more in Northumberland would scarcely have begun to build a castle on a grand scale; and when in 1173 the former heir of Warkworth re-appeared in Northumberland no longer in the character of a confirmer of salt-pans to the peaceful canons of Brinkburn, but as the Lion-

¹⁹ 'Pari consilio et voluntate Adelizæ uxoris meæ.'—*Newminster Chartulary*, p. 211. At 'Gloucestre,' now Gloster Hill, on the south side of the Coquet, between Warkworth and the sea, was found the fragment of a Roman altar dedicated to the Campestral Mothers.—*Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 271.

²⁰ There is in Warkworth Church the effigy of a cross-legged knight in scale-armour with a canopy at his head, and on the base the inscription:—'The Effigies of S^r Hvgh | of Morwicke who Gaue | the Common to this | Towne of Warkworth.' The base and inscription are undoubtedly the work of the 17th century, and the effigy itself looks at first sight like a Jacobean reproduction. On the knight's shield are the arms, *On a plain cross, four eagles displayed, in the dexter chief an annulet*, the same (except for the annulet, an early mark of difference not necessarily denoting, as in modern heraldry, a fifth son) as those on the seal of John de Derlyngton, a Canon in the Collegiate Church of Lancaster and Prebendary of the Prebend of Esh, appended to a deed in the Treasury of Durham (Loc. 1.) dated 2. Aug. 1380, with the legend *Sigillum: iobis: de: derlyngtone*.—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. I. Seals, plate XI. No. 29 (described in vol. IV. p. clxx.) The Morwick coat, on the other hand, is said to have been *gu. a saltire vairy arg. and sa.*—Papworth's *Ordinary*, p. 1059. Hugh de Morwick, who was witness to the will of Henry II. at Waltham in 1182 (Girald. Camb. *De Instructione Principum*, cap. xvii.), and Sheriff of Cumberland, 31–33 Hen. II., died 2. Ric. I. His son Hugh died 45 Hen. III.—Dugdale's *Baronage*, I. p. 678. Their lands were afterwards inherited by the Lumleys and Greys. There is not the least ground for supposing that either of them gave the common to Warkworth with the barony of which they had no connection. The good people of Warkworth probably either appropriated or imitated the knightly effigy of some Darlington in order to fictitiously fortify their title to the common. The canopy at the head of the recumbent figure fixes the date of its design at about the end of the 14th century; there is a canopy of this kind on the tomb of Edward III.

King of Scotland, singling Warkworth out for especial destruction,²¹ Jordan Fantosme expressly tells us that the walls and earth-works of the castle were so weak²² that Roger fitz Richard, though a valiant knight, made no attempt to defend it as he successfully did that of Newcastle of which he was constable. In the following year, on Saturday the 13th of July, Duncan Earl of Fife entered Warkworth with his Scots, set fire to the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword, not sparing even those who had sought shelter in the 'minster' of St. Lawrence.²³ Why one of William the Lion's most moderate counsellors²⁴ should have directed this massacre is not explained. Probably it was due to some breach of faith on the part of the burghers. The murderous sacrilege was considered to have been avenged by the capture of the Scottish King on that very day before the walls of Alnwick.²⁵

Roger fitz Richard died, apparently not long after his father the Constable of Chester, in 1178. His heir Robert fitz Roger did not come of age till 1191, and during the reign of Cœur-de-Lion (from whom he received a grant of the manor of Eure in Buckinghamshire) resided chiefly in Norfolk where he possessed large estates through marrying the heiress of William de Chesney, lord of Horsford. In

²¹ 'Alum & Werckewrde, cel voil agraventer,' 'Let us to Warkworth that will I destroy,' are the words which Jordan Fantosme puts into the mouth of William the Lion, *l.* 545; Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. p. 27; *Chron. Stephen, Henry II., &c.*, Rolls ser. III. p. 250. The Lincoln MS. of Fantosme has 'Alum & Werckwrde, cel ruuil agraventer,' 'Let us to Warkworth, that town to destroy.' If the word 'ruuil' has anything to do with 'ruelle,' it is very characteristic of the one long street of Warkworth.

²² 'Vient & Werkewde, n'i deignent arester;

Kar le chastel iert fieble, le mur et le terrier.'

'They come to Warkworth, do not there deign to stay, for the castle was weak, the wall and the earthwork.' Fantosme, *l.* 562-563; Surt. Soc. ed. p. 27; Rolls ed. p. 252. For 'arestre' the Lincoln MS. reads 'tarier' without altering the meaning, which seems to be that the Scots took the castle, but on account of its weak condition did not think it worth while to leave a garrison in it, as they did afterwards in that of Appleby. Benedict of Peterborough places the fall of Warkworth in the campaign of 1174 during the siege of Carlisle; but Fantosme's narrative is too circumstantial to be set aside by a general statement that makes William wander about in the most opposite directions.

²³ Benedict. Petroburg. in Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. pp. 168-169; Fantosme, *l.* 1706-1709, *ibid.* p. 79. The latter does not name Warkworth but only 'le mustier Saint-Laurenz.'

²⁴ 'De faire nul outrage ne querez achaisun,' 'For doing outrage, seek not occasion,' formed part of the advice addressed by Earl Duncan to William in persuading him to endeavour to obtain satisfaction from Henry II. by diplomacy before declaring war.—Fantosme, *l.* 303, Surt. Soc. ed. p. 17.

²⁵ Benedict. Petroburg. in Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. p. 169; Fantosme, *l.* 1902-1909, *ibid.* p. 87.

Norfolk he founded in 1198 the Abbey of St. Mary of Langley, which he filled with Præmonstratensian canons from Alnwick.²⁶ In July, 1199, King John confirmed to him the castle and manor of Warkworth for the consideration of three hundred marks,²⁷ and he seems about this time to have transferred his activity to Northumberland, of which he became sheriff in 1203, a very lucrative post under an administration like that of John. A favourite of the king, he received grants of the manor of Corbridge in 1204 and of the manors of Newburn and Rothbury in 1205. In all probability it was this Robert fitz Roger who rebuilt the castle of Warkworth on the general lines seen at present. The architecture of the Great Gatehouse points clearly to this particular period.

Attached to his grant of a rent-charge from his mill at Warkworth for the purpose of maintaining the light before St. Cuthbert's shrine²⁸ is a large seal of green wax on which Robert fitz Roger appears on horse-back, in characteristic fashion, brandishing a huge sword.²⁹ He is clad in a hauberk of chain-mail, the surcoat worn over it hanging right down to his triangular stirrups. The upper part of his face is just visible beneath the plain round bassinet. His arms *Quarterly [or and gu.] a bendlet [sa.]* can just be discerned on the long shield. The breast-piece of his horse is ornamented with the long pendants then in fashion.

On Saturday the 2nd Feb., 1213, King John himself was at Warkworth on his way from Fenwick (opposite Holy Island) to New-

²⁶ He is called Robert fitz Roger Helke (whatever that means) in the Foundation Charter.—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, IV. p. 1137; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, VI. prt. ii. pp. 929-930, quoting *Visitat. Ordinis Præmonstratensis per Ricardum episc. Assarens.* in Ashmol. MS. 1619, and *Annales Abbatia de Langley* in Cotton. MS. This charter was confirmed by King John at Caen 7. July 1199. The anniversary of the founder was kept on the 14th of April. In 1340 John de Strumpeshaugh was presented to this abbey by John (de Ottelay) Abbot of Alnwick, styled 'Pater Abbatis Eccl'ie de Langley.'—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, cont. by Parkin, X. pp. 149-150.

²⁷ *Rot. de Oblatis* I. Joh.; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 189.

²⁸ Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 141; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 141. He also gave to the monks of Durham the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen without the vill of Warkworth (the present Maudlins).—*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 58, p. 2. n. etc., etc.

²⁹ Seal 4. 3. Sac. 3. in the Treasury, Durham, 2½ in. in diameter, engraved on steel in Surtees's *Durham*, I. Seals, plate 7, No. 2. On the reverse is an oval gem, 1 × ½ in., representing apparently the Flight into Egypt, with the legend SIGILLUM SECRETI. Photographs of casts from this seal have been reproduced in the annexed plate by the 'Lichtdruck' process.

LORDS OF WARKWORTH.



Robert Fitz Roger I, 1178—1214.



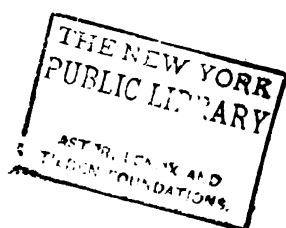
Robert Fitz Roger II, 1249—1310.



John Fitz Robert, 1214—1240.



Robert Fitz Roger I, 1178—1214.



castle.³⁰ He had made a sudden expedition to the North for the purpose of overawing the barons in general, and injuring by every means in his power his especial enemy Eustace de Vesci. The disorder and probable devastation of Northumberland is marked by the absence of any returns relating to it on the Pipe Roll of this the fourteenth year of John's rule. Up to this time Robert fitz Roger had continued to be sheriff, and was so again the next year, when he died. John therefore probably came in peace to Warkworth. While there, though his kingdom was still under interdict and he himself excommunicated, he presented to two livings belonging to estates he had confiscated to his use, and also made over the custody of two unfortunate children to one of his favourites.³¹

John fitz Robert, the next lord of Warkworth (1214-1240), differed in politics from his father. He was one of the Twenty-five to whom the execution of the provisions of Magna Carta was entrusted;³² and as a natural consequence his lands were seized for the king. On the seal of the charter by which he conveyed his meadow of Braineslawe to the monks of Durham, we see him careering in a cylindrical helm, which viewed in profile presents a concave line behind, the front part rounded below and pierced with holes to enable him to breathe, his surcoat considerably shorter than his father's, but the other equipments similar, and the sword equally ponderous.³³ His widow Ada, daughter of Hugh de Baliol, appears to have been a woman of much character. She could not, however, even for a thousand marks, obtain the guardianship of her son Roger fitz John, which Henry III. bestowed on his own half-brother William de Valence. The want of a surname seems to have now made itself felt in the family, and the young lord of Warkworth called himself Roger fitz John de Baliol after his mother's family, while two of his younger brothers took the name of Eure after their father's manor in

³⁰ *Cal. Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. p. 96.

³¹ *Ibid.* At some time in his reign, John gave the church of Warkworth to Thomas his clerk in violation of the rights of the bishop of Carlisle.—*Plac. de Quo Waranto*, Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 142.

³² Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Clar. Press 1875, I. p. 542. John fitz Robert, is not, however, classed there among the northern lords.

³³ For the charter see Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 142. The seal (l. l. Spec. No. 51 in the Treasury, Durham) is engraved on steel in Surtees, *Durham*, I. Seals, plate 7, No. 4; and has also been reproduced on the annexed plate, with greater fidelity, by 'Lichtdruck.' The secretum is the same as that of Robert fitz Roger's seal.

Buckinghamshire.³⁴ Roger de Baliol gave, it is recorded, twenty marks, three robes, and corn and hay for two horses every year for the safe-guarding of his castle of Warkworth.³⁵ He must have been a youth of great promise. Matthew of Paris says that he was the most noble knight and baron in the North of England, and had already displayed remarkable activity in the arts of war. His career was cut short by his being ridden over in a tournament at Argences in Normandy in 1249.³⁶ His heir Robert fitz Roger II., only a year and a half old,³⁷ was committed to the custody of William de Valence, together with 'the noble castle' of Warkworth. A beautiful seal attached to a document dated 1276 and preserved at Paris shows us Robert fitz Roger with a fan-crested helmet mounted on a horse with plain housings but also adorned with a fan-crest.³⁸ In his time Edward I. visited Warkworth, on the way from Alnwick to Woodhorn, on Thursday, 18th Dec., 1292.³⁹ Five years later Robert fitz Roger's eldest son John was taken prisoner at the battle of Stirling (11th Sept., 1297), in which Hugh de Cressingham, the English Treasuerr, was

³⁴ See the accompanying Genealogy of the Lords of Warkworth and Clavering.

³⁵ 'Ibidem (Werkeworth) est i castrum pro cuius custodia Dns. Rogerus dedit quolibet anno xx marcas et iij robas;' 'Dns. Rogerus consuevit dare per annum pro custodia castri et manerii per annum xij lib. vi. sol. viij d. et iij robas et fenum et avenas ad ij equos.'—Inq. p. m. 33 Hen. III. No. 66; *Archæologia Æliana* III. pp. 98, 100. Cf. the curious document in which Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke temp. Ed. II. engages Sir John Eure to safely guard his castle of Mitford for the same sum 20 marks (£13 16s 8d) in time of peace or 40 marks a year otherwise; by 'time of peace' i.e. 'when the king is on the Border with his army' really meaning 'time of war' when, in consequence of the castle being garrisoned by the king's forces, the constables of their owners would have less to do.—*Chapter House Records* No. 2731, printed in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxxix.

³⁶ 'Obiit Rogerus, filius Johannis de Bailloil. Eodemque tempore obiit Roger de Bailloil, nobilissimus de partibus borealibus Angliæ miles et baro, ætate adolescens, in re strenuus militari, conculcatus in quodam torneamento in partibus Franciæ, apud Argenciam. Cujus terræ custodiam rex incontinenti contulit Willelmo de Valentia, fratri suo, cum nobili castro de Wercurthe, et multis aliis terris ac possessionibus ad prædictum nobilem Rogerum pertinentibus.'—Matt. Paris, *Hist. Anglor.* ann. 1249, Rolls ed. III. p. 67. In the margin is the shield of Baliol reversed.

³⁷ Inq. p. m. Essex. 33 Hen. III., *Cal. Geneal.* I. p. 26.

³⁸ 'Towards the end of the thirteenth century came in the fashion of ornamenting the head of the horse with a Fan Crest, similar to that fixed on the helm of the knight The seal of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, 1292, affords a good example of knight and steed decorated with the fan crest: it is figured in Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*, page 54.'—Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, 1860, I. p. 347. On the plate facing p. 89 will be found a full-size Licht-druck reproduction of the seal of Robert fitz Roger II.

³⁹ *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland*. II., p. 153.

AVERING.

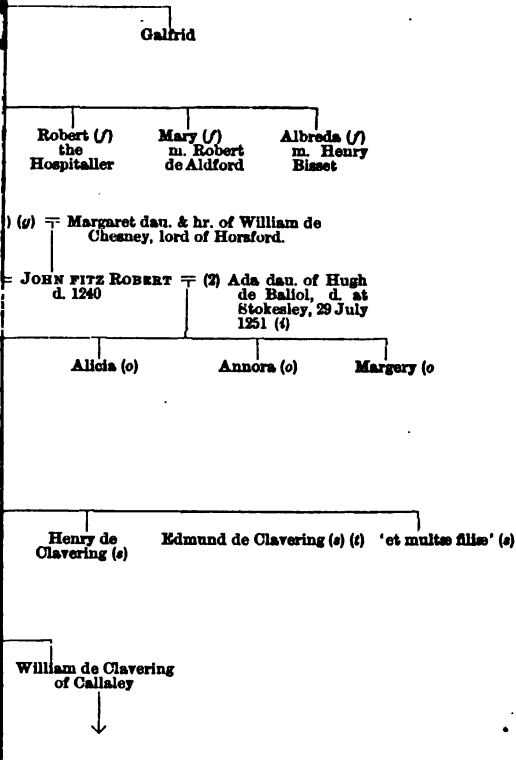
ARMS:—Quarterly or and

John Constable of Che
scendants differed
label, till at the end
Henry de Laci Earl of Le
new coat—or a lion ramp

Sir John Clavering
father's life time) a lab
laveroc 1301; Sir Alexan
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Alan with three mullets

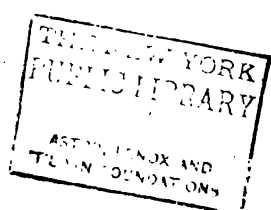
Sir Hugh de Eure and
bore three escallops arg. d

an. & hr. of William fits Nigel
de of Chester, living post



- (a) Dugdale, *Baronage*, Homefield, Norfolk, ed. Parkin, X. p. 149, calls her Mary de la Roche.
 (b) *Stemma Fundstorum*, *Dees, Durham, Seals*, Pl. X. 10.
 (c) Ormerod, *Chesters*, 1827, 1598, in Dugd. *Mon.* III. p. 636.
 (d) A comparison of the 5th June, 1312, John de Clavering and Hawise his wife settled the manors of Clavering and Billburgh, in the event of their deaths without male issue, on Edmund de Clavering for life, and then on Ralph de Neville and his heirs; while on 3rd Feb. 1342, Robert de Benhall with her to the foundress Eva his wife released the manors of Clavering, Aynho, Eure, Dugdale, *Monasticon*, and Billburgh to Ralph de Neville and Hawise de Clavering.—*Fed.*
 (e) Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 292. The evidence that the Ladies, if any, of this marriage is not altogether satisfactory. Ralph de Neville was constable of Warwick in 1322. Clavering remained in the Neville family for several generations.
 (f) Ormerod, *Chesters*, I. p. 706.
 (g) Dugdale, *Monasticon*, *Genealog.* p. 706.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 733.



slain. It was rumoured that Cressingham on leaving Berwick had entrusted his goods there to the charge of Robert Heron, rector of Ford, who kept the king's coket at that port, and of a certain Sir Hugh de Roubiri (Rothbury), and that on hearing of Cressingham's death Heron and Roubiri immediately sent 400 marks to Warkworth Castle and delivered them to William de Toggesdene, the constable, as also £40 in a pouch. So long after as the autumn of 1304 a formal inquiry was held into this rumour at York. William de Toggesdene declared on oath that about a week after Cressingham's death, Hugh de Roubiri, attended only by his grooms, did bring to Warkworth two 'bulgias' covered with hide, and a coffer for harness sealed and locked, and requested him to take charge of them. He considered that there might be £300 in them, but others thought more probably £400, judging from their great weight, which he too remarked when his son William carried them from the Great Chamber of the castle to an adjoining closet. There they remained for a week, when Hugh de Roubiri returned with his grooms and took them away.⁴⁰

Heron and Roubiri denied that they had ever taken a large coffer to Warkworth at all, or that the money in question had anything to do with Cressingham. They swore that it was deposited at Warkworth before his death. According to Heron, it was a sum of £281 which he had received from the issues of the coket at Berwick; and which, when the Scots rose against the king and slew the Sheriff of Lanark, he put, for fear of them, into two leather bags and two pouches, and, by Hugh de Roubiri's advice, sent them to Warkworth Castle about the 15th of August, 1297. He there delivered them himself to Roubiri, who placed them in the treasury of the castle under the custody of the constable. Roubiri's evidence bore this out, with the

⁴⁰ 'Ad quem diem dictus Willelmus venit. Et juratus et examinatus coram Thesaurario et Baronibus dicit super sacrum suum quod circa octo dies post mortem dicti Hugonis apud Strivelyn dictus Hugo de Roubiri cum garconibus suis sine alia comitiva (venit) ad dictum castrum de Werkworth et tulit ibi duas bulgias coopertas de corio et j coffram pro hernasio sigillatam et serratam, et rogavit dictum Willelmum quod illas custodiret in quibus fuerint ut estimabat ccc- , set idem constabularius intellexit a quibusdam quod in eisdem bulgiis et coffra fuerint ccc- , quia multum ponderabant, ut sibi videbatur, quia Willelmus filius dicti Constabularii dictas bulgias et coffram portavit sic sigillatam de magna camera castri usque in quandam calketam contiguam. Et dixit quod ibidem sic remanserunt per viij dies. Et tunc venit dictus Hugo de Roubiri cum garconibus suis et apportavit a dicto castro predictas duas bulgias et coffram sigillatam prout ibi prius portabantur et abiit.'—*Escheq. Q. R. Memor.* 33. Ed. I. m. 37.

slight discrepancy that he said he received the bags, and two canvas pouches strapped together, about the Gule (the 1st) of August. Immediately after Cressingham's death, for fear of the Scots, he carried the two leather bags to Durham Castle. Roger Heron acknowledged that he received them there from Roubiri as he was returning to Scotland with the English Barons who had been summoned to quell the insurrection. They contained £200, half of which he paid to Walter de Agmondesham for the king's business, and half by tallies to the Treasurer at York. What became of the two pouches and the remaining £81, Heron could not tell. Roubiri deposed that he hid these pouches, which he understood contained only 35 marks, with some of his own jewels in a sack of his wool at Warkworth. Pouches, silver, jewels, and wool he never saw again, for the keepers of the castle and Robert fitz Roger when he came there sold the wool and carried off the valuables.⁴¹

Robert fitz Roger had been at Warkworth on the Thursday after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen (22nd July), 1304, when, in the presence of Sir John de Swyneburne, Sir Roger Corbet, Sir John de Vaux, John de Eure, John de Lisle (of Woodburn), and John de Normanville, he set his seal to an agreement with Lucy the widow of Thomas de Dyvelston respecting boats crossing the water of Tyne at Corbridge.⁴² He allowed the constable at Warkworth the herbage of the castle and its precincts, which covered then, as now, about an acre and a half.⁴³

John fitz Robert, who had been summoned to Parliament by the name of Clavering during his father's lifetime in 1299, succeeded him in 1310. The next year (20th Nov. 1311), he made a compact with

⁴¹ Ibid; *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, II. p. 417.

⁴² *Misc. Chart.* No. 461 in the Treasury, Durham. Attached to this is a seal, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, with the arms *Quarterly over all a bend*, and the legend *SI RO BER TI* all within a cusped panel. This is engraved in Surtees's *Durham* II. Seals, plate x. No. 20, but in the descriptive letterpress, *ibid.* IV. App. p. cxxi. it is erroneously attributed to Robert de Widdrington. The Widdrington arms only differed from those of the lords of Clavering in the 1st and 4th quarters being *argent* instead of *or*. A still plainer seal of Robert fitz Roger appended to a deed dated at Horford the vigil of St. Andrew (29. Nov.) 1279, is engraved in Blomefield's *Norfolk* cont. by Parkin, X. p. 439.

⁴³ 'Est ibi quædam placea continens in se unam acram et dimidiam terre super quam Castrum est situm; et prædictus Robertus dedit herbagium ejusdem in feodo Constabulario ejusdem Castri.'—Inq. p. m. 3 Ed. II. No. 55, in *Archæologia Eliana* III. p. 104. In accounts of Warkworth it is usually said that the castle contains between five and six acres. Grose seems to have been the originator of this mistake.—*Antiquities*, London, Hooper, 1785, IV., p. 152.

Edward II. that, on consideration of his being granted for life the manor of Costessey and other lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire, his castle of Warkworth and the manors of Rothbury in Northumberland and Eure in Buckinghamshire should, on his death, become the property of the king or his heirs; as should also his manors of Newburn and Corbridge, in the event of his leaving no legitimate male issue.⁴⁴ The long continuance of the Scottish wars made it expedient that the king should have the castles of Northumberland under his immediate control. This was attained, to a certain extent, by his furnishing a portion of their garrisons. In a safe-conduct for John le Irish de Hibernia, dated at York 15th Aug., 1314, Edward II. provides that were the Irishman close pressed by the Scots the constable of Warkworth, if certain no fraud was intended, should receive him into that castle.⁴⁵ At the close of Gilbert de Middleton's rebellion in 1317, the loyal garrison of Warkworth, in conjunction with those of Alnwick and Bamburgh, reduced the peles of Bolton and Whittingham.⁴⁶ The agreement entered into with John de Crumbwell and Robert d'Umfranville Earl of Angus, as Wardens of the March of Northumberland, in September, 1319, mentions that the castle of Warkworth had its own garrison of 12 men-at-arms, and that the king would place in it at his cost 4 men-at-arms and 8 hobilers or light horsemen, to be chosen by Robert Darreys and John de Thirlewall.⁴⁷ In 1322 Robert Darreys, constable of Warkworth, is said to have contributed 26 hobilers from the garrison for the king's expedition to Scotland;⁴⁸ but on the 26th of September in that year Ralph de Neville, as constable, was severely reprimanded by Edward II. for neglecting a favourable opportunity of attacking the Scots.⁴⁹

During their hasty retreat from Stanhope Park in the early part of August, 1327, the Scots, having failed to surprise Alnwick, laid siege to Warkworth. Several of them perished in the attack, and the rest,

⁴⁴ Abb. Rot. Orig. I. p. 185, Ro. 6. 5 Ed. II.; Wallis, *Northumberland*, II. p. 353 *ex* Rot. Claus. 6 Ed. II. m. 11; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. ii. p. 293.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Rot. Scot.* I. p. 131.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. p. 623.

⁴⁷ 'En le Chastel de Werkeword sont de la propre garnison xij hommes d'armes et le Roy y mettra iiij hommes d'armes et viij hobelours as custages le Roy le qieux Robert Derreys et Johan de Thirlewall ont empres de trouver.'—*Escheq. Q. R. Misc. (Army)* Ψ.

⁴⁸ Grose, *Antiquities*, London, Hooper. 1785, IV. p. 162, quoting a MS. account of Roger de Waltham, Keeper of the Wardrobe.

⁴⁹ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, III. p. 146.

disappointed of their purpose, set off home.⁵⁰ Towards the end of the year, however, while Edward III. was absorbed in preparing for his marriage with Philippa of Hainault, Robert Bruce entered Northumberland with a large army and invested Alnwick, Warkworth, and other castles. But though these set sieges were followed by frequent irregular attacks, the garrisons made a successful resistance.⁵¹ In their alarm, the inhabitants of the bishopric of Durham, 'the county of Carlisle,' Richmondshire, Cleveland, and Westmoreland bought for a large sum a truce with the Scots till the following Easter. Before this term expired, the Treaty of Edinburgh, in which Edward III. renounced his claims over Scotland, was concluded on 17th March, 1328. Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, one of the English envoys, had broken his journey at Warkworth on the night of Sunday, the 6th of March, and on Monday, the 7th, William le Zouch, another of them, had arrived there.⁵²

Edward III., on the 2nd March, 1328, had made over his rever-
sionary interest in Warkworth and the other northern estates of Lord Clavering to Henry the second Percy of Alnwick, in lieu of the hereditary custody of Berwick and an annuity of five hundred marks out of the customs of that port which had been granted to Percy in reward for the bravery he displayed at the battle of Halidon Hill.⁵³ Consequently, on the death of Lord Clavering, without male issue, on the 18th Jan., 1332,⁵⁴ Warkworth, with its castle and dependencies, came

⁵⁰ 'Castrum prædicti domini (Henrici Percy) apud Werkeworthe adeunt. obsessuri; ubi quibusdam de suis interfectis a suo proposito defraudati, vers. Scotiam sunt profecti.'—*Gesta Ed. III. auctore Bridlingtonensi* (Rolls serie *Chronicles Ed. I. and II.*, II. p. 97.) It does not appear why Warkworth should be said to already belong to Henry Percy. In the first of the two princely volumes of the *Annals of the House of Percy* (printed for private circulation, London, 1887), p. 74, n. 2, and Appendix V., p. 488, Mr. E. B. de Fonblanque has, 'in consequence of a printer's error,' stated that the barony of *Warkworth*, held by the service of one knight's fee, was, with the king's approval, transferred by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, to Henry Percy, Lord of Alnwick, in 1309. The reference given for this, *Rot. Pat.* 3, *Edw. II.*, 2., m. 30, relates solely to *Alnwick*. Mr. Fonblanque very considerably wishes to have the mistake corrected here before it has time to spread further.

⁵¹ 'Dum . . . rex Edwardus circa sponsalia intenderet, Robertus rex Scociæ cum suis in Angliam revertentes castra de Alnwyk, Werkworth et alia castra Northumbriæ, obsidentes et sæpius assillentes, multa mala fecerunt.'—*Chron. de Melia*, Rolls ed. II. p. 857; see also *Chron. de Lancercost*, p. 260.

⁵² *Notes respecting Travelling in the former half of the 14th Century*, by Rev. Joseph Hunter. p. 23, in *Proc. Archæol. Inst.*, 1846.

⁵³ *Cal. Rot. Pat.* 2 Ed. III. m. 25; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. ii. p. 366. 'Iste etiam Henricus perquisivit de dono regis Baroniam de Werkworth pro suo bono et crebro servitio.'—*Chron. Monasterii de Alnwyke*, in *Arch. Æl.* III. p. 40.

⁵⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I., p. 109. Lord Clavering died at his manor of Aynho, in Northamptonshire, and was buried in the choir of Langley Abbey. Among

into the Percy family, forming a valuable complement to the barony of Alnwick, which they had acquired in 1309.

The castle still continued to be used more or less as a royal fortress. In 1355 the constable and his lieutenant received orders from Edward III., dated Berwick, October the 10th, to release Adam Skele and Nicholas Betteson, men of that town, who had been committed to their custody on suspicion of treason.⁵⁵

Henry the Strong, the first Percy of Warkworth, died there unexpectedly on the 27th Feb., 1352, after having been detained by a short illness.⁵⁶ The jury of inquest empanelled at Alnwick on the 21st March, before John de Coupland, as Escheator of Northumberland, returned the buildings in the castle of Warkworth as of no value beyond the cost of repairing them. The herbage of the moat was, they stated, worth 18d. a year, and was let for that sum.⁵⁷

The succeeding lord, Henry Percy the Short, conferred at Warkworth various privileges on the Carmelites of Hulne, at the instance of their prior, Robert de Populton, on the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March), 1364. Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Thomas Surtees, Sir Ingram Umfreville, and others were there at the time.⁵⁸ This lord, too, died at Warkworth on Ascension Day, the 18th May, 1368, at the eleventh hour—proof that the castle had become a favourite residence of the Percies.⁵⁹ The inquisition taken at Newcastle as to the lands

* a muniments of Balliol College, Oxford, is an instruction from him to his heirs, to pay certain moneys to that college, dated at Aynho, 1st May, 128. The seal attached to this, which is said to be 'nearly perfect,' in *Historical MSS. Comm. 4th Report*, p. I., p. 444, proves to be very small, and in a bad state of preservation, with merely the Clavering shield, and the legend s JOHANNIS FIL ROBERTI.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Rot. Scot.* I. p. 381.

⁵⁶ 'Quasi modica infirmitate in castro de Werkworth detentus obiit insperate.'—*Chron. Mon. de Alnewyke, Arch. Æl.* III. p. 40.

⁵⁷ Inq. p. m. 26 Ed. III. No. 52A, printed in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxx.

⁵⁸ 'Hiis testibus domino Roberto de Rothbury tunc Abbate de Alnewyk ac Henrico de Percy, Thoma de Percy filiis meis, Ricardo Tempest, Thoma Surteys, Ingram de Umfravyll militibus, magistro Thoma de Fernylawe vicario de Emeldon, domino Wilhelm de Newport rectore ecclesie de Wermouth, domino Johanne Jordan necnon Ricardo Dask, Henrico de Percy, Johanne Whitlee, Hugone Galon et aliis. Data apud Werkworth in Annunciatione Virginis gloriose anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo quarto.'—*Registrum Cartarum Conventus de Holne*. in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1152, ii. App. p. xcv.

⁵⁹ 'Qui obiit in castello de Werkworth in die Ascensionis Domini hora undecima, littera dominicali A luna corrente per unum, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo octavo.'—*Ibid.* What does the reference to the Dominical Letter, etc., mean?

he left, again states that the castle of Warkworth was worth nothing over the expense of keeping it in repair; the annual value of the herbage of the moat had fallen to 12d.

On setting out for the wars in France in 1378, Henry Percy, the next lord, ratified the charters of Alnwick Abbey, at his castle of Warkworth, on the 19th of June, in the presence of Sir William de Aldburgh, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Ingram Umfravill, Sir Robert Clavering, Sir John Heron, and Sir William Claxton.⁶⁰ Created Earl of Northum-

⁶⁰ 'Nos autem dictus dominus Henricus de Percy ad honorem Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et beate Mariæ semper virginis, genetricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, respicientes, et necessarium obsequium ipsorum quod in presenti itinere nostro versus partes guerrivas, nos oporteat considerare et requirere cum effectu pro nobis et complicitibus nostris in predicto itinere nostro, ac pro salute nostra et liberorum nostrorum, quamdiu vixerimus, et animarumstrarum cum ab hac luce migraverimus, necnon pro animabus omnium antecessorum nostrorum, ac anima Margaretæ nuper consortis nostræ charissimæ &c. . . . Datum in castro nostro de Warkworthe, nono-decimo die Junii, Anno Dni. m^occc^o septuagesimo tertio. Hiis testibus, Dominis Willelmo de Albronghe, Ricardo Tempest, Ingramo Umfravill, Roberto Claveringe, Johanne Herone, Willelmo de Claxtoun, Militibus, Dominis Johanne de Acun, Petro de Wellum, et Johanne de Methely, Capellanis, Henrico Percy, Thoma de Modirby, Willelmo de Atone, Nicholao de Herunne, Johanne de Rodham, Willelmo de Findemer, Thoma de Burton Clerico, Thoma de Wattone Clerico, et Thoma Galoune tunc temporis Seneschallo.'—Charters of Alnwick Abbey, 31, in *Tate's History of Alnwick*, II. App. p. xxi., from *Launsdowne MS.*, 326. *Dodsworth*. Many of these witnesses were probably included in the retinue of 12 knights, 47 squires, 160 mounted archers and men-at-arms, who accompanied their lord to France, see *Annals of the House of Percy*, I. p. 110. and *Exchequer Rolls, Army*, 45. Ed. III. The solemn invocation of the Trinity in this charter, and the special care evinced by Lord Percy for the soul of Margaret, 'late his dearest consort,' tend to strengthen the opinion of Mr. Longstaffe, *Arch. Æl.*, N.S. IV. p. 182, that the Hermitage 'bilded in a rocke of stone within the parke of Warkworth, in honour of the blessed Trynete,' was intended to honour the memory of this Margaret Neville. The architecture of the Hermitage is of this particular period, and the bull's head was the well-known badge of the Nevilles. On the other hand the absence of anything like a Percy badge is extremely remarkable, and it must be remembered that the only piece of genuine tradition attached to the Hermitage—not that tradition is worth much after the interval of even one generation—is that it was the work of 'a Bertram who murdered his brother.'—Grose *Antiquities*, 1785, IV. p. 92. The Bertram crest was also a bull's head, and although shields charged with the instruments of the Crucifixion were no doubt common in Northumberland in the Middle Ages, it is worthy of notice that the only two instances of such shields surviving are those over the doorway between the two chapels at the Hermitage and in the stained glass of Bothal Church. While on general grounds we may join with Aytoun in exclaiming 'All laud and praise to the memory of good Bishop Percy,' it is impossible not to admit the justice of Dr. Johnson's severe condemnation of the *Hermit of Warkworth*. Any historic interest that the place may possess has been sacrificed to the affected sentimentality of this penny-a-line doggerel. The opening motive of the Hermit's Tale is purloined, without acknowledgment, from the exploit of Sir William Marmion, as related in the *Scula Chronicle*, Leland's translation of which is full of natural grace. It is inconceivable how Bishop Percy, the preserver of really beautiful ballads, could turn Sir Thomas Gray's nobly-worded promise to Marmion:—'Sir Knight, ye be cum hither to fame your helmet: mount on your

berland at the coronation of Richard II. in 1377,⁶¹ he practically placed Henry Bolingbroke on the throne.⁶²

On the 14th September, 1402, he obtained a great victory over the Scots at Homildon, near Wooler. With the view, apparently, of securing a more lasting peace with Scotland, Henry IV. gave orders that none of the prisoners taken at this battle should be ransomed. At the same time he promised their captors that they should not be losers by this change in border policy.⁶³ After some remonstrance, Northumberland brought Murdoch Stewart, son of the Duke of Albany, and six other prisoners to London in triumph on the 20th of October.⁶⁴ He took this opportunity, it seems, of complaining that he and his son, Henry

horse, and ryde lyke a valiant man to your foes even here at hand, and I forsake God if I rescue not thy body deade or alyve, or I myself wyl dye for it,' into such an insipid parody as:—

'Now, Bertram, prove thy lady's helme,
Attack yon forward band:
Dead or alive I'll rescue thee
Or perish by their hand.'

Leland's translation of the whole passage will be found in Note D of the Appendix to Scott's *Marmion*.

⁶¹ John Cook of Newcastle, who died at Norham 2 Ric. II., 1378-1379, left 20 marks towards building Warkworth bridge if it were built within two years from the time of his making his will, otherwise the money was to be given to the bridge of Bolbec (Bywell).—Wallis, *Northumberland*, II. p. 355; Bourne, *Newcastle*, p. 203. Warkworth bridge probably had the benefit of John Cook's legacy, as the architecture of it is similar to that of other bridges of 14th century construction. The gatehouse at the south end of it may have been built about the same time.

⁶² The account of the events of 1402 and 1403, about to be given in the text, is perhaps longer and more detailed than is strictly justifiable in treating of Warkworth Castle. The fact is that the general interest of the history of England at this juncture seems to centre in the home of the Percies, so much so that three scenes of Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* are laid at Northumberland's Castle of Warkworth, which he well describes as 'a worm-eaten hold of ragged stone.' For those who do not possess a degree of imagination sufficient to call up the true facts of history before their eyes, this employment of the castle as a stage background by the great dramatist is the most interesting circumstance connected with it. It is better then to caution those who are thus bent on mistaking poetry for history, that the celebrated Tripartite Indenture between the Earl of Northumberland (not Hotspur), Mortimer, and Glendower was made in 1406, not in 1403 (Giles, *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon* p. 39); that Hotspur was born in 1366, Henry IV. in 1367, and Henry V. in 1388; that the name of Hotspur's wife was Elizabeth not Kate; that her brother Sir Edmund Mortimer, who married the daughter of Owen Glendower, was not Earl of March; that the Earl of Northumberland received the news of Hotspur's death not at Warkworth, but at Newcastle, while his Countess, Maud de Lucy, died in 1398, and could not have been before Warkworth Castle in 1405, counselling her husband to forsake Archbishop Scrope and fly to Scotland, as in *Henry IV.* Act II. Scene III.; &c., &c.

⁶³ Rymer, *Fœdera* VIII. 278.

⁶⁴ J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.*, Longmans, 1884, I. p. 297. This work is an important contribution to the history of the period, written in a pleasant style and impartial spirit.

Hotspur, had spent their all in the king's service without receiving due payment for the custody of the Marches. With a bare treasury, and no means of refilling it without imperilling his crown, Henry could only reply, '*Aurum non habeo, aurum non habebis.*' The great Earl of Douglas, who had yielded to Hotspur at Homildon, was conspicuously absent from the pageant. The king required that he, too, should be handed over. Instead, however, of complying, Hotspur sought an audience and demanded that the king should ransom his brother-in-law, Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken prisoner by the Welsh on the 22nd June, under circumstances which, if not traitorous, were at any rate disgraceful. Henry refused to allow any money to pass out of England to his enemies, and declared that Mortimer was a traitor who had merely pretended to be captured in order to join Owen Glendower. 'And thou, too, art a traitor,' he added, charging Hotspur with not seizing Glendower when he had the opportunity, and drawing his dagger on him. For once Hotspur showed remarkable self-control. Replying 'Not here, but in the field,' to the king's assault,⁶⁵ he declared that his own honour would not have permitted him to violate the safe-conduct given to Owen at their meeting, and at once set out for Berwick.⁶⁶ The quarrel of the king with Hotspur does not appear to have interfered with his good relations with the Earl of Northumberland, who was commissioned to ask the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and all the Commons to dine with the king after the close of Parliament on Sunday, 26th November. A few days later Henry's suspicions of Mortimer were more than justified. About 30th November Mortimer wedded the daughter of Owen Glendower, and issued a manifesto to his tenantry on 13th December, in which he urged the claims of his nephew and namesake, the young Earl of March, to the throne of England, and promised that the independence of Wales should be

⁶⁵ *Eulogium Historiarum*, Rolls ed. III. p. 396.

⁶⁶ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ccii. It seems very evident that the report made to the Earl of Northumberland, by a messenger sent by him to Edmund Mortimer by the king's leave, relative to a treaty with Owen Glendower in *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, II. p. 59, is to be referred to the period between Mortimer's capture and his open treason, and not as by Sir H. Nicolas to 1401. In it Owen is made to express a wish to meet the Earl, for whom he professed much attachment, and to add that he would willingly proceed to the Marches of England to treat of a peace if it were not for the danger he would be in on account of the popular rumour that he intended to root out the English language. Probably the necessary 'assurance,' as Hardyng calls it, was given him, and led to his meeting Hotspur in place of the Earl.

acknowledged.⁶⁷ In order to reward Northumberland for the victory of Homildon, the king bestowed on him, on 2nd March, 1403, the greater part of the south of Scotland, which was therewith declared to have been conquered and annexed to England. Jedburgh and Roxburgh had long been in the hands of the English, and they also appear to have held the strongholds of Fast Castle, Cockburnspath, and Innerwick, along the east coast. The king, no doubt, considered that a grant of this princely character would also settle any financial grievances the Percies had against him. Hotspur seems, however, not to have been content with the fertile territory already subdued. He resolved to overrun the whole country as far as the Firth of Forth, demolishing the fortresses, and systematically burning and destroying all before him;⁶⁸ but when he appeared before the little tower of Cocklaw or Ormiston in the upper part of Teviotdale, which belonged to James Gledystanes,⁶⁹ the captain, John Greenlaw, refused to give it up, and after some show of a siege, an entire suspension of hostilities was agreed to in May, with the stipulation that the garrison would surrender on the 1st of August if they did not previously receive succour from the Scottish government. Hotspur's professed object in agreeing to these terms was to provoke the Scots to a pitched battle more disastrous than Homildon. On the 30th of May, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the Council from Newcastle-upon-Tyne informing them that he and Hotspur had bound themselves by an indenture to be at Ormiston on the 1st of August, in order to receive possession of the castle if it were not delivered by battle on that day.⁷⁰ He asked for their good offices in obtaining payment from the king, so that he might know by the 24th of June on what support he had to reckon. Instead of the money, he appears to have then received letters from Henry, in which the king first said that he considered the Percies would be sufficiently strong at the appointed tryst at Ormiston without any assistance from him, and then recollecting the

⁶⁷ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. p. 344.

⁶⁸ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. 1152, *Ann. of House of Percy* I. p. 215 n.

⁶⁹ The *Ordnance Survey of Scotland* disposes of the difficulty historians have laboured under in fixing the site of Cocklaw, by showing that there are remains of a tower of that name immediately to the north-east of Ormiston near Hawick. The Percies would hardly have bound themselves to be both at Cocklaw and Ormiston on the 1st of August had they not been the same place. James and Thomas Gledstanys 'nobiles viri' were witnesses to the publication in the neighbouring church of Great Cavers on 13th Nov., 1404, of the Papal confirmation of that church to Melrose Abbey.—*Liber de Melros*, II. p. 486.

⁷⁰ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 203.

great expense this was likely to cause them, told the Earl he had given orders to send him in all haste a certain sum of money. Two days later Northumberland replied from 'Helawe,' demanding £20,000 as the balance of arrears due to himself and Hotspur.⁷¹ With his empty exchequer, Henry was utterly unable to provide such a sum, but he resolved to do all he could by marching in person to the assistance of the Percies. The Earl in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from this project.⁷² On the 10th of July the king was at Higham Ferrars, in Northamptonshire. He there ordered the Council to despatch £1,000 to his eldest son, Prince Henry, who, after a successful raid into Owen Glendower's country, found himself in great pecuniary straits at Shrewsbury. At the same time he declared himself resolved to adhere to his purpose of proceeding to Scotland to there give all aid possible 'to his very dear and faithful cousins, the Earl of Northumberland, and Henry, his son, at the battle honourably undertaken by them for him and his kingdom against the Scots, his enemies.'⁷³ In the meantime, however, a most formidable conspiracy against the unsuspecting king had been woven within the walls of Warkworth. Under the pretence of enlisting the services of the English nobility for the exploit of Ormiston, the Percies had entered into long correspondence with all of them.⁷⁴ At first they were careful not to commit themselves too far; the most they aimed at was to be self-defence and the removal of the king's evil counsellors; but in the end all these lords, with the exception of the Earl of Stafford, bound themselves by their seals to support the Percy schemes in the field. Hotspur entrusted their letters to the custody of his squire, John Hardyng, who had been with him at Homildon and Ormiston; and when, in the

⁷¹ *Ibid.* I. p. 204. Sir H. Nicolas there suggests that 'Helawe' may be Healaugh near Tadcaster. This appears to have belonged to the Percies at that time; but there are several places bearing similar names in Northumberland. Of these Healy in Coquetdale lies on the route between Warkworth and Ormiston. In any case this letter affords no evidence that the Earl of Northumberland was in Yorkshire at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury.

⁷² 'Comes denunciavit Regi non opus esse sibi sua præsentia, sed nec expedire ut elongaret a patria; sed tamen adquevit, ut Domini accederent, et Barones.'—*Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *Joh. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 361.

⁷³ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 206. Mr. Fonblanque in *Annals of the House of Percy*, I. p. 211 n.² points out that this letter bears conclusive internal evidence of having been written in connection with those from Prince Henry, dated Shrewsbury 16th and 30th May, which Sir H. Nicolas was inclined to assign to 1402.—*Proc. and Ord. of P. C.* II. pp. 61, 62. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that all three belong to 1403. See Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. p. 342 n.

⁷⁴ In *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. 1152, it is expressly stated that Hotspur after having reduced the Castle of Cocklawes, instead of capturing it, allowed the gar-

beginning of July, they rode away with eight score horsemen to Chester, Hardyng seems to have deposited the letters in some secret corner of Warkworth Castle.⁷⁵ It was not until the 17th of July that the king, at Burton-on-Trent, perceived the imminent danger he was in. At once he ordered a general levy to resist Hotspur, but in doing so confidently declared that by the mercy of God he felt himself strong enough to resist all the enemies of his crown and person.⁷⁶ The battle of Shrewsbury, fought on Saturday, 21st July, 1403, proved that this confidence was not misplaced.

On the following Monday the Earl of Northumberland was at last hastening to Hotspur's assistance, when, finding himself confronted by the levies of the Earl of Westmoreland, he led back the considerable force he had collected to Newcastle.⁷⁷ The burghers closed their gates against him, and, after a fruitless endeavour to storm the town, the Earl was content to himself obtain permission to enter for a night's rest, leaving his armed men without. The next day, while he was at breakfast, his troops, dissatisfied with their exclusion, and possibly conceiving that treachery was intended to the person of their leader, made an unsuccessful attempt to scale the walls. At this juncture the tidings of Hotspur's death at Shrewsbury seem to have arrived, and the Earl, excusing himself as best he could for the conduct of his men, forthwith disbanded his army, and

rison several weeks for surrender, in order to gain time for further increasing his forces, such forces being really intended, not for the conquest of Scotland, 'but that he might overthrow his own sovereign, Henry King of England, as was soon after put out of doubt.'—*Ann. of the House of Percy*, I. p. 215, n². According to the *Annales Henrici Quarti* all the chivalry of England prepared to keep the tryst at Ormiston but soon found out that the whole story was a myth:—'Cumque multi se parassent ad istud negotium, totum repente monstrabatur phantasma fuisse, et frivolum.'—*Bolls Series, Joh. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 361.

⁷⁵ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 351 n. Hotspur's departure for Chester with such a small following is perhaps the best example on record of that uncurbed spirit of adventure—*effrænata temeritas*—that gave him his name.—*Ann. Hen. IV.* p. 363.

⁷⁶ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 207.

⁷⁷ It is extremely difficult to understand where Northumberland was at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury. Hardyng, the best authority, says that he 'came not out of Northumberland,' but it may appear strained to interpret this to mean that he never advanced further than some place west of Newcastle. Ridpath, generally a careful judge of evidence, says his tardy advance was caused by his being taken ill at Berwick, but gives no authority.—*Border History*, 1810, p. 373. The Earl, born in Scarborough Castle 4th July, 1341, was only 62 years old at the time, and Walsingham's account of his advance 'in manu robusta et brachio extenso' scarcely tallies with his traditionary sickness.—*Ypodigma Noustræ*, Rolls ed. p. 402.

withdrew with the members of his household to Warkworth Castle.⁷⁸ There, it would appear, he received a letter from Henry IV. promising to receive him again into favour if he would peacefully present himself at York. On this assurance he met the king at York on the 11th of August,⁷⁹

‘Holy submitting hym unto his royall hand.’

But though the promise of his life and an honourable maintenance was renewed, he found himself arrested and taken by Henry IV. three days later to Pontefract. There he agreed that his four castles of Alnwick, Warkworth, Prudhoe, and Langley should be placed by the king in ‘saveguard and good governance,’ but was, nevertheless,

‘putte to holde in sore prisone

With twoo menne of his own, in Bagytton,’⁸⁰

a Warwickshire castle, situated at about equal distance from Kenilworth and Coventry.

Under circumstances such as these it is not to be wondered that, whether in compliance with secret instructions from the Earl, or acting upon their own responsibility, his grandsons and retainers resolved to hold the castles in question

‘To tyme the king had graunt hym plener grace.’⁸¹

On the 7th of September the ‘survey and governance’ of all the Earl’s possessions in the North were entrusted by the king to William Heron, Lord Say,⁸² who presided at a council held in Durham Abbey on the 25th of that month.⁸³ It was there decided, among other similar measures, that Sir Henry Percy of Athole the Earl’s grandson, Richard Aske, and John Cresswell the constable should be called on to surrender Warkworth Castle to Sir John Mitford, Sheriff of Northumberland.⁸⁴ Lord Say, therefore, proceeded to Wark-

⁷⁸ ‘Secessit cum cotidiana familia ad Werkeworthe proprium castrum suum’. — *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *J. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 371. ‘Rediens ad castellum proprium de Werkwortha.’ — Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustria*, Rolls ed. p. 402.

⁷⁹ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I. p. 367.

⁸⁰ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, cciii. p. 362.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Rot. Pat.*, 4. Henry IV., 2, 8, in Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I. p. 369 n°. Lord Say was no enemy of the Earl of Northumberland, to whom he left 20*l.* in his will dated 1404:—‘I having been a soldier under the said Earl and received more than I deserved.’

⁸³ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 213.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 214.

worth in company with Thomas Nevill Lord Furnival, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Gerard Heron and Sir John Mitford, and summoned Sir Henry Percy to evacuate the castle, and repair to the royal presence. Sir Henry, who could not have been more than eighteen, declared himself ever ready to obey his sovereign's behests provided he were properly armed and accoutred, but this, unfortunately, was not then the case. To deprive him of this excuse, the Lords Furnival and Say applied to John Wyndale, the chaplain of Alnwick Castle, and to the 'wardroper' there to furnish Sir Henry with beds suited to his rank, and vessels of silver, armour, and horses.⁸⁶ This Wyndale and the wardroper refused to do, unless they received a warrant to that effect from the Earl. In the end, the two lords, to make the best of a bad business, persuaded Sir Henry Percy to swear on the altar that he would be faithful to the king, and that Warkworth should be well guarded. The constable, John Cresswell, proved equally intractable. The ward of the castle, he maintained, had been granted him for his life by the Earl under indenture. The most that could be extorted from him was an oath to keep the castle loyally for the use and profit of both King and Earl.

Henry IV. was at this time (20th September to 2nd October, 1403) in Wales.⁸⁶ Lord Say turned back from Warkworth, bearing a despatch to the king from Lord Furnival relating the facts just stated,⁸⁷ and he was also entrusted with one from the Earl of Westmoreland. 'The castles of Alnwick and Warkworth,' wrote Westmoreland, 'as well as other 'fortelettes' in those parts have not yet been reduced to a proper state of submission. The king should come North himself after his arrival from Wales. It would be well if, in the meantime, he would send

⁸⁶ 'lites resonables pur son estat vesselles d'argent armour et chivaux.'—*Ibid.* p. 216.

⁸⁶ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. pp. 374, 375.

⁸⁷ 'La credence du Sire de Say par le Sire de Furniville pur declarer au Roy nostre souverain Seigneur.'—*Proc. and Ord. of P. C. I.* p. 213. In editing this work Sir H. Nicolas has often paid little regard to the contents of the very valuable documents he was printing. This 'credence,' for example, is entered in his Chronological Catalogue, Introduction, p. xxii., as 'Minutes of Councils held at Durham, 25th Sept. and 18th Oct., 1403,' and on p. 213 as 'Minutes of Councils held at Warham, (not corrected in Errata p. lxxxvii.) 25th Sept. and 13th Oct., 1403.' The truth being that, as plainly appears in the document itself, the despatch relates to a Council held at Durham on 25th Sept., and the memorandum to an interview between Lord Say and the Earl of Northumberland, at Baginton, in Warwickshire, on 13th Oct., 1403.

North by sea siege-engines, cannon, artillery, and other things necessary for storming these castles, both as a terror to the disobedient, and for use in case of emergency.⁸⁸

As want of funds was causing the Welsh expedition to end in failure, it was not very likely that Henry IV. would be able to follow Westmoreland's advice. In this difficulty it occurred to Lord Say that he might procure the pacification of the North by obtaining express orders from the Earl of Northumberland for the surrender of Warkworth and the other castles. He travelled to Baginton, and there on the 13th of October, the Earl, in the highly suggestive presence of his seven gaolers, agreed with Lord Say that he would send to London for his Great Seal in order to affix it to 'everything that was pleasing to his sovereign lord the king.'⁸⁹ About the same time Lord Say submitted to the King and Council a schedule of letters and orders to be issued under 'the Great Seal of the arms of the Earl of Northumberland.'⁹⁰ Sir Henry Percy and Richard Aske were to be commanded to come to the king; Sir Thomas Aulaby and John Wyndale were to prepare fitting apparel for Sir Henry Percy and to provide for the costs of his journey; John Aske was to ride to his brother Richard at Warkworth and to persuade him to journey south in his company; and Sir John Mitford was to take over Warkworth Castle, with the assurance that he would be paid for the expense of guarding it. The Earl's Great Seal was forwarded to him from London by Richard Vaux, a special messenger, sometime before the 9th of November,⁹¹ but the letters and orders if sealed by it were of

⁸⁸ 'La credence donnee au Sire de Say par le Conte de Westmerlande pour declarer au Roy notre seigneur.'—*Ibid.* p. 209. Sir H. Nicolas wrongly ascribes this document to 'about July, 1403.' If he had read it through, he would have seen that the king was in Wales, and the Earl of Northumberland in prison at the time.

⁸⁹ 'Fait a remembrer que le Counte de Northumberlond ad grantez au Sire de Say a Bakyntone le xiiij^{me} jour Doctober (*sic*) en presence de Rogger Smert, Robert Wyville, Robert Passemerc, Thomas Riddynges, William Russcheale, Johan Cope et Piers Barewelle gardeins de luy; qil voet envoyer a Londres pur son grant seal pur ensealer tout ce que poet estre plesante a notre tresoverain seigneur le Roy.'—*Ibid.* p. 217.

⁹⁰ 'Les nouns as queux lettres seront adressees sil plect a notre souverain seigneur le Roy et a son conseil desouz le grand seal des armes du Conte de Northumbrie pur la liveree de les chasteaux desouz escriptes.'—*Ibid.* p. 211. Sir H. Nicolas there falsely ascribes this list to August, 1403, while he places it under July, 1403, in his Chronological Catalogue.—*Ibid.* Introduction, p. xxii.

⁹¹ '*Die Veneris id. die Novembris, Ricardus Vaux.* Ricardo Vaux misso ex ordinacione consilii Regis cum sigillo comitis Northumbrie eidem Comiti

little use. On the 30th of November, Lord Furnival was instructed to open fresh negotiations with the defenders of Warkworth, and on the 3rd of December was empowered to receive the custody of it for the king.⁹² On the 6th of that month Henry IV. addressed a writ to Sir Henry Percy commanding him, on his faith and allegiance and under pain of forfeiting everything he could forfeit, to at once deliver up the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth to Lord Furnival, and, without further excuse of any kind, to put in a personal appearance at court.⁹³ Notwithstanding all which, on the 13th January, 1404, the castles of Berwick, Alnwick, and Warkworth were still held by main force against the king by Sir William Clifford, Sir Henry Percy, and his younger brother Sir Thomas, who were distributing the 'livery of the crescent' to the large forces they had collected.⁹⁴ The castles had not surrendered by the 25th of the month;⁹⁵ and in February the Earl of Northumberland, having been acquitted of the charge of treason by his peers, was, with diplomatic generosity, restored by the king to his estates, even the fine he had incurred being remitted.⁹⁶

The Earl brought his three grandsons to Henry IV. at Pontefract in June, 1404,⁹⁷ but his conduct continued to excite suspicion. He had

liberando, In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis et expensis suis eundo et redeundo ex causa predicta per considerationem Thesaurarii et Camerarii, xxvjs. viiijd.'—*Polls Issue Roll*, 5 Hen. IV., Mich.

⁹² *Rot. Scot.* II. p. 165.

⁹³ *De essendo coram Rege.* Rex Henrico de Percy filio Thome de Percy Chivaler, salutem. Quibusdam certis de causis nos specialiter moventibus, tibi super fide et ligeancia quibus nobis teneris et sub forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfacere poteris precipimus firmiter injungentes quod statim visis presentibus Castra de Alnewyk et Werkworth per te et tuos tenta et occupata dilecto et fideli nostro Thome Neville domino de Furnyvalle quem ad illa de te recipiendum per literas nostras patentes deputavimus liberes seu liberari facias et excusacione quascumque cessante in propria persona tua penes presenciam nostram in comitiva nostra moraturus te trahas properes et festines Et hoc super fide et ligeancia tuis predictis ac sub forisfactura antedicta millatenus omittas. Teste Henrico apud Westm. vj. die Decembr. Per ipsum Regem et consilium.—*Rot. Claus.* 5 Hen. IV., pt. 1, m. 27.

⁹⁴ 'Et auxi que lez Chastell de Berwyk, Alnwyk et Warkworth sount garde par le mayn force par Monsieur William de Clifford, Monsieur Henry Percy, et Monsieur Thomas Percy, et voilliount tener lez ditez Chastell encontre vous s'ils pouront. Et auxi que lez ditez Chevaliers, &c.'—Letter from John Coppyll, Constable of Bamburgh, to Henry IV., dated Bamburgh, 13th Jan. 1404.—*Royal and Historical Letters temp. Henry IV.*, Rolls Series, i. p. 206.

⁹⁵ *Wylie, Henry IV.* i. p. 399, quoting *Rot. Parl.* iii. 523.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 402.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 450. In the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *John de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 390, two of the Earl's grandsons, Henry and Thomas, are given as

but recently arrived in Northumberland, when, on Saturday, the 3rd January, 1405, he received letters from the king desiring his presence at a Council to be held at Westminster during the week after St. Hilary's day (14th January). Instead of going, he replied from Warkworth on the 12th of January, excusing himself on the grounds of having just come home, of his great age and feebleness, and of the long and bad road in winter time. He prayed God to grant 'his very redoubtable Sovereign Lord' an honoured life, joy, and health for long to come, and signed himself 'your humble Matathias.'⁹⁸

In the following May the Earl, no longer caring to disguise his opinions, seized the person of Robert Waterton, Esquire, whom the king had sent to him with a message, and committed him to durance vile in the castle of Warkworth.⁹⁹ He then joined the conspiracy of Archbishop Scrope, but, as in the case of Hotspur's rebellion, suffered the insurgents to be defeated before he brought up his promised levies.

At the head of an army of, it is said, thirty-seven thousand men, Henry IV. marched into Northumberland in person. He brought with him every conceivable engine of war, from the old-fashioned stone-casting catapults to the newly-invented guns, one of the latter being so large that, it was believed, no wall could withstand the missiles it hurled.¹⁰⁰ The Earl fled before him into Scotland, taking with him

the sons of Hotspur, and only one, Henry Percy of Athole, as the son of Sir Thomas Percy who died in Spain in 1386. This, however, appears to be a mistake, since Henry fitz Hotspur was then only in his tenth year, and a younger brother of his could not have been already a knight nor have taken even a nominal part in the defence of Alnwick and Warkworth.

⁹⁸ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii. p. 103. The Earl's father is compared to Judas Maccabæus in accounts of the battle of Neville's Cross, 'Dominus Henricus Percy, ut alter Judas Machabæus filius Matathie, etc.'—*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 350, the Matathias on that occasion being the Archbishop of York. The Earl used the same signature in his letter from Helawe in June, 1403 (see *ante* p. 100).

⁹⁹ 'Item, en le mois de Maii suisdit Henry de Percy appelle Count de Northumbrie enprisona ou fist enprisonner Robert Watertone Esquier de notre Seigneur le Roy et par luy envoiez en message a dit Henry de Percy et luy tenoit et fesoit tenir longement en prisonne encontre sa voluntee en les Chastels de Werkworth Alnewic Berwyc et aillours et luy ne vullloit delivrer par mandement ne message de notre Seigneur le Roy nen autre maniere tanque Johan de Watertone frere au dit Robert fust mys en hostage pour luy.—*Rot. Parl.* 7 Hen. IV. 74.

¹⁰⁰ 'omne preparamentum belli, machinas petrarias, balistas et gunnas; quarum una tam capax fuit, ut nullus murus perferret, ut creditur, ictus ejus.'—*Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, p. 411. The king is said to have taken a personal interest in the construction of his artillery, and the disastrous effect of his cannonade of Berwick during this campaign is attested by the reports of his son John in *Cotton MS. Vesp. F. vii. ff. 109, 116.*

his grandson Henry fitz Hotspur. After Prudhoe had fallen in the first place, the royal host

‘to Warkworth remeuid in great araye,
¶ Wher the castell with in aweke was yolde
Vnto the kyng after assautes fell and sore ;
The casteleyns to passe free wher thei would,
With horse and harnes without chalenge more.’¹⁰¹

This capitulation took place on the 1st of July. The king, writing there on the following day to acquaint the Privy Council with his success, states that the captain of the castle had announced his determination to hold it for the Earl, but that on the royal cannon being brought up they worked such destruction on the castle, that after the seventh discharge the captain and others of his company cried ‘Mercy,’ and surrendered at discretion.¹⁰² The captain appears to have been John de Middelham, who had been one of the defenders of Alnwick in 1403. With the rest of the garrison he seems to have been accorded the honourable terms mentioned by Hardyng, but in August, 1407, it was discovered that he had received a letter from the Earl of Northumberland, which he had communicated to William de Alnewyk, canon of Alnwick Abbey and vicar of Chatton, and he was accordingly arrested and condemned to death. His confession that he had transmitted the letter in question to William de Alnewyk led the canon to flee for his life to the Earl of Northumberland in Scotland, where he remained for some time. A pardon was granted to Alnewyk in April, 1408,¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, cciii.

¹⁰² *Proc. and Ord. of P. C.*, i. p. 275 :—‘ . . . le chastel de Werkworthe et a notre venue illeques nous envoiasmes au capitain de mesme livree dicel, liquel capitain soy tenant assez fort sibien de gens comme de vitaille et de tout autre estuffe refusa outrement de le faire, disant quil vourroit garder le dit chastel al oepe du dit Conte. Et ce a nous rapp . . . pour finale response, nous envoiasmes incontinent a ycel chastel noz canones qui y firent a nous tiel service que dedeinz sept gettes, le dit capitain et tous les autres de sa compagnie criantz merci se soubmistrent a notre grace en hault et en bas, et firent a nous liveres du susdit chastel a savoir le premier jour de cest mois de Juillet, dedeinz quel nous avons mis noz gens.’

¹⁰³ *De pardonacione*. Rex &c. salutem. Sciatis quod cum mense Augusti ultimo preterito quedam litera per nuper Comitem Northumbrie cuidem Johanni de Middelham nuper custodi Castri de Werkeworthe in Comitatu Northumbrie missa fuisset, qui quidam Johannes literam predictam post recepcionem et inspeccionem ejusdem mandavit Willielmo de Alnewyk Canonico Abbatie de Alnewyke et vicario ecclesie de Chatton, ac idem Johannes ea occasione postmodum inde impetratus et morti condemnatus prefatum nuper Comitem in partes Scocie transivit, ubi ipse diu moram traxit literam illam prefato Willielmo transmississe se confessus fuisset, quo pretextu idem Willielmus ob metum mortis et in salvacionem vite sue fugit et penes

and he eventually became Archdeacon of Salisbury and bishop first of Norwich and then of Lincoln.¹⁰⁴

Henry IV. had in 1403 appointed his third son John, then a boy of fourteen, Warden of the East March, and in 1405 he bestowed on him the Earl's forfeited baronies of Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Langley.¹⁰⁵ Warkworth, though to all appearance it remained in the hands of the crown, served often as the head-quarters of the young prince. To this period belong four letters written by him at Warkworth, principally to complain of the defenceless state of the Border in consequence of his being left without sufficient funds.¹⁰⁶ Nor can these complaints be deemed unreasonable when it is remembered that he undertook the custody of the East March for very considerably less than had been allowed to Hotspur,¹⁰⁷ and received payment with no greater regularity. In the letter to the Lords of the Council, 'written in haste at Warkworth, the 28th day of December,' he states that he had actually pawned his silver plate and his jewels for the preservation of Berwick and payment of his soldiery.¹⁰⁸ He was certainly at Warkworth Castle on the

ut dicit; Nos ob reverenciam Dei de gratia nostra speciali et ad supplicacionem ipsius Willielmi pardonavimus eidem Willielmo sectam pacis nostre que ad nos versus ipsum pertinet pro omnimodis perdicionibus insurrectionibus rebellionibus forisfacturis felonis et mesprisionibus quibuscumque per ipsum ante hec tempora factis sive perpetratis, unde ipse indictatus rectatus vel appellatus existit, ac eciam utlagarie si que in ipsum hiis occasionibus fuerint promulgate, et firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus. Ita tamen quod stet recto in curia nostra si qui versus eum loqui voluerint de premissis vel de aliquo premissorum. In cuius etc. Teste Rege. apud Westmonesterium xxiiij die April. Per breve de privato sigillo.—*Rot. Pat.* 9. Hen. IV. pt. 2. m. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Tate, *History of Alnwick*, I. p. 274. As bishop of Lincoln, William de Alnewyk aided the foundation of Eton College in 1440 by appropriating the parish church of Eton to its use.—Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Rot. Pat.* 6 Henry IV. pt. 2, m. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Of these letters that in *Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. vii. No. 110, f. 105*, addressed to the Keeper of the Privy Seal and dated 'al Chastell de Werkworth le xxvj jour de Novembre,' and the almost identical one of the same date to the king, *Ibid.* No. 111, f. 106, seem to belong to 1405, as the prince alludes in them to the fact of the castles of Berwick, Jedburgh and Fast Castle having been recently entrusted to him. In another letter to the king, 'escript en haste a vostre Chastell de Werkeworth,' also on 26th Nov., possibly in a different year, he declares that he cannot remove John Mosdale the constable from Scarborough Castle, nor interfere with the castles of Whitby and Hartlepool, which belonged to the Abbot of Whitby and Lord Clifford, without more express orders.

¹⁰⁷ 'le dit gardein . . a prise la garde de les . ville chastel et marche a meyndre prys annuellement pour le temps du guerre que Mons. Henry Percy prist en son temps par xj^m D. marc en discharge du roialme, &c.'—*Cotton MS. Vesp. F. vii. f. 116* in *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, ii. p. 138. Sir H. Nicolas carelessly translates this 'the Duke had undertaken the Wardenship for 1,500 marks a year less than was allowed to Sir Henry Percy.'—*Ibid.* Pref. p. xiv. and *Chronological Catalogue*, p. viii.

¹⁰⁸ 'Jay mys en plege tout mon vessell dargent avec toutz mes autres poveres

1st of January, 1406, when he confirmed there the privileges of Hulne Priory by letters patent.¹⁰⁹ The castle seems to have been entrusted to the keeping of Sir Robert Umfravill in the capacity of captain; at least, on the 30th of May, 1406, the king directs him as such to restore the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which stood about half-a-mile to the south of Warkworth, and had been held on lease by the attainted Earl of Northumberland to the prior and convent of Durham.¹¹⁰ Sir Robert appointed John Hardying to be constable under him; and Hardying was thus enabled to recover in the castle the letters compromising the loyalty of nearly the whole peerage of England which Hotspur had confided to his care before the battle of Shrewsbury.¹¹¹ Subsequently, the castle would appear to have become the property of the royal Warden, as John of Lancaster dates his confirmation of the Maudlins to Durham in 1413 'at our castle of Warkworth on the twelfth day of May in the first year of the reign of my very sovereign brother King Henry the Fifth.'¹¹²

Two years later, on the 21st of May, John Hull and William Chancellor received instructions from the king to conduct Murdoch of Fife, the son of the Duke of Albany, who had been a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Homildon, to the north for the purpose of exchanging him for Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who had been

joiaux pour lease des souldours et salvacion de la ville.—*Cotton MS. Vesp. F. vii. No. 113, f. 107.* The *Cottonian Catalogue*, p. 498, which ascribes all four letters to 1407 on no authority, has misdated this one 28th Nov.

¹⁰⁹ 'Johannes illustris regis Angliæ filius Conestabularius Angliæ ac Custos Orientalis Marchiæ versus Scotiam &c. &c. Data sub sigillo nostro in castro de Werkeworth primo die Januarii anno regni metuendissimi domini et patris mei regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Angliæ septimo.'—*Proc. of Archaeol. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. xcvi. The charter is there headed *Confirmatio domini Johannis duois Bedfordiæ*. John of Lancaster was created Duke of Bedford and Earl of Kendal on 16th May, 1414.

¹¹⁰ 'Rex dilecto et fideli suo Roberto Umfravill capitaneo castris nostri de Werkeworth &c. xxx die Maij.'—Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 142. Cf. Mandate of Henry IV. to the Receiver of Warkworth Castle to pay 20s. to the Sacrist of Durham from Warkworth Mill in the king's hands by the forfeiture of Henry late Earl of Northumberland, Westminster, 30th May, A°. r. vij.—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 143. See also *Fædarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 68, p. 2.

¹¹¹ 'whiche letters I sawe in the castell of Werkeworth, when I was constable of it vnder my lord, sir Robert Vmfravile, who had that castell of Kyng Henry his gift, by forfeiture of therle of Northumberland.'—Hardying, *Chronicle*, cciii. ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 361.

¹¹² 'En tesmoynance &c. a nostre Chastel de Werkeworth le xij jour de may lan du regne de mon tressouveraine frere le Roy Henri quint puis le conquest primer.' The seal is inscribed 'sigill . . iohannis filii henrici regis.'—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 143.

left in Scotland by his grandfather, and letters ordering them to receive Murdoch were written to the constable of Warkworth and to Sir Robert Umfravill;¹¹³ while on the 27th of July, 1415, Henry V., just before setting sail for Honfleur and Agincourt, granted at Southampton an annuity of 3,000 marks to his brother John, whom he had created the Duke of Bedford, in compensation for the lands that he intended to restore to Henry Percy. The exchange of Murdoch for Percy fell through, and it was not until the 28th of February, 1416, that Lord Grey of Codnor and Sir John Nevill really received Percy at Berwick from the hands of Albany's agents.¹¹⁴ On the 18th of March following Henry Percy did homage to the king in parliament, and was, he tells the prior of Durham, 'restored to my name' as Earl of Northumberland.¹¹⁵ On the 14th of April an order was issued to the bailiffs and farmers to admit him to the possession of all lands granted in tail to his father or the Earl his grandfather. That same year he was made Warden of the East March, and the castle of Warkworth seems to have become his favourite home. Here he confirmed the rights of Hulne Priory on the 3rd of October, 1417, in a charter of which Sir Robert Umfravill is the first witness;¹¹⁶ and here his son,

¹¹³ 'A n're ch' & b'n ame le conestable de n're chastell' de ('Bamburgh' *erased*) Warkworth' &c.—*Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, ii. p. 161.

¹¹⁴ *Deputy-Keeper's 43rd Report*, App. I. p. 581. The precise date is recorded in the Little Pedigree of the Percy Family at Alnwick Castle, compiled in the time of the 4th Earl of Northumberland:—'Anno dni MCCCCXVº iiº kk marcii introivit Henricus percy comes secundus in Angliam apud Berwyke super Twedam et eodem anno desponsavit Alianoram filiam Rad' Nevyle.' The year 1414 was Leap Year; and, according to this, the marriage of Henry the 2nd Earl must have taken place between the 28th of February and the 25th of March, 1416, thus fully corroborating the statement of the *Whitby Register*, Harl. MS. 692, xxvi. f. 235, that Henry Percy's restoration to the Earldom was due to the intercession of his mother-in-law the Countess of Westmoreland. The melodramatic account of this marriage given in the *Hermit of Warkworth* is on a par with the rest of the ballad.

¹¹⁵ 'restitut a moun nome.'—Letter of Henry Earl of Northumberland to the Prior of Durham, dated London 23rd of March (1414), preserved in the Treasury, Durham. loc. 25, 146. *Seal gone*. The date of the Earl's restoration is generally incorrectly given as the 16th of March. During his detention in Scotland, he witnessed as Henry de Perci a charter (now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll) granted at Stirling, 18th Jan., 1413, to Duncan Lord Campbell by his father-in-law Robert Duke of Albany.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. 4th Report, 1873, p. 470.

¹¹⁶ *Confirmatio domini Henrici de Percy sexti*. Pateat universis per presentes quod nos Henricus de Percy comes Northumbrie filius et haeres domini Henrici de Percy chivaler nuper defuncti &c. &c. Hiis testibus Roberto Umfraville, Roberto de Ogle, Johanne de Woddryngton, Willielmo de Whytcheester, Thoma de Gray de Horton militibus, et multis aliis. Data apud castrum nostrum de Werkworth tertio die mensis Octobris anno Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Anglie quinto.—*Proc. of Archæol. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. c.

John Percy, was born on St. Grimbald's day (8th July) 1418.¹¹⁷ In the Treasury of Durham are preserved five letters of this period dated from Warkworth Castle, though the years are unfortunately not given. In one (6. Mar. 14 . .) addressed 'To oure right dere and with all oure hert enterly wele be lovede Sire in god the Lord Prioure of Duresme' the Earl of Northumberland, having, as he says, previously applied for 'licence and lefe' unto his priest Sir John of Warmouth 'to permutate with the vycar of Byllynghame,' offers 'to be bonden with other knyghtes and squyers' that Warmouth 'sall be of gude beryng unto' the prior and all his tenants and parishioners.¹¹⁸ This letter not producing the desired effect, the Earl wrote again, this time to the prior and convent and in French, on the 11th of March;¹¹⁹ this second letter was supported by one of the same date from his countess who equally betrays her eagerness to have the vicar of Billingham for chaplain in Warmouth's stead.¹²⁰ Notwithstanding these importunities the exchange seems never to have been effected. On the Earl's second letter the seal of his signet still remains bearing a *lion sejant guardant, gorged with a crescent*, and the motto *ie espoyr*; that of the countess on her letter has a sprig in flower enclosed in a crescent inscribed with *l'esperance*.¹²¹ Another time the Earl (21st July, 14 . .) informs the prior and convent that his 'Squier and Cousin William Strother hath a son whiche occupieth ye Scoles at Oxenford called Henry Strother' his 'Sybman,' and asks 'that unto some benefice' of their 'colacion' they 'woule vouchesave afre y^e preferment' of his 'clerk maistre George Radcliff specially to have him recommended.'¹²² In the fifth of these Warkworth

¹¹⁷ Collins, *Peerage*, 1812, II. p. 280, quoting Cavell's Roll. The most excellent and detailed account of the Percy family there given is generally supposed to have been written by Bishop Percy. St. Grimbald was a monk of St. Bertin at the time King Alfred was entertained in the abbey on his way to Rome. He was invited over to England by Alfred in 885, and became abbot of the secular canons of Newminster at Winchester, where he died in 903.

¹¹⁸ Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 159.

¹¹⁹ 'Esript a nostre Chastell de Warkeworth le xj^{me} jour de marce.'—*Ibid.* loc. 25, 160. The Pope, the Earl declares, would readily grant the license in question. 'John Weremouth, chaplain,' is mentioned in the will of John Stockdale of Newcastle, 8th April, 1416.—Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, 14th and 15th Cent. p. 260.

¹²⁰ Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 144.

¹²¹ See Longstaffe, *Percy Heraldry*, in *Arch. Æl.* N.S. iv. pp. 187-228.

¹²² Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 164.

letters (15th Aug., 14 . .) the Earl requests that the bearer, John del Wardrobe, a poor and aged man, may be presented to the first vacancy in the conventual almshouses at Durham.¹²³

Warkworth next appears as the scene of more important negotiations: from it the Bishop of Durham, William Alnewyk, and Lord Scrope write to the king of Scots on 23rd August, 1425, respecting a prolongation of the existing truce and Sir Robert Umfravill's mission to his court.¹²⁴

In 1428, the Earl of Northumberland granted the hospital of St. Leonard at Alnwick to the abbot and canons there with the reservation of an annual payment of five marks for his chantry recently founded in his castle of Warkworth.¹²⁵ The will of William Stowe of Ripon, an old retainer of the Percies, dated 1430, mentions his 'bed of red' and breastplate at Warkworth.¹²⁶ Finally, the second Earl of Northumberland here confirmed the fishing rights given to Alnwick Abbey by John de Vesci on the 14th Sept., 1441,¹²⁷ and on the 12th Oct., 1450, bestowed on it the advowson of the church of Leckonfield.¹²⁸

¹²³ *Ibid.* loc. 25, 149.

¹²⁴ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, iii. p. 171. Sir H. Nicolas there erroneously styles William de Alnewyk, at that time probably Archdeacon of Salisbury (see *ante* p. 108), Lord Alnewyk.

¹²⁵ 'Et nos dictus Henricus de concessu dicti Abbatis et Conventus, reservamus nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris, de proventibus præfati hospitalis, quinque marcas legalis monetæ Angliæ, per eosdem Abbatem et Conventum solvendas quolibet anno imperpetuum, per duos anni terminos, Pentecostes videlicet, et Sancti Martini in hyeme, æquis porcionibus, Cantariæ nostræ nuper fundatæ in Castello nostro de Warkworthe . . . Datum in Castello nostro de Warkworthe, xxvi^{to} die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini m^occcc^oxxviii^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxii. There seems to be no entry of the foundation of this chantry in Bishop Langley's Register. Tate (ii. p. 41) is mistaken in supposing that the obligation of paying the five marks was removed in 1457. It was not removed till 1532.

¹²⁶ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. Surt. Soc. Publ. 30, pp. 12, 13.

¹²⁷ 'Datum sub sigillo nostro apud Werkworthe, quarto decimo die mensis Septembris, anno R. R. Henrici sexti post conquestum Angliæ xx^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xiv. See also *Hist. MSS. Com.* 3rd Report, App. 1872, p. 47.

¹²⁸ 'Noveritis nos Henricum Comitem Northumbriæ. et dominum Honoris Cockirmouth, ac consortem suam ex consensu et assensu Henrici primogeniti nostri, intuitu charitatis, et pro salute animarum nostrarum, patrum, matrum, et omnium antecessorum nostrorum, et specialiter pro salute animæ excellentissimi principis et domini nostri, Henrici quinti, quondam Regis Angliæ &c. &c. Hiis testibus Johanne Priore de Tynmouth, Willelmo Priore de Breknburne, Radulpho Percy filio nostro, Roberto Ogle, Henrico Fenwyke, militibus, Rogero Thornton, Willelmo Bartrame, Ricardo Albroughe, et Johanne Cartintonne. Armigeris. Datum apud Werkworthe, xij^o die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini m^occcc^o l^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxiii.

The priors of Tynemouth and Brinkburn, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Henry Fenwick, Roger Thornton, William Bertram, Richard Albrough, and John Cartington attested this last charter.

Both the 2nd and the 3rd Earls of Northumberland fell in battle for the Red Rose. Warkworth, according to the chronicle of John Warkworth, was one of the castles which the Lancastrians retained after the defeat of Towton in 1461, and 'vytaled and stuffed both with Englischemenne, Frenschemenne, and Scottesmenne; by the which castelles thei hade the moste party of alle Northumberlond.'¹²⁹ However, on the 10th of August, 1462, Edward IV. granted the castle manor and lordship of Warkworth to his brother George Duke of Clarence.¹³⁰ In the following December, Warkworth was the headquarters of the king-making Earl of Warwick, from which he directed the sieges of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, which were in the possession of the Lancastrians. 'My Lord of Warwyk,' writes John Paston the youngest to his brother John Paston the younger from Newcastle on the 10th of that month, 'lythe at the castyll of Warcorthe, but iij. myle owt of Alnewyk, and he rydyth dayly to all thes castelys for to overse the segys; and if they want vataylys, or any other thyng, he is redy to pervey it for them to hys power. The kyng comandyd my Lord of Norfolk for to condyth vetaylys and the ordynans owt of New Castyll on to Warcorthe Castyll, to my Lord of Warwyk; and so my Lord of Norfolk comandyd Syr John Howard, Syr William Peché, Syr Robert Chamberlyen, Rafe Ascheton, and me, Calthorp and Gorge, and othyr, for to go forthe with the vytalys and ordynans on to my Lord of Warwyk; and so we wer with my Lord of Warwyk with the ordynans and the vytalys yesterdaye.'¹³¹ The Lords

¹²⁹ Warkworth, *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. 10, p. 2. John Warkworth was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1473-1498. His picture in a clerical habit holding an open book with both hands, is in the Library, with the distich underneath:—

'Vives adoptata gaudeto prole; probato

Non cuiuncque libet, progenuisse licet.'—*Ibid.* Introd. p. xxv.

In the new stained glass of the windows of the college hall his arms are given as those of Clavering, *Quarterly or and gu. a bend sa.*

¹³⁰ *Rot. Pat.* 2 Ed. IV. pt. 1. m. 3. It is said that this grant of Warkworth and other estates of the Percies was made for the purpose of enabling Clarence to support the dignity of Lieutenant of Ireland, and that Robert the first Lord Ogle was appointed constable of Warkworth and other castles under him.—Mackenzie, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 113. Does the sign of the principal hostery of Warkworth 'The Sun,' perpetuate the well-known badge of the House of York and also of the Ogles, its chief supporters in the North.

¹³¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

Crumwell, Grey of Codnor, and Wenlock, were at Warkworth with the Earl of Warwick at about this time,¹²² nor does it appear that Warkworth ever fell again into the hands of the Lancastrians.

On 27th May, 1464, Warwick's brother, John Nevill Lord Mountague, the victor of Hexham, was created Earl of Northumberland.¹²³ Warkworth may have been practically entrusted to Mountague in his capacity of Warden of the Marches, for on the 7th of December (1464-1469), under the style of 'The Earle of Northumberland and Lord Mountague, wardin,' he writes 'at my Castle att Warkworth' to Sir John Mauleverer, desiring him to cause Thomas Wade and Richard Croft to cease threatening to beat or slay the servants of Sir William Plumpton.¹²⁴

On 27th October, 1469, Henry Percy, the eldest son of the third Earl of Northumberland, swore fealty to Edward IV. at Westminster, and was consequently released from confinement in the Tower.¹²⁵ The following spring the Duke of Clarence engaged with the Earl of Warwick in a conspiracy for the restoration of Henry VI.; and on 2nd March, 1470, Warkworth and other forfeited estates of the Percies which had been granted to them appear to have been resumed by Edward IV.¹²⁶ John Nevill is said to have surrendered his title of Earl of Northumberland, and on 25th March he was advanced to the Marquisate of Mountague.¹²⁷ The very next day the custody of all hereditaments which had belonged to the third Earl of Northumberland, and had recently been possessed by the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick, was entrusted by Edward IV. to Sir Henry Percy,¹²⁸

¹²² 'My lord of Warwick lieth at Warkworth, and with him the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Grey of Codnor and my Lord Wenlok.'—*Essays Historica*, Bentley, p. 865, from *Cotton Charters*, xvii. 10.

¹²³ *Rot. Pat.* 4 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 10; Ridpath, *Border History*, 1810, p. 428, suggests by the 26th May. The 'county of Northumberland' was not granted to 'John Nevill Earl of Northumberland' till 28 July, 1466.—*Rot. Pat.* 6 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 4.

¹²⁴ *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. 25.

¹²⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera* xi. 649.

¹²⁶ Cotton, *Abridgement of the Records*, 1657, p. 689.

¹²⁷ John Earl of Northumberland had received a grant of certain castles, etc., in Devon and other counties on 19 Feb. 1470.—*Rot. Pat.* 9 Ed. iv. pt. 2. m. 6.

¹²⁸ 'Rex concessit Henrico Percy militi, custodiam omnium hereditamentorum que fuerunt Henrici ultimi comitis Northumbrie ac nuper Georgii, ducis Clarencie, ac Ricardi com. Warr. apud Ebor. xxvj die Marcii'.—*Rot. Pat.* 10 Ed. iv. m. 12. The Earl of Warwick had been granted the castle and honour of Cockermouth with its members, etc., in Cumberland, and other estates in West-

and he was soon afterwards appointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches.¹³⁹ In the September of the same year the restoration of Henry VI. was actually effected, and while it lasted Sir Henry Percy naturally bore his father's title. The battle of Barnet, 14th April, 1471, replaced Edward IV. on the throne; but though Percy had, owing to the complications of his position with regard to the Marquis of Montague, who had turned Lancastrian, passively, at any rate, aided Edward's return, he was not styled Earl of Northumberland by the Yorkists till August 1471.¹⁴⁰ The Earl received William Johnson, a Scot, to be an English subject at Warkworth on the 10th of April, 1475.¹⁴¹ Three letters, evidently his, 'written in my castell of Warkworth' to his cousin Sir Robert Plumpton are still extant; in that of the 15th of June (1483-8) he asks Plumpton to reconcile his servant Thomas Saxston and Richard Ampleford of Spofford,¹⁴² and on the 16th of July (1483-8) he attempts 'the peacifying of a grudge depending betwixt' Plumpton and Sir William Beckwith.¹⁴³ The letter of the 31st of July (1486-9) relates to matters connected with the administration of the lordship of Knaresborough.¹⁴⁴

moreland, Yorkshire, etc., on 11 Apr. 1465.—*Ibid.* 5 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 14. In the *Calendar* 'Cumberland' has been misprinted 'Northumberland'.

¹³⁹ 'Henricus Percy filius Henrici nuper comitis Northumbrie constituitur custos Marchie orientalis et medie Anglie, 17 Jul. 10 Ed. iv. (1470).—*Rot. Scot.* II. p. 422. The Middle March is here mentioned for the first time.

¹⁴⁰ The Marquess of Montague was made Warden of the East March in place of Percy by Henry VI. 22 Oct. 1470; *Sir Henry Percy* was reappointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches by Edward IV. 12 June, 1471, and as *Henry Earl of Northumberland* he appears in a commission for treating of truces with Scotland, 26 Aug. 1471.—*Ibid.* pp. 425, 428, 430. On 19 Aug. 1472 he was summoned to Parliament as Earl of Northumberland, but it is recorded then, in that very parliament which met on 12 Oct. 1472, that 'Henrie Percie, Knight, son and heir to Henry Percie, late Lord of Northumberland, is restored in bloud to the said Earldome, and to all such hereditaments of the same Earl as came to the King's hands the second day of March, in Ann. 9, Edward IV., and the attainer made against the said Earl Ann. 1, Edw. IV. is made void'.—Cotton, *Abridgement*. According to strict Peerage law no less than four Earldoms of Northumberland appear to have been conferred on the Percies of the Louvain line, (i.) the Earldom created by Charter of Ric. II., 16 July, 1377, forfeited by the attainer of the 1st Earl, June, 1406, (ii.) the Earldom created by Charter of Hen. V., 1416 (*Ann. of House of Percy*, i. p. 536 n.), and forfeited in 1537 in consequence of the attainer of Sir Thomas Percy, (iii.) the Earldom created by Ed. IV. between 12 June and 26 Aug. 1471 and probably surrendered before 12 Oct. 1472, and (iv.) the Earldom created 1 May, 1557, and extinct on 21 May, 1670.

¹⁴¹ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. clvi. from the original at Syon.

¹⁴² *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. 76. Robert Plumpton was knighted by the Duke of Gloucester at Berwick 22 Aug. 1482. The Earl was murdered by a mob near Thirsk 28 Apr. 1489.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 72-73.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 81. Sir Robert Plumpton acted as deputy for the Earl at Knaresborough from 4 Mar. 1486, p. 79 b.

There seems to be nothing to show that the 5th Earl of Northumberland, who so carefully regulated his magnificent establishments at Wressil and Leckonfield, was much at Warkworth.¹⁴⁵ His son Henry the Unthrifty, the 6th Earl, the lover of Anne Boleyn in his youth, made Warkworth the northern home of his latter years. On the 3rd of Sept., 1529, he writes from this castle to the Duke of Norfolk to say that he has put to death all the Scots of Teviotdale that came into his hands except three, and that the proclamation he had just made has been well observed in the Marches, 'appearing thereby unto me that they dread more the pain of money than their lives.'¹⁴⁶ The next year, on the 4th of August, he confirmed here the charters of Hulne Priory;¹⁴⁷ and on the 3rd of December, 1531, granted to his chaplain, Sir George Lancaster, 'myn armytage bilded in a rock of stone within my parke of Warkworth . . . in the honour of the blessed Trynete.'¹⁴⁸ He released the abbot and convent of Alnwick, at Hackney, 26th March, 1532, from the obligation, imposed on them by the 2nd Earl in 1427, of maintaining a chantry priest in Warkworth Castle, and from the penalties they were subject to for not having done so in his grandfather's, his father's, and his own time.¹⁴⁹ Writing to Henry VIII. from Warkworth on Tuesday the 22nd October, 1532, he tells the king that Mark Carr had openly promised the Earl of Murray before the King of Scots 'that within 5 dayes after he wolde burne a toun of myne within thre myle of my poore house of Werkwourthe where I lye, and gif me light to

¹⁴⁵ 'An Account of all the Deer in the Parks and Forests in the North belonging to the Earl of Northumberland taken in the 4th year of Hen. VIII. Anno 1512' states that there were then 150 fallow deer in Warkworth Park and 144 in Acklington Park.—*Northumberland Household Book*, p. 425.

¹⁴⁶ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., p. 2645.

¹⁴⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Report, App. p. 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 227 n. By letters patent dated 7th January, 1532, the Earl appointed Robert Horsley for life to be Keeper of the Gates of the castle of Warkworth, at a salary of 60s. 8d. annually, seneschal of the castle at 26s. 8d., and superintendent of the park paling at 13s. 4d. He probably about the same time appointed Cuthbert Carnaby constable of the castle for life at £10 a year.—*Ministers Accounts*, 30-31 Hen. VIII. No. 222.

¹⁴⁹ 'Et insuper sciatis nos præfatum comitem pro nobis et hæredibus meis relaxasse et quiete clamasse imperpetuum prædictis Abbati Conventui et successoribus suis de omnibus et singulis arreagiis ante diem confectionis præsentium non solutis, tam in diebus avi nostri et patris nostri quam in diebus nostris quæ solvi debuerunt annuatim ex proventibus Hospitalis Sancti Leonardi pro sustentacione salario et stipendio unius presbiteri imperpetuum celebraturi infra Castellum nostrum de Warkworth.'—Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxiv.

put on my clothes at mydnyght.'¹⁵⁰ In the following spring a letter from Lawson to Cromwell informs us (21st Feb., 1588) that though the Scots had not down to that day carried their threatened invasion into effect, the whole Council had repaired to the Lord Warden at Warkworth.¹⁵¹

A short time before his death at Hackney, on 29th June, 1537, the unhappy Earl, much in the same way as Agricola constituted Domitian his co-heir, gave his estates to Henry VIII., in the hope of their being some day restored to the family of his brother Sir Thomas Percy, who had been attainted and executed for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.¹⁵²

Warkworth having thus passed into the hands of the crown, in the spring following Richard Bellys, Robert Collingwood, and John Horsley, esquires, commissioned by the king, drew up, with the assistance of 'dyuers artificiers,' a report on the condition of five of the royal castles in Northumberland in order that it might be seen what things were 'most nedfull to be reparyd and a mendyd for strenth and gud sure holdyng and keypyng of thes castelles.' To their labours we owe

THE VIU OF THE CASTELL OF WARKWORTH.¹⁵³

'The wich Castell is a very propere howse and has within it a gudly draw well, a payre of yron gaytts and a postern gayt of yron And the said Castell is in good reparacion saveynge this thyngs followynge.

'Fyrste, ther is a new wall at the est syde of the gaythouse wych wall is not fully fynessyd and by estimacion xx *li* wolde fynesse it.

'It. ther is a fayre kychynge, wich wantts a part of the coverynge, and a fother and a half of leyde wold amend it sufficyantly. For the plumbers wages xvij *s*.

'It. ther is a fayre brewhowse and a bakhouse coveryd with sclatts and two fayre stabylls with garners a bove thame, coveryd also with sclatts, wich howse must be poyntyd with lym, and amendyt with sclatts in dyvers places liij *s* iiij *d*.

'It. ther is a marvellus proper dongeon of viij towres; all joyned

¹⁵⁰ *State Papers, Hen. VIII.* Vol. IV. part iv. p. 622.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* IV. p. 637 n.

¹⁵² *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 472.

¹⁵³ *Chapter House Books*, B₁¹, P.R.O.

in on howse togethers and well coveryd with leyd, saveynge on¹⁵⁴ of the said viij towres which must have for mendyng of fylletts and webbes¹⁵⁵ half a fother of leyd. For the plumber's wages xij s.

'It. the gret tymbere¹⁵⁶ the dynynge chamber and a littyll chamber over the gaytts wher the Erle lay hymself: mych of thes thre chambers royffs must be new castyn, the leyd of thaym. For it raynes very mych in theym. And two fothers of leyd to the leyds that is of the said royffs wold amend theym sufficyantly; and for the charges of plumbers wages vj li.

'It. for makynge of a horse mylne x li.

'Sum totale xl li iij s iiij d.

'And over and above the
said sum ther must be } iiij fother of leyd.'
for the said Castell

The Constable of Warkworth was then Cuthbert Carnaby, esquire, who with his servants Leonard Myres, Robert Kellett, and Robert Davison, and George Carr, keeper of Warkworth Park, attended the Muster held at Alnwick on the 17th and 18th of April, 1538.¹⁵⁷ He was also the King's Receiver, and as such laid out £15 17s. 7d. that year on the repair of divers towers, the great stable and other build-ings within the castle, as also on the embattlement of the south wall and the repair of the great barn.¹⁵⁸

About this time John Leland the Antiquary Royal made his tour through the North of England. 'Werkeworthe castell,' he tells us, 'stondythe on the southe syde of coquet watar, it is well maynteyned

¹⁵⁴ i.e. one.

¹⁵⁵ It is difficult to understand the exact meaning of the 'fillets and webs' of a lead roof.

¹⁵⁶ *Sic.* 'Chambre' was no doubt intended. A word following it that may have been 'of' has been inked over.

¹⁵⁷ *Arch. Æl.* IV. p. 162.

¹⁵⁸ '*Reparaciones.* Et in consimilibus denariis per ipsum Receptorem solutis pro diversis Reparacionibus factis et appositis in et super diversas turres magnum stabulum et alia edificia infra castrum domini Regis de Warkeworth hoc anno, ut in radiis plumbatorum carpentariorum lathamorum et aliorum operancium in eadem reparacione cum empcione plumbi le Sowder tegularum vocatarum slates diversarum serarum cum clavibus et clavorum de diversis sortibus cum imbatillacione muri lapidei ex australi parte ejusdem castri cum reparacione magni orei ibidem ut patet per librum predictum super hunc computum restitutum. xvi. xvijs. vijd.'—'The account of Cuthbert Carnaby, King's receiver of all castles, lands, etc. acquired by the King from Henry Earl of Northumberland in the county of Northumberland from Michaelmas 30 Henry VIII. to Michaelmas 31 Henry VIII.,' in *Min. Acc.* 30-31 Hen. VIII. No. 222.

and is large, it longed to the erle of northomberland it stondithe on a highe hill the whiche for the more parte is includyd with the ryver, and is about a mile from the se, ther is a plety (*sic*) towne, and at the towne ende is a stone bridge withe a towre on it.¹⁵⁹

The sanitary condition of prisoners in the dungeons of mediæval castles must have been terrible in the extreme. On the 8th of December, 1538, the Council of the North write from York to Henry VIII.:—‘Dyvers of the prisoners latelye taken by Sir Reynolde Carnabye knight, and ymprisoned within youre castell of Warkworthe be there dede of the plague. And amongis others oone Jerrye Charleton, *alias* Jerrye Topping, the onelye accuser of John Herone of Chipchas, and of suche others the murderers of Roger Fenewike, late murdered in Tynedale, is yet leving, and is indicted of sundrie robries.’¹⁶⁰

Cuthbert Carnaby accounts in 1540 for the expenditure of 68*s.* 8*d.* on new paling for Warkworth park, and of £4 18*s.* 10*d.* on repairs to the castle.¹⁶¹ In 1541 the sum of 116*s.* 2*d.* was laid out on repairs to divers edifices within the castle and to the ‘dongeon,’ being the wages of bricklayers, slaters, and carpenters, together with the ‘emundacion’ of the ‘dongeon’ against the arrival of the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁶²

In spite of the recent plague among the prisoners, Warkworth must have been considered exceptionally healthy. During the serious outbreak of ‘a hot and dangerous ague’ at Alnwick in 1543, Lord Parr of Kendal, the brother of the last and most fortunate wife of Henry VIII., then Warden of the Marches, chose Warkworth on this very account for his residence. ‘As the place moost holsome and clere from all enfec-tions,’ he writes from Newcastle on the 24th of May, ‘I ame determyned for a tyme to make myne abode at the Kingis Majestes castell of Wark-wourthe, but foure myles at the moost from Alnewik, the whiche being somme thing decayed and out of reperation, I have partelie caused to

¹⁵⁹ See *ante* p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. Vol. V. p. 142.

¹⁶¹ *Min. Acc.* 31-32 Hen. VIII. No. 256.

¹⁶² ‘Et in denariis per dictum Receptorem solutis pro Reparacione hoc anno facta super diversa edificia et le dungeon infra Castrum domini Regis de Warke-worthe ut in vadiis lathamorum Tegulatum et Carpentariorum cum empcione Tegularum et diversarum serarum cum Clavibus et aliis ferramentis cum Emundacione le dongeon erga adventum ducis Northfolksensis illuc venientis ut in eodem libro plenius continetur. cxvjs. ijd.’—*Min. Acc.* 32-33 Hen. VIII. No. 216. In 1542 John Falkoner receives 17*s.* 4*d.* for the park paling and 29 *6s.* 2*d.* is entered for repairs to the castle.—*Ibid.* 33-34 Hen. VIII. No. 264.

bee apperelled and put in redines, and my preparations to be conveyed thidde, whiche I doubte not shalbee fullie perfourmed and furnished within thies eight daies; whiche done, I entende to repaire thidde, and there to reside, and from thens to remove to the castell of Alnewik, as the infections or infirmities there shall sease, and thoccasions shall require.¹⁶³

In preparing for Lord Parr's visit Robert Horseley the seneschal of Warkworth laid out 15s. 2d. on the 'emundacion' of the great hall, the kitchen, and divers chambers. It is curious that while Norfolk in 1541 occupied the donjon, Parr in 1543 seems to have chosen to reside in the range of buildings connected with the great hall. Between the 17th of May and the 11th of August, a further sum of £40 was spent on repairs to the houses, brewhouses, towers, and buildings within the castle, Parr himself vouching for the items of this expenditure. In addition to this, £12 12s. 9d. was employed under his directions between 7th of July and 25th of October in paying carpenters, masons, and smiths, and for the repairing of tents and pavilions.¹⁶⁴

Sir Ralph Eure, a brave young soldier, the son of the Deputy-Warden Sir William, prays the Earl of Hertford, in a letter dated Warkworth 7th June, 1544, that his father being 'somewhat crosside' may remain at home this time, and that he may conduct 'the exploit' in his stead. He also would be glad if his lordship could spare him 'his Trompyte,' and if it were possible that he might have him on Monday morning by six or seven of the clock for 'it should be a grete encouragement for our men and a discourage for the Scotts.'¹⁶⁵ Jed-

¹⁶³ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. Vol. V. p. 299.

¹⁶⁴ 'Et in diversis Reparacionibus super domos pandoxataria turres et edificia infra castrum domini Regis de Werkeworthe factis et appositis per mandatum domini Willielmi Parre gardiani generalis marchiarum Anglie versus Scociam a xvij^{mo} die Maii anno xxxv^{to} Regis Henrici octavi ad xj^{um} diem Augusti proximo sequentis ut patet [per] unum quaternum papiri de particulis inde factis manu propria ejusdem Willielmi Parre subscriptum continens summam xl l et pro consimilibus reparacionibus factis super dictum castrum inter vij^{um} diem Julii et xxv^{um} diem Octobris eodem Anno ut in vadiis Carpentariorum Cementariorum Fabrorum Variatorum et Sissorum Reparancium les tentes et pavilions ibidem per Warrantum manu Willielmi Domini Parre predicti Receptori directum super hunc computum ostensum penes Edwardum Edgare auditorem remanens ut patet [per] unum alium quaternum papiri Manu Jacobi Kokebye subscriptum inde restitutum continens xij l xij s ix d ob. ac pro reparacione facta per Robertum Horseley prepositum Castri ibidem super emundacione magne aule coquine et diversarum Camerarum ante adventum dicti domini Parre illuc venientis ut patet [per] unam billam de particulis inde factis continentem summam xv s ij d, in toto &c liij l vij s xj d.'—*Min. Acc.* 84-35 Hen. VIII. No. 227.

¹⁶⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report 1883, Hatfield Papers, part 1, p. 43.

burgh and Kelso were burnt in this 'exploit,' but Sir Ralph closed his brilliant career on Anorum Moor in the following February.

After Somerset's return to England from his victory at Pinkey Cleugh, William Lord Grey of Wilton, whom he had left as the king's lieutenant on the Borders, wrote to him from Berwick on the 18th of October, 1547, announcing his intention of removing to Warkworth till the spring:—'I fynde in the litle tyme that I have lyen upon thies frontiers such a Skarcyte folowing bothe of horsemeate and vittayles that in case I lye here all this wynter with the men at armes and demi launces, in the spring of the yeare when for service sake we must perforce lye here it shall not be had to furnyshe us. Wherefore I meane (yf your grace shalbe so pleased) for this Depe of Wynter to remove to Warkworth Castle, and towards the spring to repayre hither agayne. I trust your grace woll not conceave that I move this for my owne ease but for the reasonable causes afforesaid.'¹⁶⁶ Accordingly, beginning with 20th December, 1547, and ending with 20th April, 1548; most of Lord Grey's correspondence is dated from Warkworth Castle.¹⁶⁷ The administration of the Borders was in great financial straits, but John Uvedale, the treasurer for the garrisons in the North, was enabled to inform the Protector Somerset from Newcastle, 15th December, 1547, that he had appointed £500 to be delivered by his servant at Warkworth Castle,¹⁶⁸ and John Brende, the Muster-Master for the Northern Ports, despatched a letter to the Protector from Warkworth on 9th April, 1548, with the intelligence that 'the mariners had been mustered by the Lord Lientenant and paid by Mr. Uvedale.'¹⁶⁹ In Sir Robert Bowes's *Book of the State of the Marches*, Warkworth is mentioned in 1550 as one of the royal castles going rapidly to decay on account of no annual repairs being done to them. John Shafto was then constable.¹⁷⁰

Queen Mary having, on the 1st of May, 1557, created Thomas Percy, nephew of the 6th Earl, Earl of Northumberland by a new patent, restored to him Warkworth among other estates of his family. On 20th January, 1558, he informs the Queen in a letter from Warkworth;

¹⁶⁶ *State Papers*, Scotland, Ed. VI. vol. ii. No. 11.

¹⁶⁷ *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland 1509-1603, I. pp. 72-85.

¹⁶⁸ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Addenda 1547-1665, p. 350.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 380.

¹⁷⁰ *State Papers*, Dom. Add. Ed. VI. vol. iv. No. 80; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. i. pp. 244, 246, from *Cotton. MS.* Titus F. 13.

'Yesterday I saw six sail of ships pass towards Scotland, seeming to be those you advertised me of.'¹⁷¹ Writing thence again on the 30th of April, he gives her an account of how he had devised with his brother on the Thursday previous to burn Langton in the Merse, where the Lieutenant of Scotland was then lodged, and of the fray with Lord Home which arose from this raid.¹⁷² After the accession of Elizabeth, he concluded with the Earl of Bothwell a deed for abstinence of war at Warkworth on March the 29th,¹⁷³ and he acknowledges from there on 13th May, 1559, the instructions he had received for settling certain articles about Scotland in accordance with the Treaty of Catean-Cambresis.¹⁷⁴

By direction of Earl Thomas, George Clarkson made a Survey of Warkworth in 1567,¹⁷⁵ which furnishes a full and most valuable account of the state of the castle:—

'The castell of Warkworth ys situate one the Ryver of cockett, one the sowth syde of the same Ryver ys one litle mount partly mad by nature of the ground with the course of the said Ryver one the west syde and on the east and north sydes with moytes casten and mad by mens worke, and one the sowth part ys the waye and passadge to and from the sayd castell by two severall wayes, one of the w^{ch} two passadges were good to be mad use, that is the waye that goyth towards the sowth by the Loyninge were most expedyent then des of the said Loyninge strongly ditched casten or made wth stone wall, and the hye streete to be made to goo thorow the demaynes and the same casten in a Loyning there wth a stronge Quickwood hedge casten of eyther syde the stones of thold cawseye taken awaye and a cawseye newly made wthin that ground of the saide demaynes viz. from the northende of a medowe close called Tybbettes close¹⁷⁶ eastward to one hye waye that goyth to the gate of the demaynes, and alonge the same

¹⁷¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. Add. 1547-1565, p. 468.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* p. 474.

¹⁷³ *Cotton. MS.* Caligula B. x. 3.

¹⁷⁴ *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland 1509-1603, I. p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ This Survey, so far as relates to the castle, is here printed from the *Original MS.* at Alnwick Castle. The versions of it given in Grose, *Antiquities*, IV. p. 154, and Hartshorne, *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 206 n., are full of minor inaccuracies.

¹⁷⁶ Tybbettes Close can still be identified to the south of the castle; but to clearly understand the meaning of the altered approach proposed by Clarkson requires a 'Situationsplan' of the castle before the present high-road, haw-haw, etc., were made.

ways to the sayd gate w^{ch} might be done wth small chardges, and that done, the parke wold not onely be on that syde well inclosed the deer have feadinge nighe the gate of the sayd castell but also yt shold be a great strength to the sayd parke, castell and groundes joyninge upon the same a better passadge than that that nowe ys in all respectes, and hurt to no person, so that the same were well and orderlye done or made.

‘The buyldinge of the sayd castell one the sowthe parte, is thre towres viz. the gatehouse towre in the midle therof, w^{ch} is thentrye at a drawe bridge over a drye moyte, and in the same towre ys a p^rson and a porter lodge, and over the same a fare Lodginge called the counstables Lodginge, and in the Courtaigne betwene the gatehouse and west towre in the corner beyng round of diverse squares called cradyfargus is of¹⁷⁷ a fare and comely buyldinge a chappell and diverse houses of office one the ground and above the great chambre and the Lordes Lodginges all w^{ch} be nowe in great decaye aswell in the covertour beyng lead, as also in tymbre and glas and wthowt some help of reparacions it will come to utter Ruine.

‘Turnynge north from that southwest corner in that courtaigne streatchinge to another litle towre called the posterne towre ys: thold hall w^{ch} was verie fare and nowe by reason yt was in decay ys vnroofed and the tymbre taken downe lyinge in the sayd castell in the same square a buttrye, pantrye, and ketchinge, w^{ch} are now also in utter decay and at thentrye into the hall for the porche therof ys rayssed a litle square towre wherin is two chambres, and on the foresyd in stone portrayed a lyon verie wrokemanly wrought and therfor called the lyon towre the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.

‘Thother towre called the posterne towre is two lodgings under w^{ch} goith owt a posterne and the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.¹⁷⁸

‘In thest syde of the great hall was ane Ile sett owt wth pyllers w^{ch} yet standeth and is covered wth lead.

‘ffrom the gatehouse towre to the towre in the east corner called¹⁷⁹ ys no buyldinges but onely a courtaigne wall fare and of a

¹⁷⁷ Hartshorne has left out the word ‘of’.—*Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 206 n.

¹⁷⁸ The whole paragraph relating to the postern tower has been omitted by Hartshorne.—*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ This tower at the S.E. angle of the castle is now known by the name of the Amble Tower, apparently because it is that nearest the village of Amble.

newe buyldinge and in y^t towre ys a stable one the ground and thre lodgings above the¹⁸⁰ the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.

‘Turnynge ffrom that towre towardes the doungeon north is a nother litle turrett in the wall, ys sett upon that courteyne wall stables and gardners over the same covered wth slate and in good reparacions.

‘Over the courte from the sayd towre called the posterne towre to the sayd turrett is the fundacion of a house w^{ch} was ment to have been a colledge and good parte of the walls were builde, w^{ch} if yt had bene finished and made a parfit square the same had bene a division betwene the sayd courte the Lodgings before recyted and the doungeon, The buildinge that was mad of the sayd collidge is now taken awaye savinge that certayne walls under the ground therof yet remayne, and at theast parte therof is now a brewehouse and bakhouse covered wth slaite and in good reparacions.

‘In the sayd courte ys a drawell w^{ch} seruethe the holle house of water.

‘The doungeon is in the north parte of the scyte of the sayd castell sett upon a litle mount highyer then the rest of the courte . . . steppes of a grease¹⁸¹ befor ye enter to yt, and the same is buyld as a foure square and owt of evrye square one towre all w^{ch} be so quarterlye squared together, that in the sight evrye parte appeareth fyve towres verie fynelye wrought of mason worke and in the same conteyned aswell a fare hall kytychinge and all other houses of offices verie fare and aptely placed, as also great chambre chapell and lodgings for the Lorde and his treyne.

‘In the midle therof is a peace voyd w^{ch} is called a Lanterne, w^{ch} both receyveth the water from diverse spowtes of the lead and hath his conveyance for the same, and also gevith Lighte to certaine Lodgings in some partes, and on the parte of the same at the toppe ys raysed of a good hight above all the houses a turrett called the watch house upon the toppe wherof ys a great vyewe to be had and a fare prospect aswell towardes the sea as all pties of the Land.

‘In the north parte of the sayd doungeon ys portrayed a lyon wrought in the stone very workmanly.

¹⁸⁰ *Sic.*

¹⁸¹ A ‘grease’ or ‘grees’ signifies a stair.—Brockett, *Glossary of North Country Words*. The passage was probably intended to have been, ‘and there be fourteen steppes of a grease before ye enter to yt’.

'The castell is envyroned one thre partes wth the said Ryver and of the north parte in an angle wthin the sayd water is situate a towne called the borowgh of warkworth and the parishe churche and at the northend thereof a bridge over the water and a litle towre buyld on thende of the sayd bridge, wher a pare of gates ys hanged and nowe the sayd towre ys wthowt rooff and cover, and wthowt amendement will in short tyme utterlye decay . yt shall be therefore very requisite that the towre be wthall spead repared and the gaites hanged upe w^{ch} shallbe a gret savefety and comoditye for the towne.'

Clarkson goes on to point out the poverty of the burgesses of Warkworth, and the necessity there was to benefit and help them, in order that they might be able to provide lodgings, for 'the gret resort ys alwaye of gentlemen as also of others of meane degre to his Lp. which wilbe rather the more the tyme of his Lp's abode in the castell of Warkworth.'

Two years after Clarkson completed this survey, Earl Thomas joined the Earl of Westmoreland in the unfortunate Rising of 1569. While the Earls marched south with the intention of liberating Mary Queen of Scots, 'secret warning was given to Northumberland's servants to be ready in defensible array at an hour's notice. Great numbers of persons were put into Alnwick and Warkworth castles to keep them forcibly, as was suspected, against the Queen's peace.' Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle Marches, consequently made a proclamation, dated November the 18th, before the gates of both castles ordering every person to depart and leave the castle immediately under pain of being 'taken knowen and used as a traytour against her Majesty.'¹⁸² 'If Alnwick and Warkworth were taken it would be,' he pointed out to the Earl of Sussex in a letter from Alnwick, 25th November, 1569, 'a great stay to this country and the Earl would have no retreat here.'¹⁸³ It was with some difficulty that he obtained possession of them, 'by reason that they were garded with a good number of armed men of the Earl's servants and tenants.'¹⁸⁴ He was anxious that both Alnwick and Warkworth should be attached to his charge of the Middle Marches.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Sir Cuthbert Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 108 n.

¹⁸³ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Addenda, Eliz. 1566-1579, p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 118.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 208.

On the 19th of May, 1570, Edmund Hall and William Homberston, the royal commissioners for inquiring into the estates of those compromised in the rising of the previous year, were at Warkworth.¹⁸⁶ 'The castle of Warkeworth,' they report, 'ys wythin fyve myles of Alnewyke towarde the Southeast wythin one quarter of a myle of the sea . and ys very well buylded all of stone and covered wyth lead . and is Scytuat upon the topp of a hyll on the South and Est of the Ryver of Coker .¹⁸⁷ the hall and other houses of Offyce late taken downe by Therle of Northumberland meanyng to Reedify the same ageyn whiche ys undone and no provysion Remaynyng there towards the same buyldyng.'

Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the President of the Council of the North, fixed his residence at Warkworth Castle in the summer of 1570. On the 15th of August he wrote from there to Lord Herries charging him with maintaining Leonard Dacre and conspiring with him against Elizabeth.¹⁸⁸ The next day he announced his intention of proceeding to the West Borders to avenge himself on those who were openly supporting the English refugees. After wasting Annandale and sacking Dumfries he was again at Warkworth on the 8th of September. Lord Hunsdon was with him on the 10th. From the 14th¹⁸⁹ to the 16th he was engaged there in the tangled diplomacy of Scottish affairs, negotiating at the same time with the Duke of Chetelherault and the party of the Queen of Scots and with the Earl of Lennox and the supporters of the young King. He was still at Warkworth on the 28th.¹⁹⁰

Lord Hunsdon, the first cousin of Queen Elizabeth and one of the noblest and bravest men ever employed on the Borders, may have noticed, during the time that he was at Warkworth with the Earl of Sussex, the way in which Sir John Forster was plundering the castle. He wrote the following spirited protest against Sir John's destructive avarice, to Burghley, which that statesman has docketted 'April, 1572':—'I knowe not what awtoryte ys commytted to Sir John

¹⁸⁶ *Hall and Homberston's Survey*, Publ. Rec. Off., vol. i, p. 151.

¹⁸⁷ The Commissioners had just come from completing a survey of Cocker-mouth Castle, and so confused the Coquet with the Cocker.

¹⁸⁸ *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. Add. 1566-1579, pp. 319, etc.

¹⁸⁹ Sussex's proclamation for a cessation of arms is dated Warkworth, 14th September, 1570.—*Cotton, MS.* Calig. C. II. fo. 104.

¹⁹⁰ He removed to Alnwick, where he complains on the 9th of October that 'the weather grows extreme and the chimnies of this house and Warkworth will suffer no fire.'—*Cal. State Pap. Foreign*, 1569-1570, no. 1325.

Forster, of th' Erle of Northumberland's lands and howsays, nor what therof he hathe purchasyd; and therfor, when any complaynts come too me, I can say nothings. But he taks upon hym too have the rule of all, and so comands what he lyst; and thys I assure your Lo. that ytt ys grete pytty too see how Alnevyke Castell and Warkworth are spoyled by hym and hys. And yf sum order be nott taken for the stay therof, whensoever hyr Majestie shall have occasyon too send any lieutenant ynto thys Cuntry, she shal be att no smale charges to repayre the same. And for the Abbey that stands yn Hull Parke, he hathe neythar lefte lede, glase, ierne, nor so muche as the pypes of lede that conveyd the water to the howse; but he hathe broughte ytt too hys owne howse, and as I am credably informed, he meanes utterly too deface bothe the uther howsays, Warkworth and Alnwyk, which were grete pytty.¹⁹¹

The unfortunate Earl of Northumberland was at this time a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven. Sold by the Scots to the merciless Elizabeth in July, he was beheaded at York, in spite of Lord Hunsdon's urgent remonstrances, on the 22nd of August, 1572. Under the letters patent issued by Queen Mary in 1557, his title and most of his estates, which as long as he lived attained were enjoyed by the Crown, should have passed to his brother Sir Henry Percy, but Sir Henry was not summoned to parliament as 8th Earl of Northumberland till 1580. By that time the parks of Warkworth had been disparked.¹⁹²

Stockdale, who surveyed Warkworth for the 9th Earl in 1586, merely says of the castle:—

'The castle of Warkworth is a very fair and beautifull castle, scituate in the inner warde¹⁹³ on the south of the of the ryver of Cockett, ij myles west from the sea, environed in part with the said ryver of Cockett, and in other parts with a dry moat;' and the reference to it in Camden's *Britannia*, written that same year, is no less curt.¹⁹⁴

In 1597 Thomas Percy, afterwards one of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, is said to have 'kept William Sisterson of Prudhoe, (for the stealing of two cheeses) in prison in Warkworth Castle, until

¹⁹¹ Sharp, *Mem. of Reb.* 1569, p. 26 n.

¹⁹² *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. p. 582.

¹⁹³ i.e., Morpeth Ward.

¹⁹⁴ 'ad ipsum ostium (Coquet fluvii) Warkworth Perciorum castrum non inelegans locum habet, et littus tuetur.'—Camden, *Britannia*, 1590, p. 655.

he was almost famished,¹⁹⁵ and compounded with him for 20 marks.' Information was also laid against Percy in 1602 that 'there was a bell carried out of Warkworth Castle and sold by Sir John Ladyman, Mr. Percy's deputie, to a Scottishman for £10, and a token sent by Mr. Percy to one Henrye Finch to carry the bell to the Scottishman's ship at Almouth.'¹⁹⁶

During the troubles in which the Earl was involved in consequence of the Gunpowder Plot, his steward Whitehead was ordered, on the 24th of June, 1608, 'to take down the lead that lieth upon the ruinous towers and places of Warkworth, to way it and lay it up, and to certify his lordship of the quantity thereof, that the places were lead is taken off be covered again for the preservation of the timber.' Nevertheless, two years later, the old timber of the buildings in the outer court was sold for 28l.¹⁹⁷

The final ruin of Warkworth was caused by the gift of the materials made in 1672 to John Clarke, one of the auditors of the estates, by the widow of Joscelin the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland of the House of Louvain. The doom of the castle is contained in the following letter:—

'William Milbourne, beinge to take downe the materials of Warkworth Castle, which are given to me by the Countess of Northumberland to build a house at Cherton, I doe desire you to speak to all her ladishipp's tenants in Warkeworth, Birlinge, Buston, Acklington, Shilbottle, Lesbury, Longhanton, and Bilton, that they will assist me with their draughts as soone as conveniently they can, to remove the lead and tymber which shall be taken downe, and such other materialls as shall be fitt to be removed, and bringe it to Cherton, which will be an obligation to there and your friend,

JO. CLARKE.

Newcastle, 27 April, 1672.

In regard they are like to be out three days ere they gett home, I shall be content to allowe everye wayne half a crowne, and let me know who refuse to doe me . . . they

To my lovinge friend William Milbourne, at his house at Birlinge.'¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. p. 592.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. p. 591.

¹⁹⁷ Grose, *Antiquities*, IV, p. 156. In the *Book of Offices* of 1617, are still entered under the heading of Warkworth, 'Constable of y^e castell, fee £10 0s 0d, Porter, fee £3 0s 0d, Keeper of y^e p^{ke} fee £3 0s 8d.'—*Percy Family Letters and Papers*, Alnwick MSS., vol. xi. p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Grose, *Antiquities*, IV. p. 157.

Exactly a hundred years later, a revolution in taste having occurred in the interval, Francis Grose rapturously wrote of the castle that had been reduced to ruin by the *insouciance* of the fair Countess and the greed of her auditor:—

‘Nothing can be more magnificent and picturesque, from what part soever it is viewed; and though when entire it was far from being destitute of strength, yet its appearance does not excite the idea of one of those rugged fortresses destined solely for war, whose gloomy towers suggest to the imagination only dungeons, chains, and executions, but rather that of such an hospitable mansion as is alluded to by Milton—

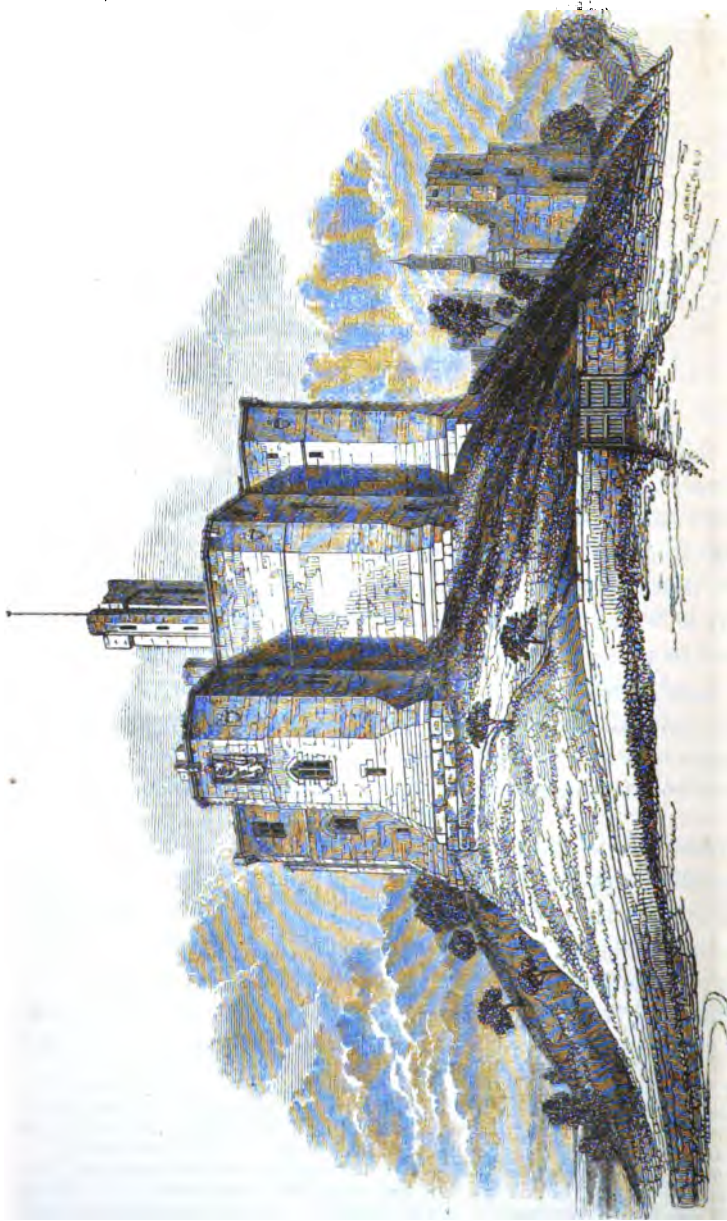
‘Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
In weeds of peace high triumphs hold’;

or is described in our old romances, where, in the days of chivalry, the wandering knight, or distressed princess, found honourable reception and entertainment, the holy palmer repose for his wearied limbs, and the poor and helpless their daily bread.’

To Grose belongs the credit of having been the first to write the history of Warkworth from authentic accounts, and to endeavour to unravel its architecture by reference to the old surveys, and elucidate it by regular plans. His information is not always correct, and his rough plans can have had scarcely any pretension to accuracy; but for the time in which he lived his work was done in a most masterly fashion, and has not been equalled by any subsequent attempt.¹⁹⁹

Warkworth is almost surrounded by the Coquet, and the mound on which the donjon of the castle now stands seems to have been raised on the narrowest part of the peninsula, in order to protect the town from the higher table-land stretching away to the south. A base-court was added on the level ground south of the mound; and, as the demesne-land lay in that direction, the great gateway of the castle was placed in the side of the curtain-wall furthest from the town. It thus

¹⁹⁹ ‘The Manorial History and Architectural Description of Warkworth,’ by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. pp. 186–211, are very perfunctory, and the plans attached to them full of inaccurate details and false chronology. The address—‘one of his happiest’—delivered by Mr. George Thomas Clark to the Institute at Warkworth in 1884 (*Archæological Journal*, xli. p. 421, and *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newc.*, vol. i. (N.S.) p. 203) can hardly be regarded in a serious light. A very excellent account of Warkworth ‘as seen by an artist,’ by Margaret Hunt, will be found in the *Art Journal* for 1883, p. 309.



WARWORTH CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

happens that very few of those wishing to see and study the castle enter it, as they should, at any rate for the first time, by the great Gatehouse. Nearly all cross the old bridge over the Coquet, pass under the little tower at the south end of it, and proceed straight up the quaint steep street of the ancient borough. At the head of this street the marvellous donjon, with a huge lion rampant carved on the upper storey of its northernmost face, rises nobly in front of them. This heraldic lion, with an exaggerated bushy tail, and legs furnished with scales rather than hair, stands on the head of a diminutive demi-lion corbelled full-face out. They are protected from the weather by a water-tabling and two side-shafts that rest on small winged demi-lions. Notwithstanding the very exposed situation, all this elaborate carving, except the central ornament of the water-table, looks remarkably fresh.²⁰⁰

Roughly speaking, the ground plan of the donjon is a square, with a semi-octagon applied to its south side, and smaller squares to the centre of its other sides. The outer angles of all the squares die away, buttress-fashion, into sides of octagons. On the third storey of these, and of the angles of the southern semi-octagon, are remains of the figures of angels covered with plumage,²⁰¹ formerly fourteen in number, holding shields which, if not originally blank, have now become so. The battlements of the donjon, as may be seen at the south-east angle, were of considerable height, and in the centre of the chief faces of the whole pile and of the canted angles of the main square, they project curiously in small triangles, probably merely for the purpose of improving the sky-line.²⁰²

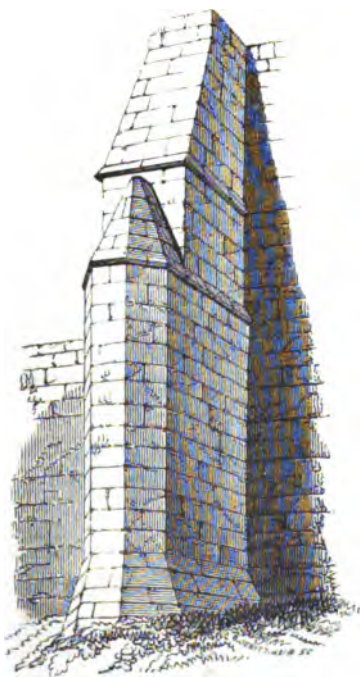
On the west side of the donjon, near the north-west angle, is a postern door, a close examination of which leads to the opinion that,

²⁰⁰ This lion rampant at Warkworth contrasts strangely with the almost obliterated one on the Bond Gate at Alnwick, carved in Denwick stone in 1450 (see *ante*, p. 21, n.); while that procured from Hulne Priory and set over the outer gate of the barbican of Alnwick Castle in 1488 was also so worn that it had to be replaced in modern times.

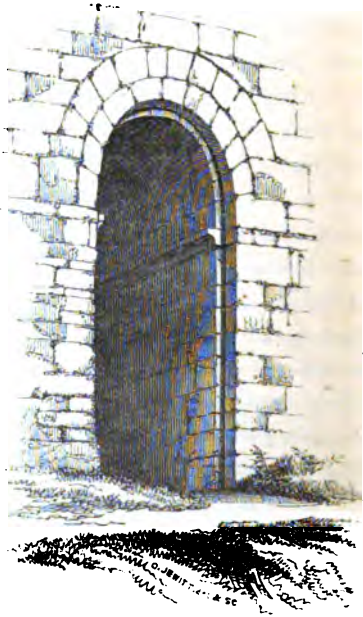
²⁰¹ Angels were often represented in the Middle Ages with feathers in lieu of raiment. Good examples of this treatment may be seen in the fine Perpendicular roof of the church of South Creak in Norfolk. In one of the early Northumbrian Gospels at Durham the four Evangelists are represented as plumed, and the strange effect is heightened by the beards there given them.

²⁰² Triangular bartizans of this kind are seldom met with. There is another instance of them over the gateway of Spynie Castle near Elgin, built *circa* 1406. —McGibbon and Ross, *Castellated Architecture of Scotland*, i. p. 444.

at any rate, the basement of the building must have been at some time refaced. Indeed, the general ground plan of the donjon is one that might be looked for rather in the 13th than in the 15th century, though, with the exception just mentioned, all its architectural features belong to the latter.²⁰³ That the mound was occupied by masonry at the very beginning of the 13th century seems proved by the splendid pair of buttresses of that date which, on the east and west sides, strengthened the curtain-wall as it rose to a great height in order to climb the mound; the upper portion of the wall nearest the donjon is however later work.



BUTTRESS OF WEST CURTAIN.



POSTERN-GATE.

Beyond the western of these buttresses the postern-gate of the castle opens from the base-court on to the precipitous bank above the Coquet. The massive arch of this postern is but slightly pointed, and is vaulted internally with mere rubble. A plain chamfered string-

²⁰³ The donjon of Trim Castle on the Boyne is said to resemble that of Warkworth in its ground plan. It is attributed to about the year 1200.

course runs through it below the springing. The door, as was often the case in early buildings, opened outwards.²⁰⁴ At the inner end of the archway, originally 8 feet deep, was a portcullis, the groove not extending below the string-course. The ground-level of the postern has been lowered 15 inches, materially altering its proportions. Both buttress and postern seem to have been the work of Robert fitz Roger, *circa* 1200. The curtain-wall between them originally terminated in a turret containing a newel stair, of which two slits remain, leading to the walk. At a subsequent period an addition of 6 feet was made to the postern on the east side. In the battlement of this turret a long cross-loop has lost all except the lower limb, a shorter cross-loop having been inserted in it. The west face of the postern-tower retains the windows of the two floors, and a range of battlement with two crenelles.

Withstanding the temptation of entering the courtyard of the castle by the postern, we proceed along the external face of the western curtain. High up on either side of a very obtuse angle of the wall are the two windows of the kitchen; the arches of two large drains appear below. The masonry is similar to that of the upper floors of the postern-tower; the high base has two set-offs. Beyond the kitchen, to the south, is a piece of irregular walling, weather-worn, battered, and bulged. The upper portion seems original, the lower has been repaired, a fragment of a Decorated window having been built up in the filling. The base now rises 4 feet or so, and the wall above it disappears altogether for about 18 feet. This gap marks the site of the buttery. The low pitch of the buttery roof is given at the south end of the gap, on the remains of the higher north wall of the Great Hall. The four stone spouts that carried off the water from the roof of the hall are next seen in progressive states of preservation. Above the last of them, one of the great crenelles of the battlement has been left, filled up with inferior masonry. A little further south the high base ceases, and a disturbance occurs in the masonry of the

²⁰⁴ This was the old Roman fashion of opening the outer door of the house. The seal of William Moraunt, a Kentish landowner in 1272, represents his manor-house with the door opening outwards, and the same may be observed in the early 14th century illuminations of the romances of the 'San Graal' and the 'Round Table' (B.M. Additional MSS. 10292, 10294).—Thomas Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, pp. 143-6. The outer door of the old manor-house of Hollinside on the Derwent is another instance of the practice in the North.

curtain-wall, probably owing to a slight change of direction, and the insertion of a large single-light window, much worn away, in the south-west corner of the hall. Beyond this again the masonry is of a more archaic type, and the wall turns much thicker. Here, on the first floor, was the Great Chamber; but the building must have partaken much of the character of an early keep. A slit with the mouth of a spout in it is half-way up the mural stair which led up from the hall to where a little window, now boarded up, lit the entrance of the Great Chamber. Above the line of this stair is a large round-headed arch, similar to one in the north curtain of Mitford Castle, which contained the stone frame of the west window of the Great Chamber. It is now built up with decayed stone and mortar containing pieces of red brick. Judging from a row of four small spout-holes, the roof of this chamber was originally higher than that of the hall, but was subsequently lowered into the same pitch, when one large spout was substituted. Just before reaching the tower at the south-west angle of the castle is a small, and once strongly barred, window, inserted in very late, possibly Elizabethan times, in order to admit a ray of western light into the basement below the Great Chamber.

The south-west tower of the castle is that called *Cradyfargus* by Clarkson in 1567.²⁰⁵ He describes it as 'round of divers squares,' meaning that its round general outline was formed by several straight lines. The west side of this tower has fallen away, but the ground-plan seems in reality to have been an irregular octagon, of which the north and north-east sides were supplied by the curtain-wall. The tower, built probably by Robert fitz Roger about the year 1200, for purely defensive purposes,²⁰⁶ seems to have been converted in the beginning of the 14th century into the *Lord's Lodgings*, an addition

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 123. Clarkson distinctly says that on the south side the castle consisted of three towers, the Gatehouse Tower in the middle, the west tower in the (south-west) corner called *Cradyfargus*, and the tower in the east (i.e. south-east) corner called the (Amble) Tower. Mr. Hartshorne, who can never have read Clarkson's Survey attentively through, erroneously bestowed the name on the spire-capped stair-turret that forms so prominent a feature in the sky-line of *Cradyfargus*. This, however, was known merely as 'the Watch Tower' in the time of Grose. It is impossible to do more than suggest that the curious name of *Cradyfargus* may in some way be a corruption of *Carrickfergus*, either from its resemblance to one of the towers of that famous castle, or from its builder having borne that name.

²⁰⁶ In its irregular ground plan and certain other particulars *Cradyfargus* resembles the Bell Tower at the south-west corner of the inner ward of the Tower of London, the basement of which is of about the same date.

to the primitive requirements of domestic architecture for which its contiguity to the Great Chamber rendered it particularly suited. The southern sides of the tower were provided with lanky cross-shaped loops of the early 13th century type. In the basement only the upper part of these loops are visible, while the triangular recesses leading to them have been partially walled up. This basement communicated with the cellar under the Great Chamber by means of a mural passage in the south curtain, while the first floor of the tower opened almost immediately from the Great Chamber itself. This latter floor is of great historic interest, as in it probably the first two



Percies of Warkworth died,²⁰⁷ and Northumberland, Henry IV., and John of Lancaster²⁰⁸ indited their Warkworth correspondence. The east window of two cusped lights looking out along the moat is provided with pleasant window-seats, and a small aumbry in its northern splay. The fire-place has had a pretty hood, and the ceiling was supported on carved corbels, two of the remaining ones

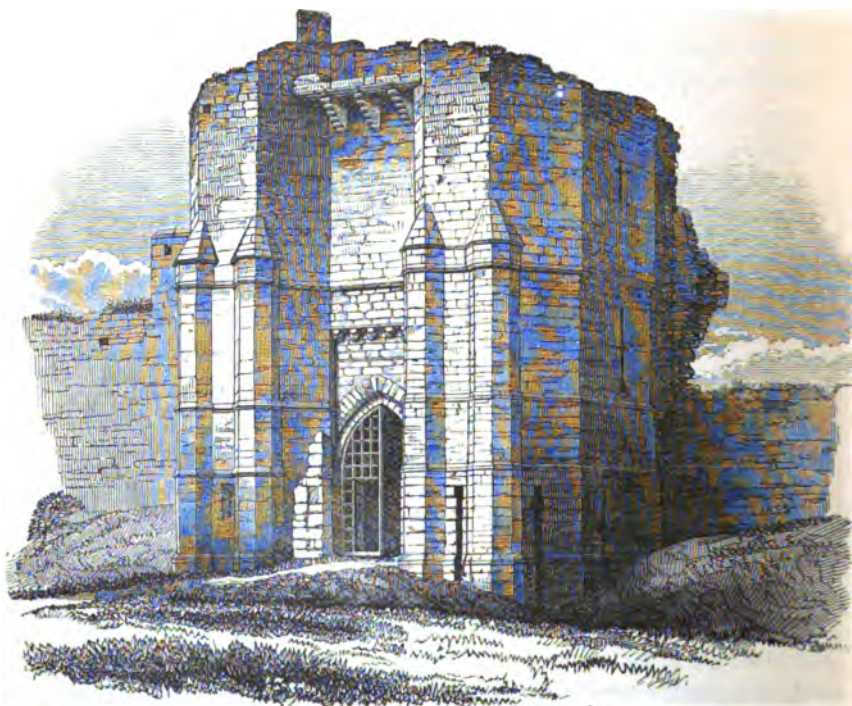
bearing pairs of quatrefoils, while between them on the third are a shield charged with some *beast statant*, and some other badge too worn to be identified. At the north-west corner is the jamb of a door that probably was connected with a latrine turret, now fallen away. The second and uppermost floor of this, the true Cradyfargus Tower, is now approached from a door in the south-east corner of the Great Chamber by a mural stair in the thickness of the south curtain. On the east side of this room, between the door and the east window, there is a smaller window in a curved recess, utilizing, apparently, the upper portion of an original loop. The fire-place, except the north jamb, with a plain cap, has entirely fallen away, but the line of the hood may still be traced. In the north wall a shoulder-headed doorway leads up to the battlements of the western curtain. This room we are justified in imagining to have been the Lady's Bower; the only *châtelaine* of whose presence at Warkworth we have actual evidence

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 95, where the extract from the Hulne Cartulary given in the note may be explained by the fact that in 1368 the Dominical Letter was A, and the Golden Number 1 ('unum').

²⁰⁸ See above, pp. 106, 107, 108.

between the time of the adaptation of this tower to domestic uses and the probable erection of the donjon, which was designed to supersede it in this respect, is the second Countess of Northumberland.²⁰⁹

The south curtain-wall between the Cradyfargus and Gatehouse Towers bears marks of having been considerably repaired and cobbled in places, but much of it with the high steep base seems to be Robert fitz Roger's work. The battlemented walk seems to have descended by



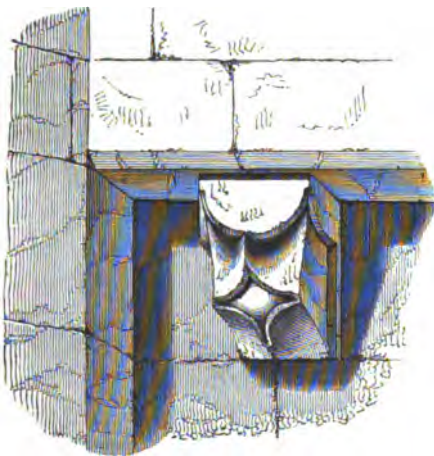
WARKWORTH CASTLE, GATEHOUSE TOWER (1857).

a flight of steps from the roof of Cradyfargus and to have risen again at first to a door in the second floor of the Gatehouse, and afterwards to the roof of it. At this latter point the line of the battlements has evidently been twice raised, two successive crenelles, one above the other, having been walled up and the hoarding-holes altered accordingly. The piece of battlement still left gives the height of the Gatehouse

²⁰⁹ See above, p. 111.

parapet. The little glazed window is that of a mural chamber, now used as the custodian's milk-house. In the west face of the Gatehouse a cross-loop has been opened out at the first floor into a doorway, now closed, that probably belonged to a latrine, and a small window with a slop-spout inserted to the south of it.

There are now no traces of the draw-bridge over the dry moat described by Clarkson as being at the entrance to the castle. The gateway, with a massive pointed arch of two courses, is flanked by two semi-octagon towers whose southern angles are covered by buttresses of similar shape with spire-like terminations. Over the gateway the wall projects slightly, as at Dunstanburgh, and is supported on five corbels. These are now much decayed, but seem to have been all alike, and of a Transition-Norman character. The Gatehouse acquires an aspect of extreme severity by there being no window over the gate, which derived additional protection from machicolations of a later date resting on three triple corbels. The gate, like that of the postern, opened outwards; had it not done so it would have covered the two insidious arrow-loops placed on either side immediately within it. A plain chamfered string-course continues through the whole vault, and the portcullis, which was here nearly 4 feet behind the gate, must have been wider at the top than at the bottom. The groove of the portcullis ends at the string-course, on which the shoulder of it would rest, while the bottom must have fallen into some sort of socket to hold it fast. On the inner side of the opening for the portcullis is an arch, only 17 inches wide, with the stones above it curiously joggled, and beyond it an opening of the same width, the use of which is not very apparent, though near the ground a slot has here been cut in the stone on the west side; and there is also a rectangular hole on the



CORBEL ABOVE GREAT GATEWAY.

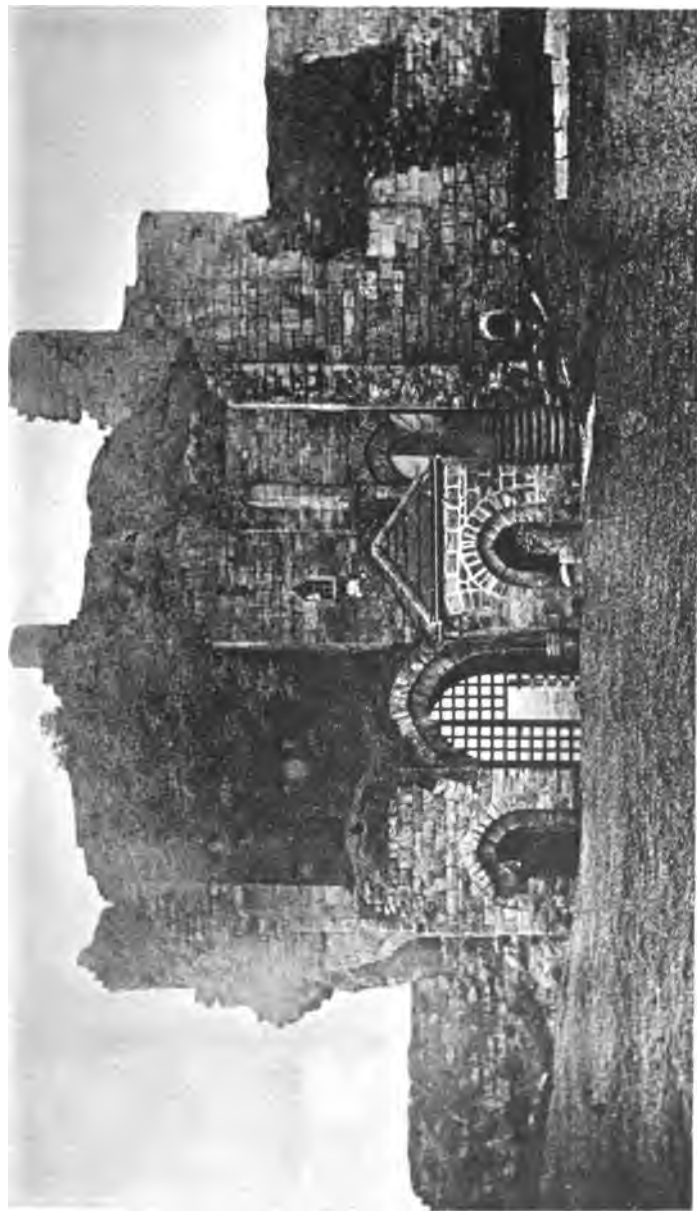
east, as though there had been a barrier of some description. The remaining $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the vault of the roadway is arched in rubble. Pairs of cross-shaped arrow-loops by their decreasing length show that the road has always risen on a slope through the gateway. Marks of a palisade appear on the ashlar of the inner face of the vault; probably they are comparatively modern. The string-course here ends, and the roadway from 8 feet widens to $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, while for 5 feet there has been no vault, and possibly an opening into the floor above. We then come to the springers of the great arch of the inner face of the Gatehouse.

On either side of this are two sturdy arches, the doorways of the porter's lodge and prison, and beyond them again, set about 10 feet back, were other doorways approached by straight flights of steps that led by short winding stairs to the first floor; so that when perfect, this north front of the Gatehouse, with the massive central arch flanked by four equally massive doorways, must have presented a very stately appearance. This arrangement can now be best seen on the east side, though it is the more ruinous, the exactly similar steps and doorway on the west side having been incorporated in the custodian's dwelling, which has been formed out of what was probably the porter's lodge with a modern room built over it. Fortunately a photograph has been preserved at Alnwick Castle, showing the Gatehouse before the external stair was walled up.

The first floor of the Gatehouse has been filled up with rubbish to the height of about 4 feet, and coated over with asphalt. Immediately to the north of the door at the head of the eastern stair there appears to have been a cross wall very much on the line of the modern wall of the custodian's dwelling. The room on the north side of this cross wall was the Constable's Lodging, and as such served, no doubt, as the quarters of John Creswell, John de Middelham, and Hardyng the Chronicler.²¹⁰ It seems to have been occupied by the 6th Earl of Northumberland during the latter years of his life.²¹¹ It had two fine windows opening to the east and west, of which the southern splays only are left. There were probably gables above them, as there are marks of the roof line against the east wall and a stone spout outside to carry off the water from the valley between this roof and the higher

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 103, 107, 109.

²¹¹ 'A littyll chamber over the gaytts wher the Erle lay hymself.'—Bellisys's Survey, see above, p. 118.



WARKWORTH CASTLE: THE GATEHOUSE FROM THE COURTYARD, CIRCA 1850,
from a Photograph at Alnwick Castle.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

semi-octagonal turrets of the front of the gateway.²¹² Inside the eastern turret is a chamber about 7 feet 8 inches wide, vaulted with rubble. There is an arrow-loop looking eastward along the moat, and on either side of this, high up from the original floor level, are small aumbries, 1 foot high and 1 foot 3 inches broad and deep, that have had three bars across them let into the stone. The portcullis seems to have been walled off from this floor and to have been worked from that above.

In the courtyard immediately to the west of the Gatehouse was a chapel. The very plain piscina is still to be seen in the south wall. A space left between this wall and the curtain contained a stair which formerly led off that now enclosed in the custodian's dwelling. On the south side of this stair is the vaulted mural chamber, previously referred to as being now used as a milk-house, and on the north a door gave access to what was probably an oriole or upper floor in the western portion of the chapel.²¹³ The base of this door still remains a little to the left of the fire-place with which the oriole was provided. A doorway in a deep recess to the right of the fire-place, now walled up, seems to have been the original entrance to the mural passage and stair communicating with the second floor of the Cradyfargus Tower. The basement beneath the oriole has also had a large fire-place in the south wall. Possibly this fire-place may have been used for secular purposes and been one of the 'houses of office' mentioned by Clarkson. In the north-west corner is a doorway leading into a passage, 4 feet 6 inches wide, that eventually communicated with the aisle of the Great Hall. The jamb of a doorway in the west wall is at the foot of some steps that seem to have ascended to the Great Chamber.

²¹² With its high towers in front and gabled building of only one storey behind, the Gatehouse of Warkworth must have greatly resembled the view of the *Porte de Laon* at Coucy, in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, vii. p. 335.

²¹³ Mr. Longstaffe says, the oriole is a feature explained by Matthew of Paris as the porch, by William of Worcester as *le ovyrtorye*; and adds that 'where the oriole was the upper story of the nave of a chapel, and looked into the chancel, which in that case was the height of both stories, the oriole was for the lord and his family's use, or often for the ladies only.'—*Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 90. The chapel in the Donjon was certainly provided with an oriole of this description, and there is said to have been another example in Northumberland in the chapel of the preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Chibburn. Turner gives numerous instances of the practice in his *Domestic Architecture of England during the Middle Ages*, ii. p. 80. In the present instance it may be that this upper room was that used generally by the ladies in the castle, with merely an opening at the east end looking down into the chapel.

The original level of the basement under the Great Chamber is lost in accumulations of rubbish. The Great Chamber itself, a room 39 feet 8 inches long by 21 feet 6 inches broad, was approached in the first instance by a stair in the thickness of the west curtain-wall that came up under a large window-recess, almost Norman, opening on the Coquet. Facing the stair-head was the door of a small mural chamber, with a smaller one, possibly a latrine, inside it. The Great Chamber, it will be remembered, was the scene of the delivery of the mysterious leathern bags and sealed coffer to William of Togsden, the constable of the castle, by Hugh of Rothbury in 1297, and probably this mural chamber was the actual closet to which they were carried with so much difficulty by the constable's son.²¹⁴ On the Percies making Warkworth their residence, the late 12th century doorway of the Great Chamber appears to have been walled up, and a small one broken into it from the mural chamber. At the same time a fire-place with a skilfully joggled flat arch, a slight hood, and ornamental side-shafts, seems to have been inserted, as also a door in the south-east corner connecting the Great Chamber immediately with the mural stair leading to the second floor of the Cradyfargus Tower, which, as has been said, we may regard as the Lady's Bower at that period. The first floor of this tower had always been in direct communication with the Great Chamber, by a shouldered doorway, the head of which is formed by a stone of unusual size.

Towards the end of the 15th century, the 4th Earl of Northumberland appears to have constructed a much more magnificent stair for approaching the Great Chamber by building a tower at the north-east corner.²¹⁵ The lofty first floor of this was devoted to a sort of state ante-room with an elaborate groined vault, a mural seat, and a high doorway into the Chamber with effective mouldings.²¹⁶ Immediately inside this doorway on the right, a small newel stair

²¹⁴ See above, p. 91. The closet is called '*calketa contigua*.'

²¹⁵ At the same time, a bay about 12 feet wide with a window overlooking the courtyard, was added to the Great Chamber, above the passage leading from the north-west corner of the ground floor of the chapel. The pitch of the roof of the Chamber was also changed from a steep to a very low one, as may be seen by marks on the wall of the Cradyfargus Tower.

²¹⁶ A piece of a cusped window-head in the east wall still remains. The first floor of this tower looks at first sight of earlier date than the basement, with its flat arched passages and four-centred doorways.

ascended to the upper floors and roof of the tower. As at Alnwick, Bothal, Haughton, and other castles, the newel terminates in a sort of umbrella-shaped vault. From the door that led out on to



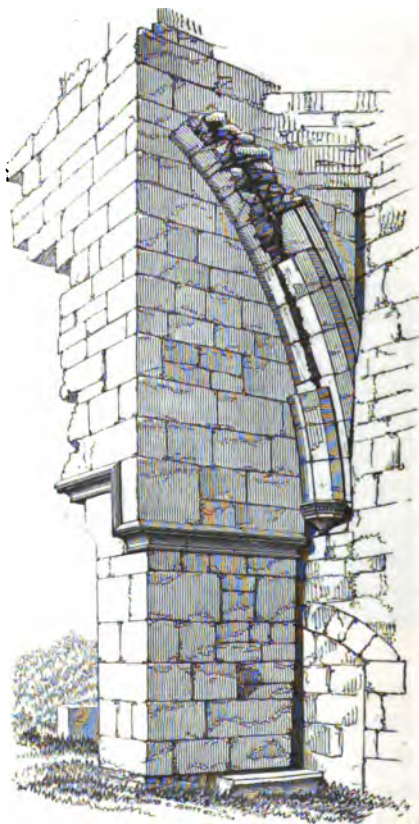
STAIR-HEAD IN SPIRE-TURRET.

the roof a lovely peep is obtained of the mouth of the Coquet. The turret containing this stair-head is covered with a tall stone spire, and as the remainder of the tower has fallen completely away, this spire is now a very prominent object in the sky-line of the castle.²¹⁷ Traces of the battlements of the tower are still visible on the north and south faces of the turret. There seems to have been at some time an intention of either placing another floor over the Great Chamber, or of

²¹⁷ The pentagonal stair-turret of Sauchie Tower, not far from Alva, in Clackmannanshire, and supposed to have been built 1430-1440, terminates in a similar stone spire.—Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. 267, 270. There are a few mason marks in the Warkworth turret, but nothing positive as to its exact date can be inferred from them.

forming a high false façade to it on the courtyard side as a door and aumbrey that admit of no other explanation are to be seen in the external face of the second floor of the tower.

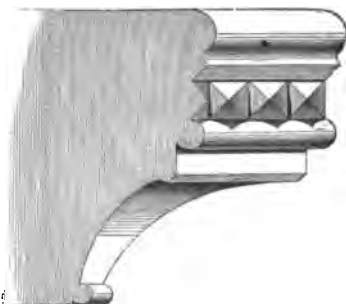
The erection of this tower with the spire-turret interfered with the arrangements of the Great Hall, which adjoined the Great Chamber on the north, but had an aisle projecting into the court-



SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF GREAT HALL.

yard. This aisle was of 13th century origin, but, as so often happened in churches, the low external wall and long steep roof came to be replaced by a higher wall, with large Perpendicular windows and a comparatively flat roof. The base of only one pier of the Early Pointed arcade is now in position. The north-west corner of the tower filled

up rather more than half of the southernmost of the three bays, and has been the means of preserving the respond, ornamented with the nail-head pattern, and a shattered portion of the arch of the bay. An arched opening underneath the respond that communicated with the original entry to the basement of the Great Chamber was built up. A bold moulding of rather late character was carried along the intruded wall of the tower and over the door that opened from it into the aisle. The Great Chamber



SECTION OF RESPOND.

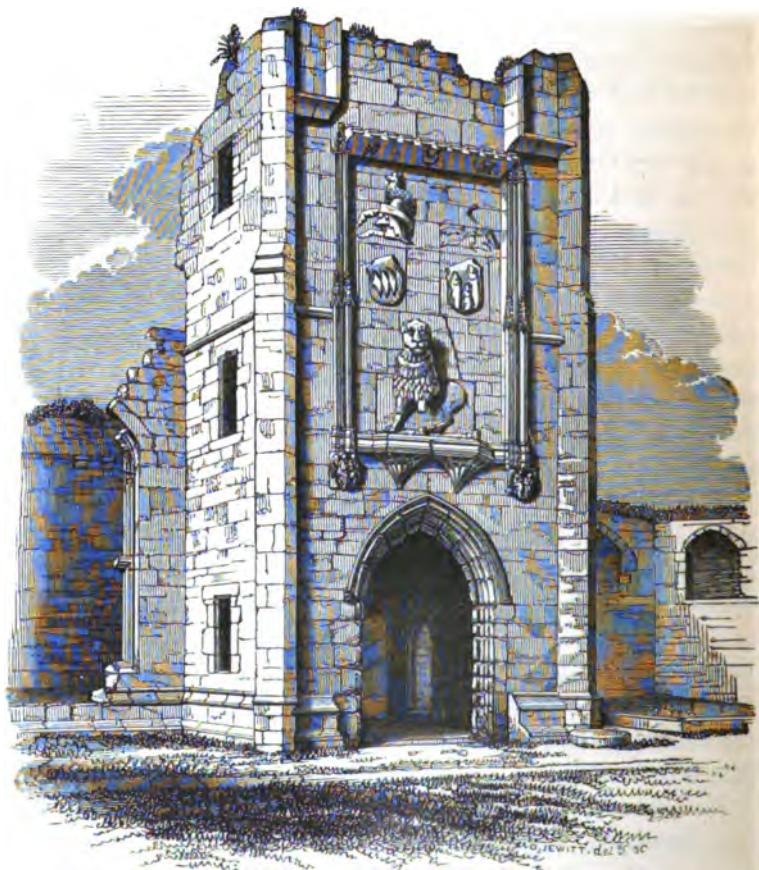
could thus be reached either by the winding stair in the tower, just within this door, or by the original mural stair that went up from a door in the south-west corner of the hall, which the curtain wall was splayed off to admit.

The foundation of the brazier may be seen near the upper end of the main portion of the Hall, which was 58 feet 5 inches long. At the lower or northern end were three doorways, of which the bases only are left. The mouldings on them seem to belong to the same period as the Lion Tower. The centre doorway opened into a passage leading to the kitchen, the side ones into the pantry and buttery. As at Bamburgh, there seem to have been two other rooms on each side of the central passage beyond the pantry and buttery, but the ground plan is obliterated by accumulations of rubbish. The large fire-place of the kitchen seems to have been in the east wall, while on the west side, against the curtain, are the remains of a large oven, and a trough and sink.

The main entrance to the Great Hall from the courtyard was at the north-east corner, through the magnificent porch under the Lion Tower. On the front of this tower two brackets ornamented with fan-tracery support a huge stone lion, so much mutilated as to be only sound in his fore off leg, though the feet of the other three on which he stood still remain.²¹⁸ Round the neck he wears, after the

²¹⁸ Mr. George Thomas Clark has described this 'portentous lion' as *sitting* on a shelf of stone 'with a vast *frill* round his neck by way of mane'—

fashion of a Celtic torque, the Percy badge of a crescent inscribed with the Percy motto of *Esperance*. His great tail was lashed up



THE LION TOWER.

against the wall above him, where traces of it are yet left. No doubt, at a time before the art of using bright colours without abusing them

Archaeological Journal, XLI. p. 424; while even so careful a writer as Mr. Longstaffe says, 'this large and terrible beast probably supported a banner.' It only requires an ordinary pair of eyes to see that the lion must always have been *statant guardant*, and that in such a posture as to absolutely preclude the notion of his ever having borne a banner like the lion *sejant guardant* on

was lost in England, this great Lion of Louvain was painted an unmistakable blue.²¹⁹

the Percy Seal of 1446, engraved in Surtees's *Durham*, Seals, VIII. 11, and in *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1852, ii. Plate XI. No. 7. We may remember that a letter of the 2nd Earl of Northumberland, written at Warkworth circa 1420, was sealed with a *lion sejant*

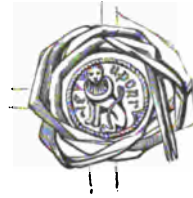
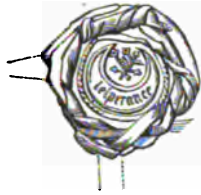
guardant gorged with a crescent; while the crescent on the same-sized signet of his countess was inscribed with the words *l'esperance*. See above, p. 111. It appears that the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Earls of Northumberland,

all bearing the name of Henry, used the same or very similar devices. Canon Greenwell has a document with the seal of the 4th Earl exactly resembling, if it is not identical, with the great seal of the 2nd Earl appended to deeds of 1417 and 1435, and engraved in Surtees's

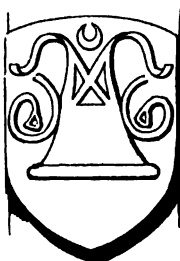
Durham, Seals, VIII. 2, and in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. Plate XI. No. 6. It will be seen that the lion-crest with its smooth body is a totally different

beast from the crest over the *Old Percy* shield on the Lion Tower, the body of which is covered with wool or scales.

²¹⁹ Mr. Joseph Robertson finds from the Records of the year 1535 that the group of figures above the grand gateway in the eastern side of the quadrangle of Linlithgow Palace, 'together with the group of the Salutation of the Virgin upon the other side of the quadrangle, and certain unicorns and a lion upon the outer gateway were brilliantly painted.'—Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. p. 495. Mr Longstaffe, *Arch. Aet.* N.S. iv. pp. 177, 195, tries to make out that the great lion *statant*



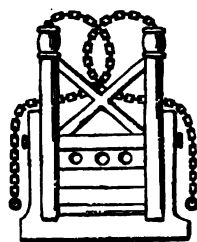
Over the lion are two shields with their upper rims turned up, and apparently *bouches*, or notches for lance-shafts to work in, in their right-hand corners. One of these shields bore the arms of PERCY ANCIENT, and the other those of LUCY. Their dimensions have been much curtailed by time and weather; only four of the five Percy fusils now remain, and the *luces* or pikes have all lost their tails. On the mantled single-cleft helm above the Percy shield is a *bycocket* or cap of state, like that worn by Henry VI. at the battle of Hexham, with a singular animal, possibly a ram, certainly not a heraldic lion, on it for the crest. The similar helm and accompaniments over the Lucy shield have almost entirely fallen away. The whole of this carved work is framed in at the sides by thin pinnaced buttresses



BEVERLEY.



WARKWORTH.



BAGLAN.

EXAMPLES OF BASCOULES.

resting on pairs of angels, while at the top is a battlemented cornice. Three badges are carved on the under side of this cornice—the first seems to have been the falchion of the Fitzpaynes, but the strap and pommel are all that is left,²²⁰ the middle one is a crescent

guardant of Warkworth was *white*, and had some official connection either with the county of Northumberland or the wardenship of the marches. He seems to have forgotten that a lion *argent* could not possibly be gorged with a crescent *argent*, and no one will venture to argue that a crescent bearing the Percy motto of *Esperance* was of any other metal or tincture. The fact of this Warkworth lion, together with several in the characters of badges or supporters on the 15th century Percy seals, being *guardant*, seems only a free and perfectly justifiable treatment. Indeed, the azure lion is absolutely required to complete the achievement over the entrance into the Great Hall, which would otherwise only consist of the strange combination of PERCY ANCIENT and LUCY.

²²⁰ This is the only known Percy badge of which these remaining fragments, faint as they are, can seem to have formed part. The black curved falchion or scimitar, hilted and tipped with gold, of Fitzpayne, was brought into the Percy family by Lady Eleanor de Poynings, the wife of the 3rd Earl.—Longstaffe, *Percy Heraldry* in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. pp. 189, 191, 213.

inscribed with *Esperance*, and the third a *bascule* or counterpoise for raising a drawbridge, charged with the words *Ma Comfort*. This last badge is known to have been that of the House of Herbert, of which the countess of the 4th Earl of Northumberland was a daughter, while the entire motto *Esperance Ma Comfort* seems to have been peculiar to her husband.²²¹ The old arms of Percy, too, disused after the middle of the 14th century, do not re-appear in the family heraldry before the close of the 15th;²²² so that, without appealing to the confirmatory architectural evidence, we may safely pronounce the Lion Tower to be the work of the 4th Earl—

‘The famous Erle of Northumberlande,
Of knyghtly prowes the sword, pomel and hylt,
The myghty lyon doutted by se and lande,’²²³

between his restoration in 1471 and his murder in 1489.

The magnificent porch loses some of its effect by the floor being now a step below the level of the courtyard. It is about 10 feet 6 inches square inside. There are stone seats along the side walls, and a slit for light to the south. The vault is formed by two transecting arches, intersected by two flat ribs, with a central boss ornamented with a rude lion rampant. On the north side is a four-centred doorway leading into a corridor, of which only the foundations remain.²²⁴

²²¹ *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 200. ‘The word *comfort*,’ Mr. Longstaffe observes, ‘is the mot, word, or cry of English writers, and we find Hotspur’s army using *Esperance* as such.’—*Ibid.* p. 199. The same motto occurs both on the originals of the cornice above the lion rampant over the outer gateway of the barbican at Alnwick, and of the ledge below it. The Herbert *bascule* appears also on the underpart of this cornice, which we have positive proof was carved at Hulne Priory just before the death of the 4th Earl in 1489.—*Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 271.

²²² Henry Percy, who died at Warkworth in 1353, left to his heir all the tapestry for the hall of *the ancient arms of Percy*; they occur next in the Percy Chapel at Beverley in connection with the 4th Earl of Northumberland.—*Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 171, 193.

²²³ Skelton’s *Lament*, MS. Reg. Brit. Mus., 18 D. II.; Percy, *Reliques*, i. p. 95.

²²⁴ A font about 2 feet in diameter, with a battlemented design round the bowl, has been placed in the centre of the porch, thus causing it often to be mistaken for a chapel. It is apparently of very late workmanship, but where it actually came from seems uncertain. Connected with a blue stone about 3½ feet in diameter and 2 feet deep, lying just outside the porch, is a conventional story of treasure trove. Possibly the stone belonged to the horse mill recommended to be made by the Commissioners of 1588.

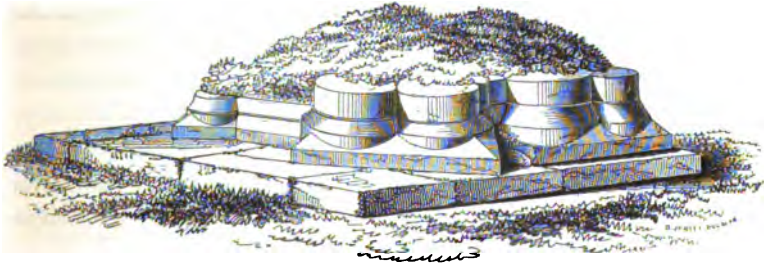
Just within this doorway, on the left, a worn stair ascends to a passage in the north wall of the Lion Tower.²²⁵ Here a door opening outwards admits us to the room on the first floor. In the east wall we notice the back of the large stone, 3 feet by 2 feet, which forms the lion's head, and an aumbrey to the left of this. The south wall has a window of two lights, and the west retains the lower jambs of a fireplace. The upper floor of the tower was supported by a projecting ledge on the south side, and by three corbels of late character on the north. In the north-east corner of the tower, just outside this room, is a latrine. The north wall has been carried out very slightly step fashion to give width to this, and the shaft comes down close to the north-east buttress of the porch.

At right angles to the Great Hall and Lion Tower, stretching from near the kitchen across the entire courtyard to the east are the foundations of a cruciform chapel, the origin of which has been one of the greatest mysteries connected with Warkworth Castle. There is no allusion to anything of the sort in the Royal Survey of 1538,²²⁶ but in 1567 Clarkson tells us of the foundations of a house that was meant to have been a college, of which a good part of the walls had been built, and which if it had been finished and made a perfect square, would have been a division between the lodgings connected with the Great Hall and the Donjon. The building had then been all taken away except certain walls that remained under the ground, and at the east part of it was a brewhouse and bakehouse covered with slate and then in good repair.²²⁷ In considering what this college could have been, it is natural to be reminded in the first place of the chantry in the castle of Warkworth, which the 2nd Earl of Northumberland mentions as having been lately founded in 1428,²²⁸ and which seems to have come to an end after the death of the 3rd Earl at Towton in 1461;²²⁹ but this chantry cannot have been founded in an unfinished chapel, and most probably was connected with the chapel in the Donjon. When, too, we come to examine the foundations of this

²²⁵ This stair, straight at first, changes afterwards into a newel one only 2 feet 8 inches in width, and in doing so must have made the entrance to the room over the pantry or buttery, of which the north door-jamb remains, extremely awkward. This room must have extended over the passage between the porch and collegiate chapel, and there are traces of a window belonging to it.

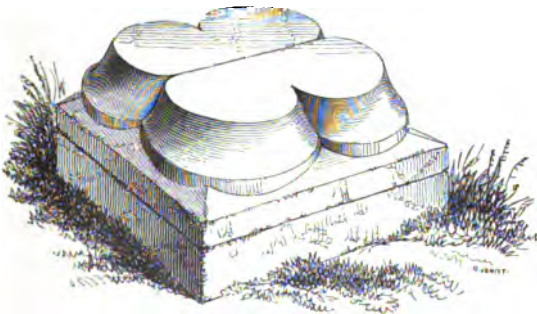
²²⁶ See above, p. 117. ²²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 124. ²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 112. ²²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 116.

chapel at the east end we shall find that instead of the range of unfinished buildings connected with the brewhouse being built on or against them, as Clarkson's language would lead us to suppose, they actually block up a window of this range. The internal proportions of the chapel are also singular: the nave would be about 40 feet long, and the choir 52 feet, but there would be little more than 11 feet clear



BASE OF SOUTH-WEST PIER OF CENTRAL TOWER.

space between the piers of the central tower that was to rise between them. The moulded bases of the four piers of this tower, and of two of the north arcade of the nave still remain. 'Unfortunately,' says



BASE OF NORTH ARCADE.

Mr. Hartshorne, 'it happens that the mouldings of these bases are so plain and inexpressive, that their architectural character affords no assistance in determining their exact age. The conception of this collegiate church may, as far as architectural evidence goes, range through nearly a century or more, from the death of Hotspur's son at

the battle of St. Alban's in 1455, to the execution of Clarkson's survey in 1567.²³⁰ One reasonable hypothesis would be to consider the work to have been begun by the saintly Earl Thomas in 1557 or 1558, and to have been abandoned on the accession of Elizabeth in consequence of the change in religion; but it is evident that the north door of the porch under the Lion Tower was purposely designed to communicate by a corridor with this chapel, and consequently we are compelled to conclude that the chapel itself formed part of the general plan of the 4th Earl of Northumberland for constructing a mansion more suited to the domestic requirements of his age than were the complicated and limited arrangements of the Donjon.²³¹ The work would be brought to a standstill on the Earl's murder in his 42nd year, as his son seems to have neglected Warkworth in favour of Wressil and Leckonfield. The ruined 6th Earl preferred even the Constable's

²³⁰ *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, ii. p. 209. Hartshorne is there inclined to attribute the foundations of this chapel to the 5th Earl of Northumberland, 1489-1527. Prof. Freeman, who follows Hartshorne in believing the keep to have been the work of the 2nd Earl, nevertheless has fallen into the extraordinary error of imagining this chapel to have been of more ancient origin, bracketing it with the Early Pointed pillars of the hall:—'The later chapel, as well as the later hall, is in the keep; but the older chapel and the older pillared hall are still to be traced in their foundations. But the chapel was to have been more than a chapel. According to a practice found in several royal and in a few baronial dwellings, it was to have been a small minster, a cross church with an attached college, within the castle walls.'—*English Towns and Districts*, p. 322. Of the third chapel, near the Great Gateway, Professor Freeman evidently never heard. Mr. George Thomas Clark, who gravely informed the Archaeological Institute that the landing outside the Great Chamber in the tower with the spire-turret was 'the smaller chapel, showing delicate additions of Decorated date,' compared this cruciform collegiate church to the late Norman church in Hastings Castle, and dropped no hint as to its never having actually risen.—*Archaeological Journal*, xli. p. 424.

²³¹ There are certain points of resemblance between the remains of this chapel and the church of Linlithgow. The ideal of a late 15th century castle-palace built round a courtyard seems to have been best attained at Linlithgow; while, next to Warkworth, the finest example of a residential keep is perhaps to be found in the tower of Borthwick, in Midlothian, dating from about 1490. The conception of a palace in the base-court of Warkworth, into which the old hall and chamber should be worked, is of essentially later date than that of a tower-house, however magnificent. Disregard of this led Mr. Hartshorne to ascribe the Lion Tower and the whole façade connected with it to the time of the 1st Earl of Northumberland; and it must be confessed that had it not been for the badges on the cornice of the Lion Tower, the pommel of the Fitzpayne falchion, and the Herbert *bascul* being unquestionably connected with the mother and wife of the 4th Earl, it would have been easy to regard the whole as of early 16th century construction. It is well known that the several architectural styles continued in considerably later use in the north than in the south of England. Nothing has been found in the remaining Episcopal registers at Durham to throw any light on the history of the three chapels in Warkworth Castle.

Lodging in the Great Gatehouse to the accommodation afforded by the Donjon. Norfolk certainly was housed in the Donjon in 1541, but Parr deliberately chose the range of buildings connected with the Great Hall as his residence in 1543; and we have evidence that Earl Thomas at one time intended to carry out a general scheme of reconstruction, similar to that which the 4th Earl apparently began.

The late date of the cruciform chapel is apparent from the fact that the stone stair from the vaults in the thickness of the east wall of the north transept must have led up into the church, which seems to indicate that the vaults were intended for places of sepulchre. The smaller vault is under the north transept, the larger under the west end of the choir, two octagonal pillars of which have been carried down through the stone roof.²³² Immediately to the east of these vaults, a passage 43 feet long, 8 feet broad, and 8 feet high in the centre of the very flat—almost Tudor—arching, was carried under the choir as a means of communicating between the bakehouse and brew-house and the courtyard with the draw-well which served 'the holle house of water.' A narrower passage beyond this again was formed to afford access from the courtyard to the basement of the semi-octagonal tower that projects fieldwards from near the centre of the east curtain, through the original doorway of a room, one window of which was blocked, as has been mentioned, by the foundation of the church, while the east wall of the church built diagonally across it would have cut it up into two almost triangular compartments with a doorway between them.²³³ Adjoining this room on the north, and extending in line with it along the east curtain are the foundations of two or three rooms that formed the brewhouse, and on the west side of these, crowded in between the vaults of the church and the Donjon, are traces of the bakehouse and its two large ovens.

²³² Against the east wall of the larger vault is now a well of water, brought here in pipes from some distance. This does not appear to have existed in mediaeval times. The masonry of these vaults, especially the flat arches of the window recesses, with their triangular keystones, resembles that of the great kitchen. The transepts of the chapel were not true transepts, but mere projecting bays. The general idea conveyed by the foundations is more that of a toy minster than of a genuine cross church.

²³³ The foundation of the east wall of the church deflects slightly towards the south. The springing of the vaulting left on it is the same as that of the passage under the choir. Mr. Hartshorne, in his ground-plan, has actually shaded it all as Transition Norman.



WARKWORTH CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

The curtain wall is in a good state of preservation for the 24 yards intervening between the Donjon and the semi-octagonal tower already mentioned as being near the east end of the foundations of the church. As on the west side of the Donjon, it was carried to a great height, and it is supported externally by a buttress of very early 13th century character, of even grander proportions than that near the postern. A series of corbels connected with the floors and roof of the brewery buildings project at various levels from the inner face of the curtain.

The *Eastern Tower* was originally of much the same construction as the south-west or true Cradyfargus Tower, but unlike the latter it has been subjected, externally, to few alterations or additions, and, when viewed from the field, may be regarded as a most remarkably perfect specimen of early 13th century military architecture, and as the work of the first Lord of Clavering and Warkworth. Its five external faces are each pierced by a giant cross loop, 16 feet in length; the loop in the northern face being slightly deflected in order to make room for a very characteristic latrine turret in the angle between the tower and curtain.²³⁴ These five loops, extending through the two lower stories of the tower to within a short distance of the ground, are probably the finest examples in Europe of those defensive openings adapted for the cross-bow, which became peculiarly common in the 13th century.²³⁵

The tower is entered by a rubble-vaulted passage from the room at the east end of the collegiate chapel, passing the latrine chamber on the left. The ground floor of the tower has been sunk about 2 feet. At about 3 feet 5 inches above the original level a range of five oilets

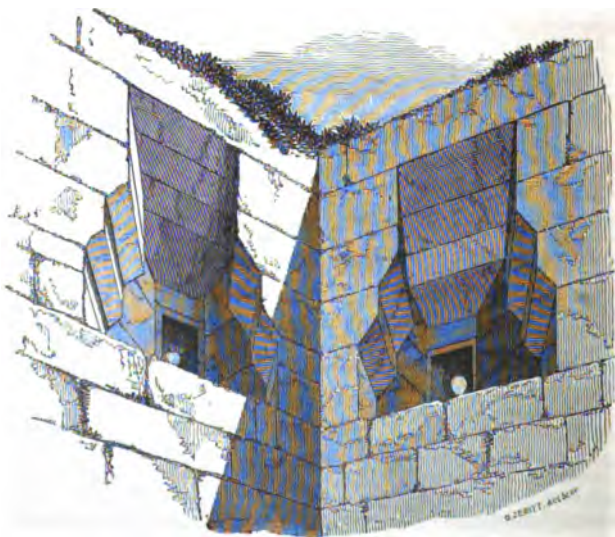
²³⁴ Mr. Jewitt seems to have been led by a false sense of delicacy to leave out this latrine turret altogether in the accompanying view of Warkworth from the north-east, which he prepared under Mr. Hartsborne's guidance.

²³⁵ Viollet-le-Duc gives a masterly account of these arrow-loops and their successive developments, in the article *Meurtrières* of his *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, VI. p. 387. The Romans directed all their defensive operations from the summit of their towers, and it is not till the 12th century that openings for the discharge of missiles at besiegers occur in the lower parts of towers; even then they are rare, the most notable examples being at the castle of Carcassonne. During the 13th century they become of frequent occurrence; but the improvements in the arts of sapping and mining in the 14th, caused tower-bases to be again built as solid as possible, and the openings to be restricted to the upper parts. It was not till the introduction of cannon for defensive purposes that the bases were again pierced with loop-holes. The oilet recesses inserted in the subsequent lining of the east tower at Warkworth resemble some drawn by Viollet-le-Duc, and dated 1250-1350.—*Ibid.* p. 390.

are inserted in the masonry, with which the tower has evidently been lined for the purpose of adding to its strength. All of the oilet openings have, however, been closed up with stone, except those in the east and south-east faces. They are about 2 feet high, the heads supported on plain chamfered shoulders, and the roofs sloping upwards. The original long oilets, through which any shaft or shot discharged through these insertions sped afield, have not been regularly built up to fit them, but are merely filled with pieces of timber and other rubbish. An attempt has been made to pull out the ashlar lining of the tower at the north-west corner, for the purpose, no doubt, of

forming a fireplace, as may be seen from the holes drilled for the crow-bars. On the first floor the eastern oilet recess has been scooped out

HEAD OF ORIGINAL OILET.



EASTERN TOWER, INSERTED OILET RECESSES ON FIRST FLOOR.

for the same purpose, and the lining wall above it rebuilt with large stones to form the chimney, the original oilet being roughly closed with clay. The roofs of the four other inserted oilet recesses on this first floor are level, and are supported on double rows of plain chamfered shoulders. The first floor was originally approached by a straight external stair, the lines of which may be traced against the curtain; there is another vaulted latrine chamber near the entrance. The second floor of the tower appears to have had no opening to the field; a door jamb is left at the south-west corner. The battlements are in a good state of preservation.

Southward of this tower, 89 feet of the lower external face of the curtain seems much battered, and presents an archaic Norman appearance, looking indeed older than anything else about the castle. The walk here was approached by a flight of steps connected with what was to have been the south-east buttress of the choir of the collegiate church. The three northern merlons of the battlement are intact. Built against the curtain were the stables, with granaries above; and on its walk behind is a latrine turret, 12 feet in width, with two quatrefoil windows to the east. The curtain is then pierced by a small doorway that leads to the custodian's garden. This is probably original. Beyond it the battlement rises in a noble series of steps connecting the walk of the east curtain with the roof of the Amble Tower.

The *Amble Tower*, so called from its being the nearest to the village of Amble, is a rectangle 25 feet square, with its inner wall built in a line with the east curtain, at the south-east angle of the castle. It is evident that at this angle the castle at one time extended to the top of the irregular earthworks just outside the present walls, and that the Amble Tower was built at a late period in order to square off the courtyard. Indeed the wall between it and the Great Gatehouse, which Clarkson designates as 'fare and of a newe buyldinge' in 1567, had not been finally embattled till 1538, as appears from the accounts of Cuthbert Carnaby, then constable of the castle.²³⁶ The basement of the tower, which Clarkson tells us was used as a stable,

²³⁶ 'Cum imbatillacione muri lapidei ex australi parte ejusdem castri cum reparacione magni orei ibidem.'—*Ante*, p. 118 n. It seems probable that the great barn was built against this wall, as foundations may clearly be traced on the turf.

presents at first a rather perplexing appearance, owing to its having been half filled up with rubbish internally, and to the head of the doorway being broken through to give height for an entrance. There are narrow slits in the east and south walls. According to the plan copied by Hartshorne, there was formerly a wheel-stair in the thickness of the south curtain close to this tower, and this was no doubt connected with an external stair leading up the west face of the tower. The first floor has a fireplace in the west wall near the north-west corner, and slits in the three outer walls. The second floor, with windows to the east and south, has a large rough fireplace across the north-east corner, while in the north-west corner there is a latrine. The fireplace of the third and uppermost floor is in the south part of the west wall, and the window in the south wall is set in an unsplayed recess. The whole tower is in a very perfect condition.

Having thus completed the circuit of the base-court, we proceed to enter the *Donjon*, which has been treated by many writers as if it were not merely the most interesting but, indeed, the only interesting part of the castle.

Built on a mound, apparently more ancient than the days of King Ceolwulf, and following the contour if not the actual foundations of a thirteenth century keep, the Donjon of Warkworth is beyond all question the most elaborately planned tower-house in existence—‘a marvellous proper dongeon’ say the King’s Commissioners of 1538. Hartshorne has described the Donjon as a model for a domestic building adapted to modern habits and to just notions of comfort, luxury, and refinement, the view, the aspect, the lighting, the water supply, the sewerage, all properly attended to.²²⁷ Viollet-le-Duc has gone so far as actually to attempt copying its plans and elevations for his ideal of what a country house, suited alike to France and England, should be at the present day.²²⁸ A more thorough study of the base-

²²⁷ *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 207.

²²⁸ *Lectures on Architecture*, from the French of Viollet-le-Duc, by B. Bucknall, 1881, ii. p. 370. The plans for an ideal country house are there given as being actually those of Warkworth Castle, instead of being merely based on its arrangements. The liberties taken in the adaptation are amusing: the central lantern is roofed in, and contains a well-stair, the hall becomes the drawing room, the buttery a billiard room, the chapel a saloon, while the upper floor is extended over the whole building. This *jeu d’esprit* throws some light on the wide tether Viollet-le-Duc gave to his imagination in his restorations of Blois and Pierrefonds.

ment and two upper floors of the Donjon—Hartshorne took no account whatever of the second floor—will, it is believed, tend rather to show the immensity of the gulf that separates all our ideas of domestic life from those prevalent in the Middle Ages. The especial value of Warkworth Donjon in the history of the development of household architecture is not only that the walls stand practically perfect and unaltered, but that the internal evidence is sufficient to more or less plausibly determine the use to which every room was put.



WARKWORTH DONJON, SOUTH SIDE.

The main entrance is on the west side of the semi-octagon that projects into the courtyard near the centre of the south front. Formerly there was before it a square platform approached by steps both on the west and east, or along the walk of the west curtain-wall. The four-centred doorway and much of the adjoining masonry underwent a conscientious restoration by Mr. Salvin in 1853-1858, and still present a bald appearance. There was a small portcullis, as can be seen from the groove, and if any assailants burst through this and the strong door

behind it, the chances are that, rushing impetuously on to a wooden platform, the bolts supporting which could be easily withdrawn, they would find themselves precipitated down some 16 feet into a pit 13 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 10 inches, lined with splendid ashlar work. On the south side of this trap for Scots was a small porter's room with a fire-place, and on the east a door communicating with the eastern battlements of the *enceinte*. We turn north into a vaulted hall at the foot of the main stair. On our left is a vault that appears to have been the prison.²³⁹ In the rectangular loop-recess at the south end is the square mouth of a veritable dungeon, 9 feet 4 inches deep and measuring 9 feet 6 inches by 8 feet 5 inches at the bottom. The sides contract gradually higher up, very large stones being placed over the corners, and the dungeon thus acquires a sort of bottle shape. An underground dungeon is a rare feature in our Border castles. There is one like this in the gatehouse of the inner ward of Alnwick Castle. A narrow flight of steps on the west side of the dungeon mouth leads to an inner prison 12 feet 2 inches long but only 4 feet 9 inches wide,²⁴⁰ formed in the thickness of the outer wall. At the south end is a small fire-place, at the north a latrine chamber. The situation of this inner prison reminds one of the condemned cell in the keep of Newcastle when used as the county gaol of Northumberland; but probably it was intended for a captive of superior position and importance. It is to be hoped that only very heinous offenders were consigned to the bottle-dungeon. Probably it was in the vault above that the plague put an end to the sufferings of many of Sir Reginald Carnaby's prisoners in 1538.²⁴¹ Considering the loathsome state of mediæval prisons, the wonder is that the plague did not always cheat the hangman.

In almost the centre of the Donjon is the remarkable Lantern, as Clarkson calls it, an open space about 8 feet by 10 feet, which served

²³⁹ There was of course another prison in the Great Gatehouse, but it was not of large dimensions, and captives must have been numerous in Border warfare. The Donjon seems to have been intended to be a complete castle within a castle; and when we find a prison and a porter's lodge on either side of the Great Gate the probability is that there were the same on either side of the entrance vault of the Donjon.

²⁴⁰ This inner prison is usually called the 'captain's bedroom,' a mistake followed by Mr. Stevenson in his *House Architecture*, ii. p. 33. The door has evidently been fastened from the outside, and neither soldiers nor prisoners were in the habit of bolting the captain of a castle into his bedroom.

²⁴¹ See *ante*, p. 119.

the double purpose of receiving the water from the leads and giving light to certain portions of the building. The general ground plan of the Donjon being, roughly speaking, a cross, about 117 feet from north to south by 108 feet from east to west, with square compartments in the angles between the limbs, the whole thus forms what heralds would call a cross quadrate quarter pierced. In the western limb of the basement is a long, narrow vault, with a mural stair off the steps of the loop-recess leading up into the buttery. Between this and the similar vault in the northern limb, which contains stone tanks for holding the water collected in the Lantern, is a square vault, with a mural stair to the kitchen in its north window-recess, and the postern door in its west wall opening on to the escarpment of the mound above the town and river. The vault in the east limb is entered by a diagonal passage; on the south side a mural stair ascends to the upper end of the hall, while on the north is a square vault, probably used as a wine-cellar. The south-east corner of the basement is occupied by a large square vault, possibly a guard-room, but with no special feature except a mural chamber approached by steps on the east side of the rectangular ingoing of its southern loophole.

To recapitulate, there were three entrances to the Donjon, the main entrance reached by a flight of steps from the court between the collegiate chapel and the west curtain wall, the small round-headed door opposite connected with the walls of the east curtain, and the external postern near the north-west corner of the Donjon; there were four stairs from the basement to the first floor, the main stair in the southern projection, and the three mural stairs issuing respectively in the buttery, the kitchen, and the dais end of the hall.

The main stair, which has a small chamber as if for a page or usher at the fourth step level, terminates on a landing lit by three fine windows overlooking the courtyard, two of them provided with seats. There is a fire-place in the west wall of the landing, and to the right of this a hole for the insertion of stays to support the portcullis when raised. Passing through the doorway of the hall, we enter a small alcove with a stone seat on the left, and on the right a door inside which a wheel-stair leads to two rooms on the second floor entirely renovated in 1853-1858.

The hall was a noble room, 41 feet long by about 25 feet broad at the lower and 23 feet at the upper end. It rose to the full height of the second floor of the Donjon, the side walls being 26 feet high to the string-course immediately under the roof. The stereotyped arrangement of three doors remains at the lower or western end; but the first two of these both open into the buttery, while the third and widest communicates with the kitchens. In the north-west corner of the hall is a passage leading to what Hartshorne styles the state-chamber, but which it will be clearer, if not also more accurate, to term the parlour. Further along the north wall near the dais is the door of the chapel. Originally there were two large windows on the south side of the hall, but the western of these was clumsily converted, probably in Tudor times, into a fire-place and chimney. Till then no doubt the hall was warmed by a brazier in the centre. The recess of the remaining window is raised to what was possibly the level of the dais; on the left side of it the narrow stair comes from the wine-cellar.²⁴² At the end of the hall above the dais are the two arches of a mural gallery with windows behind them. This gallery is entered from the oriole or upper floor of the chapel and has a small closet at its south end. In previous descriptions of the castle, it has generally been allotted to the musicians, but it is at the wrong end of the hall for them, and seems rather to have been intended for the ladies of the house to witness the feasts and revels going on below.

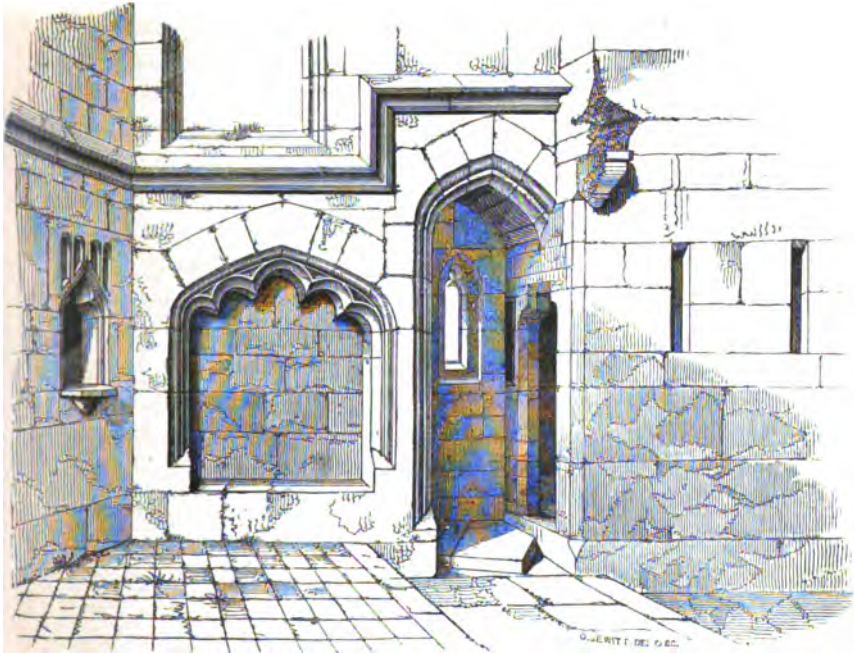
The outer kitchen, very long and narrow, is provided with a large fire-place with an oven on the right and circular boiler-seat on the left. A mural stair ascends from near the window to the second floor. The great kitchen, open to the roof, has huge cavernous fire-places in its north and east walls, with numerous mason-marks in their chimneys. In the south-west corner is a small pantry, while over the stair coming up from the vaults in the north-west corner is a curious chamber in the thickness of the wall, 8 feet above the floor.²⁴³

The nave of the chapel entered from the hall near the dais is about

²⁴² Each window-recess has a square ventilating hole in its stone roof; the gallery has two. The small stair from the hall to the wine cellar was the regular arrangement in Scottish castles.—*Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, by Macgibbon and Ross, ii, p. 17. Alnwick and Langley have stairs of this description.

²⁴³ This wall-chamber is popularly called the 'cook's bedroom.'

25 feet in length and 12 feet in width. It had been originally intended to have had another door opening from it into the parlour immediately opposite the door from the hall, and judging from the slop-spouts in the west wall which emptied into the central lantern in a way not calculated to improve the purity of the rain water collected by it, the western part of this little nave must have always retained a secular character. A wheel-stair in the south-west corner gave access



THE CHAPEL, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL.

to the oriole or upper story as well as to the Great Chamber. The chancel occupies both stories of the eastern semi-octagon of the Donjon, and is four or five feet wider than the nave and oriole. Three perpendicular windows, each of six cusped lights with traceried heads were in the east, and two similar windows in the north and south walls.²⁴⁴ Between the three east windows and against the blank north-east and south-east walls were stone brackets for statues with

²⁴⁴ Mr. Jewitt's restoration of the heads of these windows in his view of the chapel in Mr. Hartshorne's volume is not exactly accurate.

shield-bearing angels on their lower sides. To the north of the altar was an aumbry and to the south a piscina and broad sedile under a cinque-foiled arch. Beyond this is a door leading to a long and narrow mural chamber, at the back of the dais of the hall and above the stair coming up from the cellars, that appears to have been used by the priest. From this sort of vestry there is a small squint in the direction of the altar of the chapel. There is a niche containing a small pedestal for an image in the west wall. The two slits in the north wall were probably merely for ventilation. It is not easy to determine the use of the large altar-like slab at the south end of the vestry.²⁴⁵ The chancel communicates with the eastern window-recess of the parlour through a small mural chamber provided with a slop-spout and aumbries.

The uses of the remaining rooms of the Donjon have to be determined more by general considerations based on the state of domestic habits that prevailed in England during the 15th century, and still more or less survive in some foreign countries, than by any direct evidence that can be quoted from the rooms themselves.²⁴⁶

The parlour, as it seems best to call the chamber on the north side of the chapel, was about 36 feet in length by 16 feet in width and height. It must have been dark. Besides the eastern window-recess already mentioned as communicating with the apsidal chancel of the chapel there is a larger recess with a window to the north and a considerable arched cupboard on its east side. The fire-place has a remarkably

²⁴⁵ In Mr. Hartshorne's plans of the Donjon this slab has five consecration crosses marked upon it, as though it were an altar. There is no trace of any such crosses, and probably there never was. An altar placed east and west with a gallery over it would be an anomaly in the 15th century. The raised position of this slab was rendered necessary in order to give height to the stair beneath it.

²⁴⁶ Mr. Baring Gould, in his delightful *Old Country Life*, p. 77, expresses himself astonished that the house of the Upcotts of Upcott, a Devonshire family, that expired in the reign of Henry VII., had but a single bedroom. 'There may have been,' he says, 'a separate apartment for the squire and his wife, over the parlour, which was rebuilt later; but for all the rest of the household there existed but one large dormitory over the hall, in which slept the unmarried ladies of the family, and the maid-servants, and where was the nursery for the babies. All the men of the family, gentle and serving, slept in the hall.' In Poland at the present day the stereotyped arrangement of a country house is a central hall with one wing for ladies and another for gentlemen. The squire and his wife have each their own private room at the opposite ends of the house. In the case of a house-party beds are brought into the drawing-room for the ladies in the evening, while the gentlemen are accommodated in the hall and dining-room, some of the younger ones on a pinch being relegated to the hay in the barn, as described in the 'Pan Tadeusz' of Mickiewicz, i. p. 42, Torun 1859.

deep flat arch over it and is of much later character than might be expected in the building. The parlour, originally the business-room of a monastic house, was a sort of secondary hall, where visitors might be received more privately than in the great hall, and yet with less familiarity than in the chamber. The window recesses with their fixed seats, the fire-place smaller and more comfortable than that of the hall, and the cupboard, are all distinguishing marks of the mediæval parlour.²⁴⁷ Here at Warkworth it was no doubt the general living and sleeping room of the gentlemen of the family, while the more secluded chamber in the northern semi-octagon beyond it was probably intended for the Earl himself. This room, 17 feet long by 11 feet wide, has a large window-recess in the west wall, and a small fire-place with a curious hole inside it, possibly for concealing treasure. There are latrines in the thickness of the east wall of this room, and in that between it and the parlour.

A wheel-stair ascends to the roof from just outside the door of the Earl's room and communicates with the room over it, which was probably the Countess's Bower. Separated from this only by a latrine passage is the Great Chamber of the same dimensions as the parlour under it, but than which it must have been much lighter, owing to an additional large recessed window on the north side. The walls are hardly 10 feet high, but it probably had an open timber roof. The chamber in the middle ages was the special apartment of the ladies of the family both by day and night.²⁴⁸ Originally this chamber could only have been approached either through the inner room that has just been hypothetically assigned to the Countess or by the wheel-stair at the west end of the chapel. At the head of this stair the ladies could conveniently enter the oriole of the chapel and cross it to the gallery above the dais. Near the south-west corner of the Great Chamber is a passage leading to a vaulted room, 10 feet long by 7 feet broad, immediately under the central watch-tower of the Donjon, and lit from the lantern. An irregular stair winds its way in the thickness of the partition wall between the Great Chamber and the kitchen to a similar room above. It may be that at first rooms so difficult of access were intended for treasure-chambers,²⁴⁹ but it was found that

²⁴⁷ *Homes of Other Days*, by Thos. Wright, pp. 381, 479.

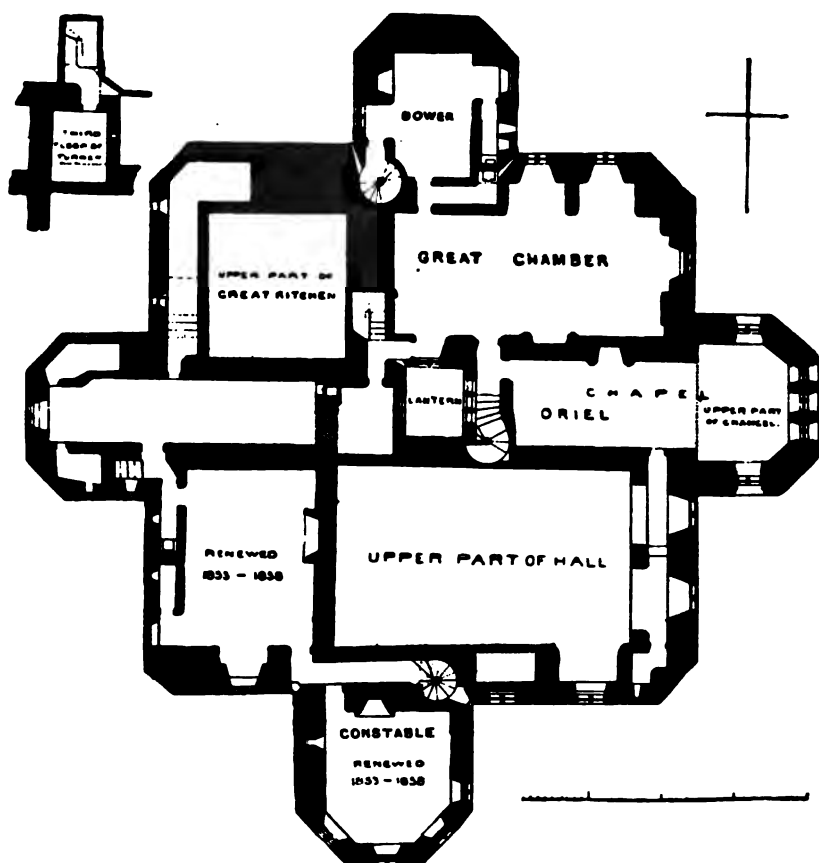
²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 145, 272.

²⁴⁹ The treasure of a nobleman like the Earl of Northumberland must have

the internal arrangements of the Donjon could be much improved by making an opening in the wall between the lower of these rooms and the long chamber over the outer kitchen, thus connecting together the whole of the second floor. This opening probably caused a slight shrinkage of the watch-tower, and it was deemed prudent to build it up again, red brick being the material used. Mr. Salvin refaced the west side of the closed aperture with stone, and so obliterated all external trace of the connection that at one time existed. A most mysterious double piscina, separated only by a very thin stone from an aumbry in the lower turret room, is still left in the north-east corner of this narrow chamber, or rather, perhaps, we should say broad passage, measuring as it does 36 feet by 8 feet.²⁵⁰ Opening off this chamber or passage are a long mural chamber in the wall of the kitchen and two small ones in the western semi-octagon of the Donjon. A door on the south side leads on to the head of the stair coming up from the outer kitchen, and beyond this is a passage affording access to the larger of the two restored rooms on the south side of the Donjon. The smaller of these commanding the whole courtyard from its four windows, seems to have been designed to be occupied by the constable, as the portcullis was worked from it, and the larger may have been more or less of a guard room for his men-at-arms. Proceeding along the passage between them we reach the wheel-stair coming up from the entrance of the great hall, and can mount by it to the battlements. The central turret or 'watch house,' as Clarkson calls it, rises 32 feet above the roof.

With a building of such intense interest, both in the history of architecture and of society, it is vexatious to have to confess that there is no direct evidence to prove when or by whom it was actually built. Mr. Hartshorne considered that the corbel tabling and general character of the masonry so exactly corresponded with the rougher work in the Bond Gate Tower at Alnwick that there was no room for doubting that both were erected by the second Earl of Northumberland more than could be conveniently stowed away in ordinary hutches, and there can have been little possibility of deposit or investment in mediæval Northumberland.

²⁵⁰ It is not easy to believe that this chamber can have been used as a chapel. The east end of it must have been extremely dark if no light was obtained from the roof. Piscinas on the north side of the altar are unusual in England.



PLAN OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF WARWICK DONJON.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION

land. The Bond Gate Tower he thought was built in 1434, and he was disposed to consider that Warkworth Donjon was built after that, probably between 1435 and 1440.²⁵¹ We now know for an absolute certainty that the Bond Gate Tower was begun in 1443, and not entirely finished till 1450,²⁵² and though there is some resemblance between the two buildings, it seems, owing to the different character of the stone and masonry, to fall very short of proving the actual identity of their origin. Warkworth Donjon, with its intricate maze of chambers and passages, must have been a masterpiece of one of the best architects of the day, while the Bond Gate Tower looks more like a rough adaptation of some of its features by a mere country builder.

Mr. Hartshorne's ideas of the chronological sequence of the various parts of Warkworth Castle were most seriously warped by his cardinal error of attributing the Lion Tower and the general façade of the courtyard connected with it to the first Earl (1398-1407) instead of to the fourth Earl of Northumberland (1471-1489). But it would seem extremely improbable that a man of such power and ambition as the first Earl should have done nothing to render his favourite home both more habitable and magnificent, and better calculated for a refuge in the time of trouble. Nor if the Donjon did not then exist with what were looked upon no doubt as the latest improvements in house planning, can we understand why John of Lancaster, the son of Henry IV., chose Warkworth as his headquarters? There are, therefore, in the want of that direct evidence which may hereafter be forthcoming, some grounds for supposing the Donjon of Warkworth to have been the work of the first and the greatest, but hardly the best, of the eleven Earls of the princely House of Louvain.²⁵³

With more certainty we may picture to ourselves the great Earl of Warwick quartered in the Donjon at the time of John Paston's expedition to Warkworth in the winter of 1462,²⁵⁴ and we know that it

²⁵¹ *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 207.

²⁵² See *ante*, p. 21.

²⁵³ This hypothesis, if it should ultimately prove correct, will materially affect the question of the probable occupants of the private rooms in the south-east tower of the Castle, see *ante*, pp. 135, 136. If, as seems most likely, the chantry mentioned as recently founded in 1428, see *ante*, p. 112, was connected with the chapel in the Donjon, the latter must have been already in existence, though some years may have passed since it was built.

²⁵⁴ See *ante*, p. 113.

was carefully prepared for the reception of the Duke of Norfolk in 1541.²⁵⁵ Very probably it was from its battlements that Earl Thomas saw the six ships passing full-sail towards Scotland in 1558,²⁵⁶ and considering the innumerable cross currents and down draughts that must have swept through this labyrinth of stairs and passages there can be little wonder that Sussex was forced to fly from its smoky chimnies in the autumn of 1570.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 119.²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 122.²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 126.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

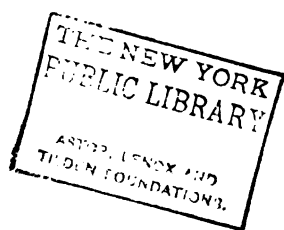
P. 94, l. 20, *del.* 'at the battle of Halidon Hill.'

P. 105, n. 93, for 'millatenus' read 'nullatenus.'

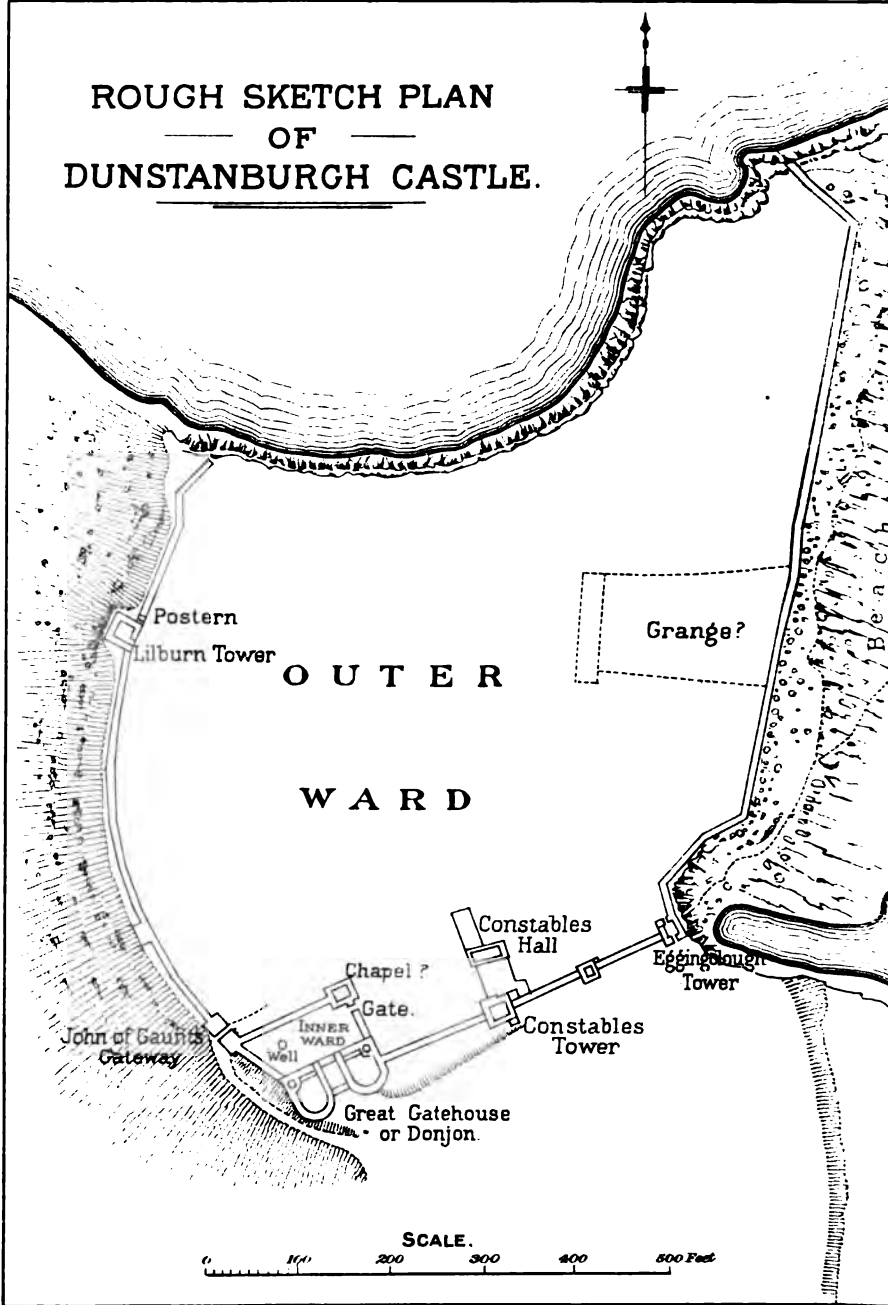
P. 107, n. 103, transfer l. 8 to bottom of page.

P. 113, add in a note to l. 3 :—In 1448 Earl William of Douglas 'passit in Yngland the xvij of Julie with xl^m men and did gret scaith and brynt Werkworth.'—*Chronicle of the Reign of James II.*, published by Thomson, quoted in MSS. of the Rev. John Hodgson. If these ravages of the Douglas affected the castle as well as the town of Warkworth, they would naturally account for considerable works of reparation in the former immediately afterwards, possibly even for the erection of the Donjon in its present form.

P. 133, l. 25, add the note:—'This gap, as is often the case in castles, *e.g.* the so-called Bloody Gap on the site of the Friars' Tower at Alnwick, seems to have been caused by the fall of a tower. Mackenzie (*Hist. of Northumberland*, ii. p. 114) mentions a ruined tower about the middle of the west wall; and a semi-circular tower is clearly shown at this spot in a view of Warkworth taken by Samuel Henry Grimm, a native of Switzerland, in about 1786, and now in the British Museum. *Add. MS.* 15,543, fo. 86.'



ROUGH SKETCH PLAN OF DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.



DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

THE rugged headland on which the ruins of Dunstanburgh stand is the grandest feature in the great basalt range that traverses Northumberland from Kyloe to Glenwhelt, and appears most prominently in the castle rock of Bamburgh, the crags of Shafto and Sewingshields, and the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall. The situation of Dunstanburgh recalls in a manner those of the other great east coast fortresses of Scarborough, Tynemouth, and Tantallon, but is more romantic even than the last of these. No carriage road leads to Dunstanburgh, and this forced pilgrimage on foot has in itself an indescribable old-world charm. As you come along the shore from Embleton a crescent of black cliffs rises a hundred feet straight out of the waves to form the northern rampart of the castle. You almost expect to be challenged by the basalt giants that are drawn up like so many warders round the base of the stately Lilburn Tower, and might reasonably conclude that the shattered turrets of the Great Gatehouse were sustained by power of enchantment, so much do their fantastic outlines, peering mysteriously over the green slope of the western escarpment, seem to set all known



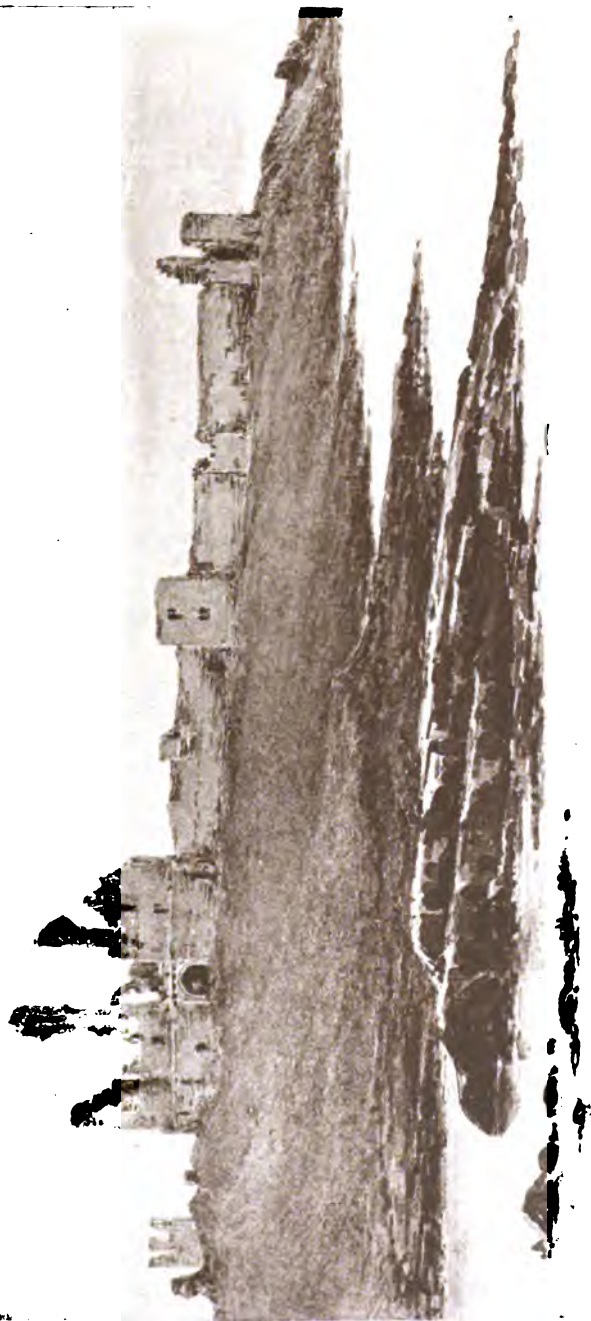
principles of gravitation at defiance. High as these turrets are, in a strong north-east gale the sea dashes up through the Rumble Churn into a fountain above them. In addition to this rare combination of natural and architectural beauty, Dunstanburgh possesses historical associations of no common interest, that in their unique and melan-

choly character are in complete harmony with the scene. The other castles of Northumberland are principally famous for the parts they and their lords took in Border warfare. Dunstanburgh is connected only with the internal history of England. It was owned by the two great popular leaders of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster, and its fortunes became closely interwoven with those of the Red Rose in the civil wars of the fifteenth.

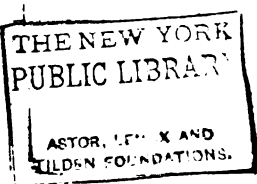
The mediæval stronghold apparently occupied only the northern portion of the natural fortress. The Great Gatehouse was placed where the western escarpment becomes less precipitous, and from it to the deep inlet of the sea beneath Queen Margaret's Tower the line of defence was formed by the south curtain-wall and its flanking towers. On the ten acres thus enclosed, 240 bushels of wheat, to say nothing of the hay, are recorded to have been grown in a single year. In area Dunstanburgh was by far the largest castle in Northumberland.

Traces of a rough stone rampart to the south of the present castle make it probable that the whole rock was embraced by prehistoric fortifications. The very name 'Donstanesburgh' shows that it was a 'burh' or fortified tribal centre of the Angles, possibly at as early a date as Bamburgh, and established no doubt by some forgotten Dunstan. Nothing is known as to the causes that led to its subsequent abandonment. After the Norman Conquest it was comprised, without being specially mentioned, in the manor of Dunstan, part of the barony usually styled that of Embleton though the *caput baronie* appears to have been originally at Stamford. This barony was granted by Henry I. at the service of three knights, comparatively onerous for its extent, to a family, who in consequence of their founder Hildred having been sheriff (*vicecomes*) of Cumberland, and his son, Odard, Sheriff of Northumberland, continued to bear the surname of Viscount after their connection with the shrievalty had long been severed. John le Viscount, the last of his race, dying in 1244, left his daughter Ramette as sole heiress.¹ Ramette and her second

¹ The Viscounts seem to have been a very unhealthy family. Among the miraculous cures wrought in the island of Farne in the second half of the 12th century, Reginald of Durham records those of the crippled mother of the rich knight who owned Embleton, and of (her son) John le Viscount and his wife who both suffered from terrible internal complications.—*Surtree Society Publications*, I. pp. 122, 263, 264.



DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.
from the South



husband, Hereward de Mareys, or Marisco, possibly a relative of the Bishop of Durham of that name, sold the barony to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in 1256.² Montfort's connection with Northumberland had begun in 1245 when, for the reasonable consideration of 10,000 marks, he had been appointed guardian of the lordship of Redesdale and the barony of Prudhoe during the minority of Gilbert de Umfreville, an appointment that gave great umbrage to the next bidder, the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, and had much to do with the further development of political parties. From 1248 to 1253 Montfort was engaged abroad as governor of Gascony, but on his return to England he obtained great influence among the Northumbrian baronage, and it is not too much to suppose that in purchasing the small barony of Embleton he was fully alive to the strategic value of the rock of Dunstanburgh as an eventual *point d'appui* in the great struggle he was about to enter into. Montfort's memory long lingered in Northumberland. His brother-in-arms John de Vesci, lord of Alnwick, in escaping after the fatal battle of Evesham in 1265, contrived to carry home one of the feet of the Earl which had been barbarously hacked off, and this, encased in a silver shoe, was preserved as an object of veneration in Alnwick Abbey down to the very Reformation, a worthy citizen of Newcastle attesting among others its miraculous properties.

On Montfort's death, the barony of Embleton with the rest of the earldom of Leicester was forfeited to the Crown, and then was granted by Henry III. to his younger son Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. Earl Edmund gave the advowson of the church of Embleton and the chapel of Rock to Merton College, Oxford, in 1274. His elder son Thomas Plantagenet succeeded to the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, in 1294, and by his orders the sandstone for the erection of Dunstanburgh Castle was begun to be quarried on the 7th of May, 1313.³ The reasons that prompted the lord of Kenilworth

² This interesting conveyance is preserved in the Great Coucher Book of the Duchy of Lancaster. The very valuable MSS. of the Rev. John Hodgson have afforded a general clue to this and to the Abstracts of Registers, etc., as containing additional matter relating to Dunstanburgh beyond that to be found in the Ministers' Accounts. A concise list of the Duchy of Lancaster papers is given in the *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 42.

³ *Opera castri et fossati de Dunstaneshurghe* in the account of the Receiver of Emeldone, Duchy of Lancaster Records, bundle 1, No. 3. P.R.O. See *45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 5.

and Pontefract to raise a castle on the wild coast of Northumberland are as suspicious as those that led Simon de Montfort to purchase the rock on which it stands. Earl Thomas was in almost open rebellion against his cousin Edward II. whose favourite Gaveston he had treacherously decapitated in the previous June, and was not included in an amnesty till the following October. Dunstanburgh was not intended as a bulwark against Scotland. Earl Thomas was not only one of the malcontents who stood aloof from the expedition which ended in the disaster of Bannockburn in June, 1314, but is even said to have jeered at the discomfited Edward as he passed under the battlements of Pontefract on his return. Indeed he stood accused of having come to a secret understanding with the Scots, and £40,000 was mentioned as the price they paid for his benevolent neutrality. All this time work was steadily going on at Dunstanburgh. By Michaelmas 1314, 16 perches of a moat 80 feet broad and 18 feet deep had been dug on the west side of the castle between it and the field of Embleton. Spanish iron had been purchased for the hinges, and the cramps for binding the stones together; and 'bordes of Estorke' procured for the doors and windows. Four carts and a couple of wains had been kept constantly going for stone, sand, and mortar, over and above those which the bailiff had been able to impress from the peasantry. Sea coal for burning the lime had been brought from Newcastle and elsewhere. A hostelry 80 feet long by 20 feet broad had been erected as a shelter for the workmen at a cost of 36s. 1d., and Master Elias the mason had been proceeding with the contract he had entered into with the Earl for rearing the bows of the Gatehouse to the height of 80 feet, with a tower above either side of the gateway. The whole contract ran to £224, and of this £65 10s. had been paid for work actually done.⁴ The great affection entertained for the Earl by the clergy had been very practically attested by the presents they had sent for the 'garniture' of the castle of Dunstanburgh. The Abbot of St. Mary's at York, the Abbot of Alnwick, the Priors of Nostell and Tynemouth, Master Robert de Pykering, and Master Peter de Dene, had each given him two cart horses; the Abbot of Newminster six oxen. One of the horses had been carried off by the Scots; but the fact that this is the only trace of their ravages in Northumber-

⁴ *Ibid.*

land after Bannockburn to be found in the accounts of the bailiff, tends rather to confirm the tradition that they intentionally spared the Earl's estates.⁵ William Galon, the bailiff, appears to have taken a very active part in furthering the Earl's political schemes. His three days' journey to Durham with a letter from his lord to the prior was merely for the purpose of asking for some building timber for the castle; but he was suspiciously summoned to the Earl's presence at Melbourne, near Derby, and then twice ordered to Berwick. He had to go to York during the time the parliament sat there and was afterwards at Ravensholm. A 'garcon' was sent by him at one time to Kenilworth and at another to Pontefract with letters to the Earl concerning 'rumours from the northern parts,' and he paid 6s. 8d. to William de Boteler for carrying despatches to the Earl at Donnington relating to 'secret news.'⁶

The colossal proportions of the Great Gatehouse serve to conjure up a vision of what the hall, chapel, and lodgings of Dunstanburgh would have been if Thomas of Lancaster, whose foible it was to assume the character of King Arthur in the pageants of the Court, had carried out his evident intention of creating here a veritable Joyous Garde. At the parliament held at Lincoln in January, 1316, the government of the country was virtually made over to him, and it was there that, after a short summer session, the king granted him on the 21st of August a license for strengthening his house of Dunstanburgh with a wall of stone and lime, and crenellating and holding it without interference.⁷ Either this licence merely legalised facts already accomplished, or it marks the date of the completion of the battlements of the Gatehouse and the occupation of it by a regular garrison.

By a sudden burst of energy on the part of Edward II. that none could have expected, Thomas of Lancaster was in 1322 made prisoner at Boroughbridge, tried in his own castle-hall at Pontefract, and being convicted of secret dealings with the Scots was executed forthwith on the 22nd of March. His advisers had in vain urged him to escape to Dunstanburgh before it was too late.⁸ The custody of Dun-

⁵ *Warnestura Castri de Donstanburghe* in Duchy of Lancaster Records, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 1, No. 3. P.R.O.

⁶ Account of the Receiver of Emeldone, 7 & 8 Ed. II.

⁷ Pat. Roll, 9 Ed. II. m. 25.

⁸ After this Thomas Lancastre and the Barons counselid together in Blake Freres in Pontfracte, and the Barons concludid to go to Dunstanburgh, a Castel

stanburgh was committed by the King to Roger Horseley his seneschal in Northumberland.⁹ Horseley was afterwards directed to deliver it to Richard Emeldon, a distinguished merchant of Newcastle, who on the 24th of March had been appointed keeper of the castles and lands of the late Earl in both Durham and Northumberland.¹⁰ That same year Emeldon furnished sixty-eight hobilars or light horsemen from the garrison for the invasion of Scotland.¹¹ The constables of the castle were then John de Lilburn and Roger Mauduit, who, in common with other constables of border castles, were severely rebuked by the king on the 26th of September for their negligence in not better preventing the incursions of the Scots.¹²

In 1324 Edward II. restored the earldom of Lancaster, in which Dunstanburgh was included, to Henry Plantagenet, younger brother of the unfortunate founder of the castle, whose tragic end the royal warrant for its delivery, addressed to Roger Heron, the keeper of forfeited lands in Northumberland, quaintly slurs over by stating that he had 'gone the way of all flesh.'¹³ Earl Henry's daughter Mary married the third lord Percy of Alnwick, and the shield of Lancaster with the fleurs-de-lys on its label is carved in stone on the battlements of the gateway of the inner ward there.¹⁴ John de Lilburn was still constable of Dunstanburgh in 1326, when he served on a commission to provide ships from Dunstanburgh and other northern ports¹⁵ to protect the king from his French queen; but it seems impossible now to imagine where the port of Dunstanburgh can have been. About the same time the Bishop of Durham was ordered to fortify and victual Dunstanburgh among other northern castles.¹⁶ Earl Henry continued a dispute with

of Thomas of Lancasters in Northumbreland: but he utterly refused that Counsel, lest it might have been thought, that he had, or wolde have Intelligence with the Scottes.'—Leland, *Collectanea* I. pag. 667, Hearne's ed. i. p. 464, from a French epitome of the Chronicle of William de Pakington, Treasurer of the Black Prince.

⁹ Originalia, 15 Ed. II. ro. 11; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 298.

¹⁰ Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead in 14th Century*, p. 56.

¹¹ Grose, *Antiquities*, ed. 1785, IV. p. 162, quoting Wardrobe Account of Roger de Waltham.

¹² *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. p. 146.

¹³ 'Thomas quondam comes Lancastrie viam universe carnis ingressus.'—Originalia, 17 Ed. II. ro. 24; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 299.

¹⁴ Mr. Hartshorne has left out these important fleurs-de-lys in his Plate XIV., 'Armorial Bearings on Octagonal Tower, Alnwick Castle,' facing p. 172 of vol. ii. of *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852.

¹⁵ Tate, *Dunstanburgh Castle*, in History of Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vi. p. 89.

¹⁶ On 29th Apr. 1326.—*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii. p. 160.

Merton College as to the advowson of Embleton which his brother Thomas had begun in 1318, and it was not until 1331 that the matter was finally determined in favour of the college. His son and successor, Henry *Tort-Col* or Wry-neck, created Duke of Lancaster in 1351, left only two daughters. Blanche, the younger of these and eventually the sole heiress, married John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III., created Duke of Lancaster in 1362. In 1368 a new drawbridge was made at the gate-tower of Dunstanburgh Castle, and charges appear for the custody of the Water-gate and of the barbican.¹⁷ Four years later we find John of Gaunt titular King of Castille, ordering his esquire, William de Querneby, the Receiver of Dunstanburgh, to repair the castle and to build in it a new wall in accordance with the advice of William de Nesfeld his steward in those parts.¹⁸ A warrant from him, dated Kenilworth the 17th of April, 1380, directs the constable of Dunstanburgh to buy a certain number of salmon at Berwick and send them to the Savoy.¹⁹ That same year he came north himself with a large army for the purpose of establishing a lasting peace on the Border. He appears to have been dissatisfied with the state he found Dunstanburgh in, and when at Bamburgh on the 25th of October he engaged John Lewyn a mason from Durham to build a 'mantelett' of freestone round the Great Tower in his castle of Dunstanburgh. The wall of this mantlet, estimated to be eleven rods in length, was to be 4 feet broad, and with the battlement 20 feet high from the ground. The work was to be completed by the following Michaelmas at the cost of ten marks a rod, to include everything except wood for burning the lime and cement.²⁰ Subsequently visiting

¹⁷ 'Super empcone unius nove batelle ibidem unius pontis tractabilis facti super turrin super portas Castri de Dunstanburgh xlj s. viij d. ob. Custus domorum infra Castrum xxix s. iij d. Custus molendini xxxij s. vd. Custus del Watergat infra Castrum quam custus del barbican de novo facti ad portas turreis infra Castrum xxj li. xij s. vd.'—Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5971.

¹⁸ 'Donne etc. a la Sauvoye xij jour de May lan xlvj.'—Duchy of Lancaster, Register, Ed. iij. vol. 13, page 149.

¹⁹ Duchy of Lancaster, Reg. Ed. iij. vol. 14, page 286. On the 15th June, 1380, John of Gaunt issued a commission at Berwick appointing Monsieur Thomas Ildretton, Receiver of Dunstanburgh, and Thomas Houchonson to be Purveyors of Salmon for his Household.—*Ibid.* page 119. Again, at Roxburgh, 8th July, 1383, he orders the receiver of Dunstanburgh to pay the expenses of taking 30 score of salmon out of the fishery of the Tweed for the use of his household.—*Ibid.* page 73. The fisheries in the Tweed called Sandstell and Blakwell were part of the possessions of the Duchy.

²⁰ 'Pur faire un mantelett entour le grande tourre deinz le Chastel de Donstaneburgh.'—Reg. of John Duke of Lancaster, Ric. ij. vol. 14, p. 816. A

Dunstanburgh in person John of Gaunt determined to have a new work of masonry erected adjoining Lewyn's mantlet, and himself pointed out the exact situation it was to occupy to his 'dear and well-beloved' mason Henry de Holme.²¹ The work was to be carried out under the superintendence of his 'very dear and well-beloved Bachelor Monsieur Thomas de Ildreton,' who had been appointed constable of the castle on the 29th of July previous.²² The terms of the contract were the same as those agreed upon with Lewyn; but as Henry de Holme had received nothing on account of it by the autumn of 1382, Thomas Galon the responsible receiver of Dunstanburgh was commanded to pay up the arrears at once and be more accurate in future if he wished to escape the Duke's grievous indignation.²³ In addition to the work he had contracted for, Henry de Holme, we learn, built six houses with their vaults, chimneys, and windows, and made a new entrance to the castle with a vaulted Gatehouse furnished with a portcullis and a 'vice,' for which he was to receive twenty pounds.²⁴ On the 20th of July, 1383, he entered into a further agreement with John of Gaunt at Durham for the erection of a new Gatehouse of freestone at the castle of Dunstanburgh, renewing the vousoirs, jambs, and barbicans, and taking the old Gatehouse to aid in the new work. The new Gatehouse was to be vaulted, and to have a barbican, a postern, and the necessary arrangements for a drawbridge.²⁵ It will thus be

mantle seems to have been a term used generally for a defence of wood or stone added to other works. Du Cange mentions a castle made safe in the time of Henry V. 'antemuralibus quibusdam municionibus lapideis, quas guerratores *mantellos* appellant.' See the account of the word in Mr. Longstaffe's 'The New Castle upon Tyne,' *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 119. Mr. Longstaffe appears, however, to be mistaken as to the position of the Queen's Mantle in the castle of Newcastle, within which the kitchen is said to have been situated. It seems evident that the three openings in the arcade at the north end of the hall there—*ibid.* p. 112—were the three stereotyped doorways leading to the kitchen, pantry, and buttery, and that consequently both the kitchen and the Mantle were between the hall and the Black Gate.

²¹ 'Pur Henry de Holme, mason.' Fulham, 1st Dec., 1381.—Duchy of Lancaster, Register, Ric. ij. vol. 14, page 54b.

²² *Ibid.* page 120.

²³ *Ibid.* page 62.

²⁴ 'Pur la fisure de sys mesons ove sys voutes sys chemenoyz et fenestres appartenantz as ditz mesons et pur la fisure dune entree et une Gatehouse ovesque une voutee et un portculys et un vice faits par le dit Henry a ses coustages propres outre son convenant deinz notre Chastel de Dunstaunburgh.'—*Ibid.* page 79. The 'vice' was probably an *escalier à vis* or spiral stair.

²⁵ 'Pur renuier les Vowzers Jambes et barbicans illeoques et pur prendre le veille Gatehous illeoques pur eyder al oeveryne de novelle Gatehouse susdite et meisme le Gatehouse serra voutez et aura un portculys un barbican et un posterne et une ordenance pur un pont affaire en meisme oeveryne.'—*Ibid.* page 81b.

seen that John of Gaunt, to whom Kenilworth is indebted for the most beautiful portions of its castle, took no little personal interest in the fortification of the great Lancastrian stronghold on the coast of Northumberland.

On the accession of Henry IV. his duchy of Lancaster, in which Dunstanburgh was included, became practically vested in the Crown. Robert Harbottle of Preston was made constable of the castle on the 13th of June, 1409,²⁶ and on his death ten or eleven years later his brother John Harbottle was charged to keep it in safety.²⁷ In February, 1421, Henry Lound was appointed constable,²⁸ and in consequence, it would seem, of his representations, the auditor of the possessions of the duchy in Northumberland received orders on the 18th of May of the following year to report on the state of Dunstanburgh and to have it repaired without delay.²⁹ On the death of Lound a reasonable allowance was ordered to be made to his sons John and Peter for their custody of the castle and their repairs to houses in it until the appointment of Stephen Hatfield as his successor on the 20th of February, 1427.³⁰ Hatfield complained to the Council of the Duchy that the castle was in a ruinous condition, and they therefore instructed the receiver of Dunstanburgh, in February, 1430, to supply him with sufficient funds for its speedy repair.³¹ Nevertheless the next year he informed them that the Great Gateway was so old and battered that it was on the point of falling to the ground, 'to the great peril of the safe guard of the castle, if the most hasty remedy was not applied,' and renewed instructions were sent to the receiver on the subject.³²

On the 8th of July, 1436, Ralph Babthorpe was appointed joint constable with Hatfield.³³ An almost unbroken series of Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts for Dunstanburgh has been preserved from about

²⁶ Duchy of Lancaster, Register, vol. 17, Hen. V. third part (Commissions), page 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.* second part (Warrants, 8 Hen. V.), page 90.

²⁸ *Ibid.* first part (Patents, 8 Hen. V.), page 75.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pt. 2, page 107.

³⁰ Duchy of Lancaster, Reg. Hen. VI. vol. 18, pt. 2, page 134b.

³¹ *Ibid.* page 139b.

³² 'Par relacion de nostre Conestable de Dunstanburghe fait a nostre Conseil de nostre Duchee de Lancastre nous sumez enformez qe le grand porte de nostre Chastel de Dunstanburghe est sy veile et debruse qest en pointe dechaier au terre a grand perile de la saufe garde du dit Chastel si le pluis hasty remedie ne soit purveu pur icele.'—*Ibid.* pt. 1, page 17.

³³ *Ibid.* pt. 1 (Commissions, 15 Hen. VI.), page 49.

this period, and contains various items of expenditure on the fabric of the castle during the years preceding each successive Michaelmas on which they were rendered.³⁴ Thus at Michaelmas, 1489, the charge of 40s. appears for repairing and rebuilding a piece of the castle wall near the sea which had been blown down the year before.³⁵ From the accounts of 1442 we learn that William Shaldford and his fellow-masons received 12s. for making an oven in the castle, and 5s. was spent on the machinery connected with the draw-well. The houses and chambers in the castle had been repaired and painted. An arched gutter had been made under the Great Tower. The foundations of the East Tower of the castle had been repaired and strengthened at the cost of 9s. in masons' wages. Voussoirs for the door of the Auditor's stable had been squared and erected. A labourer had got 6d. for white-washing the castle kitchen with quick lime and water, and the pavement of the road leading to the Outer Gate of the castle had been mended.³⁶ During the following year 72 stones of lead were purchased at Newcastle and brought 30 leagues by sea for covering the broken lead tiles of the hall and great chamber of the tower called the 'Dungeoun.' John Plummer cast this lead into tiles, and a mason was employed in repairing the 'taberdyng' of the hall and chamber and fixing small leaden tiles called fillets on it for carrying off the water. Seven oak boards called 'waynscottes,' thirty-two dished nails, and half-a-hundred 'tynglenails' were bought for the purpose of putting a partition up in the chamber of the Auditor and Receiver and forming a small buttery. Against the arrival of these officials not only two mattresses stuffed with wool, but a bed covering of buckram with three curtains and a canopy and tester of the same material, and

³⁴ *45th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, pp. 56, 57, 58.

³⁵ 'Et in reparacione et nova factura unius pecie muri Castri ibidem juxta mare vento prostrate anno precedente, hoc anno factis ex con[suetudine] factis cum cementario ibidem in grosso—xls.—Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5972.

³⁶ 'Et in vj chaudren calcis vive emptis apud Craucestre predictam pro turri orientali Castri reparanda et emendanda—xxv s. Et in stipendio predictorum cementariorum cum calce predicta et petra de stauro emendantium fundum ejusdem Turris ac firmanium et pumantis (*sic*) certas petras ejusdem—ixs. Et in stipendio unius cementarii squarrantis petras volutas pro lez dernes ostii stabuli Auditoris inde fiendis et habendis unacum posicione et erectione earundem petrarum in grosso—iij s. Et in stipendio unius laborarii cum calce vivo mixto cum aqua dealbantis muros coquine infra Castrum predictum in grosso—vj d. Et in pavura vie ad portam exteriorem Castri predicti pro emendacione ejusdem vie in grosso—xij d.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5975.

even two new dining tables with their trestles and two forms, were brought down all the way from London to Newcastle by sea, the cost of the whole of the 'ornaments' of the Auditor's Chamber amounting to 42s. 3d. The ornaments of the King's Chapel in the castle were conveyed from London to Dunstanburgh by land, a distance of 300 leagues, the cost of their carriage being 2s. 8d. These ornaments consisted of a chasuble of 'bordealy saundre'³⁷ of a green colour with a 'podore,' and amice of linen-cloth, a yard of linen-cloth to make a corporax for the chalice, and six yards for two altar-cloths, a super-altar, two tin vials, a 'pax-brede,' a 'sacryng-bell,' and a silver-gilt chalice. The particulars of this last purchase are given in elaborate detail. The chalice weighed 13 ounces, of which $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces came from an old broken chalice that was in the castle and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ounces were bought new at 2s. 8d. an ounce, while 10s. was charged for the making and gilding, bringing up the total to 30s. A pix to cover it cost 10d.³⁸

A 'minute' house for an alarm bell was placed on the donjon in 1444, and the constable's hall and the adjoining houses were thoroughly repaired.³⁹ In 1454 a quantity of oak timber was purchased apparently to form the framework of a new grange for the demesne,⁴⁰ which was not completed before the following year.⁴¹ The well was cleaned out at the expense of 6s. 8d. in 1457.⁴² The year after, a new tower was built at the entrance to the castle, and several windows in the Great Hall and chamber in the donjon were glazed.⁴³ In 1459 considerable

³⁷ In 1416 there was a set of robes of 'bordallix,' given by Robert Claxton, in the vestry of the church of the priory of Holy Island.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 117. On which there is the following note:—'The albs at Holy Island in 1409 were made of burdalisander (qu. cloth dyed in chips of the Saunders tree, and richly embroidered *burd* quasi *brod*, *brod a la Sander*).'—p. 94. Another explanation of the term is that it is 'borde alysaundre,' or Alexandrian embroidery, but it seems more probable that it relates to a sort of silk stuff, *sendau* or *cendal* (see Du Cange and Roquefort), procured at Bordeaux—*Bordelais*.

³⁸ Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5976.

³⁹ 'Circa novam construcionem unius minute domus erecte desuper Turrim infra Castrum ibidem, vocatam dongioune, pro quadam campana vocata alarumbell intus pendenda et ponenda.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5978.

⁴⁰ 'Super cariagio meremii quercivi et frammacione et nova factura grangie dominicalis infra Castrum.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5979.

⁴¹ 'Super facture grangie infra Castrum.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5980.

⁴² 'Super mundacione fontis infra Castrum vjs. viij d.—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5982.

⁴³ 'Super nova factura unius turris ad introitum Castri de Dunstanburghe . . . et in vitriacione diversarum fenestrarum in magna aula et camera infra le Dungeon unacum vadiis cementariorum, etc. xliij li. xvij s. xj d.—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5983.

works were carried out in the outer court of the castle near the sea, and a stone postern was built between the latter and a tower called the Elgyn Tower.⁴⁴ It is not improbable that Margaret of Anjou was here with her son in 1460 after the disastrous battle of Northampton, and that the Elgyn Tower, which overhangs a deep wave-worn chasm at the south-east corner of the castle, called afterwards 'Egyngclonghe,' received in her honour the name of Queen Margaret's Tower. By a curious coincidence the south-east tower of Harlech, a castle occupying on the coast of Merioneth a position as strong, if not stronger than that of Dunstanburgh, long bore the name of Margaret of Anjou, who is known to have been there in 1460.⁴⁵

The various sieges and counter-sieges that the castles of Northumberland endured during the Wars of the Roses are involved in great obscurity owing to the divergent accounts that appear in the meagre chronicles of the period and the little light that is thrown on these from contemporary documents. Sir Ralph Percy, the fourth son of the third Earl of Northumberland who was slain fighting for the Red Rose at St. Alban's in 1455, seems to have been appointed to succeed Ralph Babthorpe, who fell there on the same side,⁴⁶ as joint constable of Dunstanburgh with Stephen Hatfield. After the disaster of Towton on the Evil Palm Sunday of 1461, Dunstanburgh was one of the castles retained by the Lancastrians and by them 'victualled and stuffed' with Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Scots.⁴⁷ From Michaelmas, 1461, however, we find the demesne lands of Dunstan with the dovecot near the castle, and the grange, ox-stall and other houses of husbandry within the castle, that had lately been in the tenure of William Lilburn and Richard Forster, demised by Edward IV. to Sir Ralph Percy at the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d.⁴⁸ The dovecot had been turned into a

⁴⁴ 'Et in diversis custubus et expensis per dictum computantem in exteriori curia Castri ibidem juxta mare et unius posterne de petris inter turrim vocatam Elgintour et mare unacum vadiis cementariorum lucracione lapidum et cariagio eorundem, etc.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5984.

⁴⁵ Geo. T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture*, ii. p. 81.

⁴⁶ *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. ci.

⁴⁷ Warkworth, *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. X. p. 2.

⁴⁸ 'Et de xiiij li. vjs. viij d. de firma terre dominicalis de Dunstan cum columbario juxta Castrum Grangia boveria et aliis domibus husbandrie infra Castrum de Dunstanburgh nuper in tenura Willielmi Lilborne et Ricardi Forster sic dimissa hoc anno Radulfo Percy militi.'—*Compotus of the bailiff of Dunstan*, from Michaelmas 1 Ed. IV. to Michaelmas 2 Ed. IV. in *Duchy of Lancaster Records, Ministers' Accounts*, bundle 355, No. 5862.

kiln for drying malt on account of this being in ruin.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1462 the horses of 'Henry late King of England' so entirely destroyed the nine-acre field in Embleton called Southwell-mead, that the whole year's rent of 18s. was remitted to the tenant John Swan.⁵⁰ On the 25th of October Queen Margaret landed in Northumberland, and with troops from France and Scotland obtained possession of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, by the passive collusion of Sir Ralph Percy, in the course of the following month.⁵¹ Thereupon King Edward marched north with a great host, and under the direction of the Earl of Warwick, who fixed his headquarters at Warkworth, the three castles were invested on the 10th of December. Warwick himself rode round to each of them every day; but the operations at Dunstanburgh were carried out under the more immediate command of the Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Gray.⁵² Worcester subsequently proceeded to the siege of Bamburgh, when his place in the camp before Dunstanburgh was occupied by the lords Fitzhugh, Scrope, Greystock, and Powys.⁵³ The garrison defending the castle consisted, we are told, of Sir Richard Tunstall, Dr. Morton, Sir Philip Wentworth, and six or seven hundred men.⁵⁴ By the 22nd of December Greystock and Powys seem to have marched off to the attack on Alnwick, leaving Scrope and Fitzhugh in the company of Wenlock and Hastings, who had probably come up from the south with reinforcements. The beleaguering force at the disposal of these four lords is said to have been no less than 10,000 strong. In addition to 'Tunstall and Morton, Sir Thomas Fyndern and the bailiff of 'Kam' now figure

⁴⁹ 'Firma Columbarii juxta Castrum non redditur eo quod mutatur in Thoralegium pro brassio siccando causa ruinositatis ejusdem et dimittitur cum terra dominicali ut in compotu prepositi de Dunstane liquetur manifeste.'—*Computus* of bailiff of Embleton, from Michaelmas 1 Ed. IV. to Michaelmas 2 Ed. IV. *ibid.*

⁵⁰ 'De decremento redditus . . . unius prati vocati Southwelmede superius onerati ad xvij s. eo quod dictum pratum totaliter devastabatur per equos Henrici nuper Regis Anglie per sacrum computantis.'—*Ibid.*

⁵¹ For the general history of this confused period see the admirable essay *On certain Inaccuracies in the ordinary Accounts of the early years of the Reign of King Edward IV.*, communicated by Charles Spencer Perceval, LL.D., to *Archæologia*, vol. XLVII. p. 265.

⁵² *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

⁵³ Cotton Charter, xvii. 10, printed in *Excerpta Historica*, Bentley, p. 365. This account of the whereabouts of the Yorkist lords, taken probably from a letter written at the seat of war, seems to be intermediate between that of Paston on the 10th December and that in MS. Lambeth, 448, dated the 22nd December. The three accounts can easily be reconciled if their chronological order and the probable movements of the forces are taken into account.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

among the garrison, which, having possibly been reduced by evacuation by sea, is given as only six score men.⁵⁵ On the 27th of December Dunstanburgh honourably capitulated,⁵⁶ the terms being that life and limb should be spared, and that Sir Ralph Percy should, after swearing allegiance to Edward, have the custody of both it and Bamburgh.⁵⁷ Percy swore allegiance, and had both castles entrusted to him, but in the spring delivered them again into the hands of the Lancastrian party.⁵⁸ After the final rout of Hexham on the 8th of May, 1464,⁵⁹ the castle of Dunstanburgh was taken by storm. John Gosse, the captain of the castle, who had been carver in the household of the Duke of Somerset, was dragged to York and there beheaded.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁵ 'The Wednesday by fore Cristmasse, Anno Domini M^o.cccc.lxij'. In castello de Dunstalborw sunt dominus Ricardus Dunstal, dominus Thomas Fyndern, doctor Murton, ballivus de Kam, cum vj^{xx} hominibus. Istos obsident dominus de Wenlok, dominus de Hastynges cum ij aliis dominis, cum x^{mi}. hominibus.'—MS. Lambeth, 448, Camden Soc. Publ. 1880, pp. 158, 159. The Cotton account placed Fynderne in Alnwick, but the writer of Lambeth MS. 448 declares that the names of the Lancastrian leaders in the castle were unknown even at the time of his writing. Dr. Morton lived to become Archbishop of Canterbury and a Cardinal.

⁵⁶ 'And on S. Johns day Dunstanburgh was yéelded to King Edward.'—Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1614, p. 417.

⁵⁷ 'Bamborowe and Dunsterborowe were yoldyn be Syr Raffe Percy and Syr Harry Beuford, late Duke of Somersett, to the Kyngys wyll, whythe the condyscyons that the sayde Raffe Percy shulde have the keypyng of the ij castellys. And they com to Derham and there they were sworne byfore owre Kyng.'—William Gregory's *Chronicle* in *Collections of a London Citizen*, ed. Gairdner (Camden Society), 1876, p. 219.

⁵⁸ 'Ralf Percy, Knight, after his long abode in rebellion, was by our sovereign lorde taken benygnylye unto his grace . . . yet nevertheless unkyndlye rered warre agaynste the Kyng, and surrendered the castles of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh to the said Henry, the Kyng's enemye.'—*Rot. Parl.* 4 Ed. IV., quoted in *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 285.

⁵⁹ This is the date given in the earliest document, the Act of Attainder of the Duke of Somerset.—*Rot. Parl.* 4 Ed. IV. The chroniclers generally give the 15th of May. There is a similar discrepancy of a week as to the date of the skirmish on Hedgeley Moor. The Act of Attainder of Sir Ralph Percy gives this as St. Mark's day, the 25th of April, but MS. Arundel 5, College of Arms (Camden Soc. Publ. 1880, p. 178), has the 2nd of May. It is evident that Hexham was fought thirteen days after Hedgeley Moor, and consequently those who date the former Tuesday the 15th of May, should, to be consistent, date the latter Wednesday the 2nd of May; but the fact that Hedgeley Moor fell on the feast of St. Mark would be one more likely to fix itself in popular memory than any mere day of the month, and hence the alternative brace of dates, Wednesday the 25th of April for Hedgeley Moor, and Tuesday the 8th of May for Hexham, is much the more probable. The Inq. p. m. 8 Ed. IV. n. 54, has made confusion worse confounded by erroneously giving the date of Somerset's execution (after the battle of Hexham) as the 3rd of April, 1463.

⁶⁰ 'The sayde lordes (the Erle of Warwicke, the Lorde Montacute, the Lordes, Fawconbridge and Scrope) besieged the castell of Dunstanbrough, and by force tooke it, and Iohn Goy, seruant to the Duke of Somerset capytayne of the

victorious Earl of Warwick kept the feast of St. John Baptist at Dunstanburgh.⁶¹

Under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the 6th of March, 1465, Edward IV. appointed William Douglas porter of the castle of Dunstanburgh for life at the salary of 4d. a day, with liberty, however, to discharge his duties by deputy; and four days later Robert, William, and Henry Haggerston were made in like manner joint constables of the castle.⁶² The castle and great barn were repaired in 1470,⁶³ but after that date notices of expenditure on the maintenance of the fortress are seldom to be met with in the Ministers' Accounts. On the 18th of December, 1471, Sir Henry Percy received from Edward IV. an annual grant of £40, and three years later we find that Henry Earl of Northumberland was the constable.⁶⁴ It is difficult to always clearly distinguish between the Earl and his cousin Sir Henry Percy, the son of Sir Ralph Percy the former constable of the castle. After their deaths, Edmund Craster was, in consideration of good service, appointed constable by Henry VII. on the 8th of July, 1489, with fees and wages of 20 marks per annum, together with the ancient advantages and perquisites of the office.⁶⁵

Towards the end of January, 1514, when the ships of war, which Henry VIII. had ordered to proceed to the Firth of Forth under the

sayde castle, was taken and brought to Yorke; where, wyth a Hatchet he was behedded.'—Grafton's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, ii. p. 4. 'John Gosse, late Kerver to the Duke of Somerset,' was executed as early as the 18th of May, according to Lambeth MS. 306, edited by Gairdner, in Camden Soc. Publ. cxxxiii. 1880 p. 79, but MS. Arundel 5, in the same volume, p. 179, defers this batch of decapitations to the 25th of May (see preceding note), and gives the name as 'Thomas Gosse.' Lord Montagu was created Earl of Northumberland on the 27th of May.

⁶¹ 'Item, the xxiiijth day of Juynne, my saide Lorde of Warrewike with the puissance, cam before the castelle of Alwike, and ad it delivered by appointement; and also the castell of Dunstanboroughe, where that my said Lord kept the feest of Saint John Baptist.'—MS. College of Arms (L. 9), quoted in the notes to Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 36.

⁶² Duchy of Lancaster Records, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5985.

⁶³ 'Super reparaciones et emendaciones diversarum domorum et camerarum infra Castrum ibidem. Necnon tenementi Jacobi Carre in le Newelaunde et furni et stabuli infra Castrum ibidem &c.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5987.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5989. After the battle of Bosworth, Henry VII. confirmed this annual grant of £40 out of the lands of Dunstanburgh to Sir Henry Percy, on the 8th of May, 1486, till lands of the same value could be given him elsewhere.—*Materials for Hist. of reign of Henry VII.* (Rolls Series) i. p. 427. The grant of the office of constable of the castle of Dunstanburgh to the Earl of Northumberland by Edward IV. was specially exempted from the act of resumption, 10th Nov. 1486.—*Ibid.* ii. p. 54.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ii. p. 461. 'Craster' is there misspelt 'Cawster.'

command of William Sabyne of the Sabyne, had not been heard of since they victualled at Hull three weeks before, Thomas Beverley, who is described as 'an honest, sad and secret person,' was ordered to look out for the missing vessels on the coast of Northumberland. He succeeded in finding Sabyne at Dunstanburgh, a rather singular harbour of refuge.⁶⁶

Writing to Wolsey on the 24th of May, 1524, Dacre suggested that lead for the repair of the roof of the donjon of Wark might be procured from Dunstanburgh castle.⁶⁷ In his reply, dated the 11th of June, the cardinal stated that the king agreed to the proposal, and wished as much lead to be taken as could be spared.⁶⁸ Both Wark and Dunstanburgh were in the custody of Sir William Ellerker, and when, in November, 1528, Ellerker lay 'at the mercy of God, not likely to recover,' we find the Earl of Northumberland writing to his 'bedfellow' Arundel, asking him to use his influence in obtaining the appointments for him, as they had been filled by several former Wardens of the Marches.⁶⁹

The Royal Commissioners Bellysis, Collingwood, and Horsley presented the following report on Dunstanburgh to Henry VIII. in 1538:—

'THE VIEU OF THE CASTELLE OF DUNSTANBURGHE wiche is a very reuynus howsse and of smaylle strengthe.

'There is no logynges stondynge but the dongeone wiche has two littyll towers jonet a pone athere end of the said dongeone wiche dongeon with boithe the towres the leydes of their royffes must be new castyne and mayd with gutters spowttes and fyllettes for the doynge therof where leyde wantes ther is in the said castelle old leyde that wyll doo it and more and the charges for castynge of the leydes for all royffes aforsaide, vjl.

'The lenthe of the dongeone is xxxv yerdes longe the brede of the dongeon is xij yerdes the two towres of the said dongeone athere towre v yerdes and thre quarteres longe and iij yerdes and iij quarteres broyd.

⁶⁶ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* I. i. pp. 726, 727.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* IV. i. p. 142.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* IV. ii. p. 2125.

'Item, one of the said two towres must haue a new royff and two flores for the wyche viij tonne of tymbere will serue wych tymbere must be hade in Chopwelle wode and framyd at New Castelle and caryed by wattere, iiijl.

'Item, ther must be two dormontes⁷⁰ for the said dongeon of viij yerdes and a half longe.

'Item, in one othere howse of the dongeon ther must be foure dormonttes of viij yerdes longe.

'Item, for the said dongeon v royd of sarkynge borde.

'Item, for the said dongeon two royd of florynge borde.

'Item, for the thyrd howsse of the dongeon a dormonte of viij yerdes and a half longe alle wych tymbere a fore sayd must be had in Chopwelle wode and caryed by wattere and alle charges therof by estimacion, viijl.

'Item, ther is a towre callyd Lylborne towre wich haith veray good walles and a gud royff of tymbere but it must be new coueryd with leynd and for that leynd that wanttes ther is old leynd in the castelle to serue and the charges of the plumber wylbe xviijs.

'Item, ther must be for the said towre two flores boithe bordes and yastes for the wiche v tonne of tymbere will serue and for dores and windowes which tymbere must be hade in Chopwelle wode a forsaied and caryed by wattere all charges therof by estimacion, iiijl.

'Item, the walles of the dongeon and battylmentes in the innere warde with a pece of walle above the vttere gaytt and in dyuers places of the grett walle that compasses the holl castell must be amendyt and pynd with ston and rowthe cast with lyme for the wyche lx l wold do mych gud.

'Item, ther wolde beane yrone gayt for the innere warde of thre yerdes and a quartere hye and thre yerdes brode wyche wyll cost for yron and maykynge xiiijl.

'Item, ther is a draw welle in the inner warde wych is very deype.

'Item, ther is no horse mylne in the said castell and yf there be one mayd it wylle cost xl.

'Suma totalis, cvjl. xviijs.'⁷¹

⁷⁰ i.e. main beams.

⁷¹ *Chapter House Books*, B₁₄, P.R.O.; *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 62.

Leland's account of the castles in Northumberland, written much about this time, has 'Dunstaneborough a 2 miles beyond Howick hard on the se shore, it stonde the on a hy stone rok the castle is more than halfe amile in compace and there hath bene great building in it.'⁷²

On the 4th of July, 1548, Henry VIII. wrote, under the great seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Thomas Burgoyne, esquire, one of the auditors of the duchy, William Denton, gent., receiver at Dunstanburgh, and Robert Horsey, gent., directing them to inquire concerning the repairs done to the castle and the castle walls by Sir William Ellerker, the late receiver, in about the year 1528, and to report on the actual state of the castle with special reference to the old lead, timber, stone, or 'other stuff meete for buyldyng' that there might be within the castle, as well as to the value of the lead. Accordingly, in the autumn a certain Francis Samwell came down to Dunstanburgh as Burgoyne's deputy, and returned the following report to the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy:—

'THE VUE TAKYN OF THE KYNGES CASTELL OF DUNSTANBURGH by Frauncis Samwelle Deputie to Sir Thomas Burgoyne Auditor to our Sovereigne lorde the Kyng there the vj daye of October in the xxxvth yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne lorde Kyng Henry the Eight.

'As concernyng the Reparacion made by Sir William Ellerker late Receyvor there The said Sir William dyd cause to be made a pece of the wall over the gate the Charges of the same ys to be valued at vij*li*. at the most Insomuche he bought certeyn Bolles of lyme of the Churchewardyns that then was of Emeldon wiche as yet ys unpaid for.

'Also the seyde Sir William dyd cause to be made a pece of the seyde wall over the west syde wiche as yet ys unbattelyd the Charges wherof ys to be Estemyd at xls.

'The state of the
seyde Castell to be
gyn at the gatehouse westward
& so to goo Rounde about the seyde Castell.

'From the gatehouse to goo upon the west parte of the seyde Castell the wall is sufficyent & of a good Strenght Except hyt be in

⁷² See *ante*, p. 27.

lak of the ymbattellyng of the seyde pece of the Wall the wiche the seyde syr William Eller carr dyd cause to be made. And in the seyde wall ther ys on Tower called Lyleburne wiche hathe a roffe of Tymber & covered with leade howbeyt the leade ys decayed & gone in many places and by the reason thereof the tymber ys sore decayed with the wether. And in the seyde Tower there ys too greate mayne postes that goyth thorough the one syde to the other of the seyde Tower where there hath byn of lyke in tyme past too flowers howbeyt yt is without remembrance as yet ys seyde.

‘The wall of the seyde Castell to goo Northwarde ys sore decayed by reason of the see Notwithstanding hyt ys not possible for the Castell to be wone one that syde bycause hyt is a roke of Stone that the Castell wall dothe stande upon wiche dothe assende plomme done a dosyn fadom and the Castell wall on that syde was never in heyth above ij yardes & a half and upon that syde there ys no maner of Tower.

‘The wall of the seyde Castell to goo Estwarde lyeth fully upon the see by the space of vj [hundred] fote at the leaste and there maye lande at that syde any maner of Bote in reasonable wether and to enter into the Castell all the seyde syde at there pleasure in any maner of place.

‘The wall of the seyde Castell to goo Southwarde to the yatehouse The wall ys in good repaire & strong and in the seyde wall ther ys one Tower called Egingcloughe with a roffe of Tymber and covered with leade howbeyt the leade ys gone & decayed in many places and by reason thereof the seyde roffe is sore decayed with the wether. The leade of the seyde Tower conteynyth by Estimacon ij foders dim. and under the seyde roffe there ys as hyt were a faute of ston over a posterne yate. Also upon the seyde wall there ys a nother Tower called the Constable lodgyng with a roffe of Timber and covered with leade conteynyng by estymacon j. foder dim. leade. And there hathe byn too flowers in the seyde Tower of Tymber howbeyt there ys nothyng remaynyng as nowe but ij greate postes & vj jestes of half a fote thyk & lyke Breadythe & in leynghyt vj fote. Also of the same syde of the wall there ys ij greate Towers with a house goyng betwene theym both wiche ys called the Dungeon Tower & shall conteyn in lenght lxxvj fote & in breadythe xxiiij fotez with a Substancyall roffe of Tymber & covered with leade howbeyt the leade in many places ys gon & worne

by reason whereof the Tymber is sore decayed in many places withe rayne & wether. And under the seyde roffe there ys too flowers very well Tymberd howbehyt yt ys sore decayed withe wether notwithstanding ther wolbe muche good Tymber and in case hyt be not lokyd upon shortly hyt wolbe litle worth.

'The yate house of the seyde Castell is fallen downe holly Except v postes that hangyth over the seyde yate wiche are lyke to fall every daye. The seyde postes are covered withe leade conteynnyng by estymacon half a foudre of leade.

'Also there ys muche leade lying in a house under the seyde Dongeon Tower the key wherof remainyth to Thomas Grey deputie Constable of the seyde Castell So that I could not come to the sight of the seyde leade.

'Also ther ys muche stone about the seyde Castell wiche ys fallen into the seyde Castell and also without the walles yf hyt were leed together yt wold amount to very many loads of ston.'⁷³

In spite of these surveys of Bellysis and Samwell, no thorough repairs can have been executed. Sir Robert Bowes in his *Book of the State of the Marches*, composed in 1550, tells us:—'The Castle of Dunstanborough is in wonderfull great decaye and the utter wall thereof might be repayred with no great charge also the Gatehouse and a house for a constable And then surely it would be a great refuge to the inhabitants of those partes yff enemies came to annoy them either arriving by sea or coming by lande out of Scoteland soe that they brought no great ordynance or power to remayne any longe tyme theire.'⁷⁴ Queen Elizabeth's commissioners of 1584 thought the castle or fortress of Dunstanburgh 'not so needfull to be repaired nor so necessarye as other for the defence of the country or annoance againstes the enemyes of the opposit border of Scotland because the same is so farr distant from the sayd border of Scotland and yet a howse of verye great force and strength if it be thought gude by her majestye for any other respect touchinge the sea coostes or otherwise to be repaired.' They describe it as standing on the sea coast about 18 miles south-east of Berwick and as 'decaied for want of repaireinge

⁷³ *Duchy of Lancaster Depositions*, vol. 88, Hen. viij. Ro. 4 b. P.R.O.

⁷⁴ State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI. vol. iv. No. 30, fo. 73b; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 206.

by long contynnance.' To restore it to its original condition would, they estimated, cost the large sum of £1000; but it might in their opinion be made capable of holding a garrison of not more than a hundred horse or foot for about £400.⁷⁵ So late as 1617 the yearly fee of £20 was allowed for the 'keep of the castle.'⁷⁶ James I. granted Dunstanburgh to Sir William Grey of Wark on the 6th of February, 1625, and it continued the property of his descendants until the Earl of Tankerville sold it to the trustees of the late Mr. Samuel Eyre of Leeds in 1869.

The wonderful strength of the masonry executed in the time of Thomas of Lancaster is strikingly brought out by the brave way in which the original towers and walls of the castle have withstood the assaults of time and tempest, while the subsequent works carried out by John of Gaunt and the Lancastrian dynasty have almost entirely disappeared. The *Great Gatehouse* of Thomas of Lancaster, afterwards converted into the *Donjon*, is a block about 105 feet in breadth, consisting of an archway with two stories over it, flanked by two towers that would each have been only about 40 feet square, did they not project in semicircles some 16 feet in front of the line of the entrance arch. These projecting bows—the *cubenda* said to have been raised to the height of 80 feet in 1316⁷⁷—appear to have been at the top of their battlements about 65 feet above the present ground level near the entrance. They formed a sort of false front of two additional stories, and attached to them on either side of the gateway were small turrets containing wheel-stairs. Shouldered doorways led into these turrets from the rampart-walk above the gate, and at the next floor level the turrets were slightly corbelled out beyond the sweep of the bows in a masterly fashion, so as eventually to make their walls rectangular. Each of these twin gate-towers is, with minor divergencies, so much the counterpart of the other, that the main features of their construction can be fairly ascertained by supplying what is fallen away in the one by what is perfect in the other. The umbrella-like groining, for instance, in which both turret stairs terminated can still be seen through the uppermost doorway of the western

⁷⁵ See *ante*, p. 70.

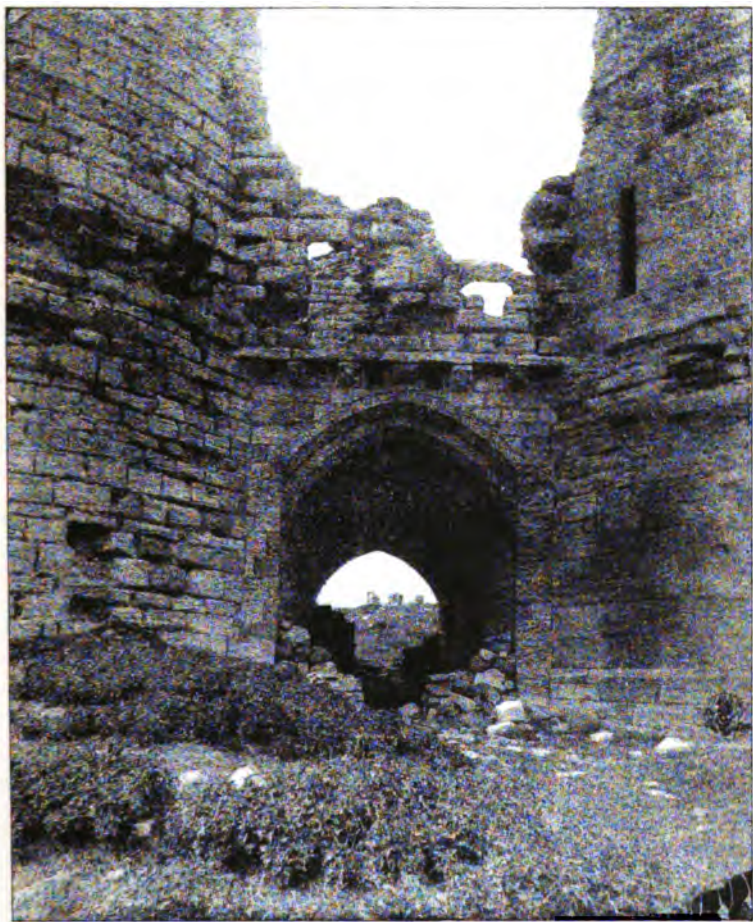
⁷⁶ *Book of Offices* in *Percy Family Letters and Papers*, Alnwick MSS. vol. xi. p. 28.

⁷⁷ 'Et cubenda domus Portæ facienda de altitudine iiiiij xx pedum cum j turri in utraque parte portæ.'—*Opera Castri de Donstanesburgh*, see above, p. 170.

turret which opened on to the battlements of the bow ; while three or four put-holes for small beams are still left high up inside the north wall of the eastern bow.

As in the earlier Gatehouse at Warkworth, the wall above the entrance archway is supported on five corbels. A sort of lion seems to have been carved on the central corbel, and a fleur-de-lys and an escallop on those to the right and left ; but the whole may be merely the result of the weathering of the stone. There is no sign of a portcullis near the outer arch which looks like a restoration. The entrance passage is 11 feet 2 inches wide. The buried bases of the side walls show that the road was formerly on a lower incline. Mason-marks are plentiful on the four innermost ribs of the vault. At the far end of the passage there is, on either side, the doorway of a guard-chamber. The eastern guard-chamber, about 16 feet long by 6 feet 8 inches wide, with a three-ribbed vault, has two square aumbries and a small window to the north ; the western, now entered from the inner ward by what was originally the window, has a small fire-place, and was probably the porter's lodge. Just within the inner arch of the gateway is the groove for the portcullis, 6 inches wide, the portcullis itself being 12 feet. Both ends of the passage were at one time walled up in order to turn the Gatehouse into a Donjon.

The flanking towers were entered from the courtyard by doors near the foot of the wheel-stairs, in the north-east and north-west corners of the Gatehouse. These wheel-stairs, the steps of which were about 3 feet broad, also terminated in umbrella vaults. The drums have cross-shaped loops to the east and west respectively in the basement, and to the north at the first floor. The ashlar of which Dunstanburgh is built are often of Cyclopean dimensions ; one stone that forms the lintel of the door to the large room in the basement of the western tower is over 7 feet long. This room, which measures about 24 feet by 12 feet in the rectangular portion and is 12 feet in diameter in the bow, is much filled with *débris*. The head of a door in the west wall leading to a latrine is only just visible. There was a fire-place in the north wall and three cross-loops recessed in the wall of the bow which is about 16 feet thick. The room on the first floor had a fire-place in the west wall near the stair to a latrine. The second floor, unlike the two lower ones, which had intervening passages, was entered directly from the wheel-stair. The very similar interior



J. W. HARRISON, PHOTO.

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DUNSTANBURGH: GATEWAY FROM THE S.

1884.



of the eastern tower presents at the first floor level one of the most striking scenes in the castle; the arch thrown across the bow on the second floor, in order to carry the north wall of the false two-storied front, is of the noblest proportions.

The central room over the vaulted passage of the Gatehouse is 26 feet long by 22 feet broad. In the south-west corner there is a mural chamber with a cross-loop commanding the entrance; and two slanting shafts in the south wall seem to have served the same purpose. Close to the north wall is the slit in the floor for the portcullis to be raised through, and there are holes for two stays for it to rest on. The fire-place seems to have been in the west wall. This room and that above it were probably the Great Hall and the chamber in the Donjon, the windows of which were glazed in 1458.⁷⁸

About 20 yards along the curtain-wall, which starts from the north-west corner of the original Gatehouse, are the traces of what, when this was converted into the Donjon, became the main entrance to the castle. This may probably have been the outer gateway of the bar-bican ordered to be built by John of Gaunt in 1383.⁷⁹ The portcullis groove, about 7 inches in width, remains on the north side of the passage, which was 12 feet broad. The jamb of a door, opening into a recess 3 feet 7 inches wide, is left at the first floor level on the south side of this ruined Gatehouse. From the original curtain-wall near this door the north wall of the *Inner Ward* ran subsequently east, not quite parallel to the Donjon, for about 100 feet to a mass of ruin at the north-east angle of the ward which represents the site of a tower that possibly contained the chapel. It then turned south for about 40 feet to the door of the east tower of the Donjon, which it blocked up. The Gateway of the Inner Ward is at the north end of this east wall. It had a portcullis 8 feet 9 inches wide, but the archway was at some time built up and a smaller door inserted. The wall of the Inner Ward probably represents the mantlet ordered to be built by John of Gaunt in 1380,⁸⁰ while the gateway may have been that con-

⁷⁸ See above, p. 177.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 174. The road leading up to this gate is very distinct.

⁸⁰ At least the length of the north and east walls of the Inner Ward seems to be about eleven rods like that of the mantlet, see above, p. 173. It must be borne in mind that variations in standard measures, and subsequent alterations to buildings make it often almost impossible to reconcile the documentary references to them with their existing remains, while until the Inner Ward of Dunstanburgh is carefully excavated, its exact arrangements must continue more or less of a mystery.

structed by Henry de Holme in 1888.⁸¹ The *Draw Well* in the Inner Ward has been filled up to within about 6 feet of the surface; the kitchen was probably near it. At Dunstanburgh we have a castle occupying ten acres, with an inner ward not a quarter of an acre in extent.

Following the west curtain-wall, we come, about 30 yards north of the more recent outer gate of the castle, to a tower which although it is indicated as tolerably perfect in the Bucks' somewhat preposterous View of Dunstanburgh in 1728,⁸² has, owing to the friable nature of the red rock beneath it, so fallen to ruin that the only masonry left is a few courses of the lining of its south-east corner. Beyond this tower-base the west curtain is better preserved for 40 yards, to the angle where, tenaciously adapting itself to the escarpment, it suddenly turns in a more easterly direction for another 40 yards to the Lilburn Tower.

The *Lilburn Tower*, built probably by John Lilburn, constable of Dunstanburgh about 1825 (the mason-marks differ from those on the Donjon), occupies the highest position in the castle area. The walls are 6 feet thick; the interior is about 13 feet 6 inches square. The stair went up in a turret at the south-east corner which has all fallen away. In the east wall immediately north of this was an entrance passage 5 feet 3 inches in width. In the south wall of the basement near the present ground level are three aumbries; in the west is the plain-headed recess of a kind of late lancet-window, the stone

⁸¹ See above, p. 174.

⁸² This 'Prospect' was dedicated by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck to the 2nd Earl of Tankerville whose arms impaling the quartered coat of Colville are duly given on the plate, while the public were gravely informed that 'This Castle was the Capital Seat of y^e Barony of Visconty, sometimes call'd the Barony of Emildon. It was built in the Reign of K. Edw^d y^e 1st by Thomas E. of Lancaster, Son of Edmond Crouchback E. of Lancaster Bro^r to y^e 4th King. It is Situate upon an inaccessible Rock over looking y^e Sea & beautifully adorn'd with various Towers. It was anciently a very strong and spacious Fortress, being by the help of a deep Ditch surrounded by the Sea. In the 4th Y^r of Edw^d y^e 4th it endured a long Siege. S^r Piers de Bressy with 500 Frenchmen being retired to this Castle from y^e Battle of Hexam Field; Ralph L^d Ogle assisted by Edm^d & Rich^d Craucestre Baliffs of Bamburgh Castle; by Jn^o Manners & Gilb^t Errington reduc'd it & took all the Garrison Prisoners; (for w^{ch} they were well rewarded with forfeited Lands) S^r Piers only Escaped.' Finding that the south curtain wall and its towers were going to extend too far east for their plate the Bucks calmly brought the western part of it right in front of the Donjon. Their view of Dunstanburgh is only valuable in as far as it shows that at that time the battlements of the Lilburn and Eggingclough Towers were fairly perfect, and that the west curtain was still of considerable height.

round which has been cut to fit a square window-frame. At the first-floor level the wall is set back about 10 inches, and the deals rested on this ledge and one large beam laid across from north to south. A mural passage, with a flat roof of large flags supported on shoulders, ran through the east wall, as a continuation of the walk round the ramparts of the curtain-wall. There was a very remarkable double-window piercing both the inner and outer walls of this passage. The remaining north jamb of the inner window bears the marks of three stout bars. In the north wall near the north-east corner was a plain flat-headed fire-place. Two-light windows of the usual Dunstanburgh character with shouldered recesses and plain seats look north and west. In the south-west corner is the entrance to a latrine. The arrangements of the second floor were very similar, but there is only a single light in the plain-headed recess to the north, and above the mural passage in the east wall of the floor below was a shouldered window recess. At each angle of the roof a solid turret rose about 18 feet to the height of 60 feet or so above the tower base. The only fragments left of the battlements between these turrets are two courses of large stones on the east side of the south-west turret; below them is a rough spout. The north-west turret was struck by lightning during a terrific storm in June, 1885, when three sheep were killed by the lightning and three by the falling stones. The turret has since been carefully repaired by the owners of the castle.

Immediately under the north side of the Lilburn Tower, a small postern with a round arch of the Decorated period, opened on the steep escarpment in the direction of Embleton. The original height of the curtain-wall above this postern is given by the shouldered doorway that led on to the rampart-walk from the mural passage in the tower. The curtain continues in a northerly direction for 40 yards further, and then, after making a sharp bend westward in order to adapt itself to the contour of the slope, comes in another 20 yards to the brink of the Gull Crag, the precipice that rises 100 feet out of the sea round the whole north side of the castle. A mass of rubble marks the point where the curtain terminated.

Returning across the Castle Green to the east side of the Donjon—the great height of the southern curtain-wall is shown where it was tied into the Donjon near the commencement of the eastern bow.

A wooden stair led down on the rampart-walk from a shouldered door on the second floor of the Donjon. The curtain bears away to the east for 35 yards. In one place the solid base of what looks like the platform for a mangonel or some such engine of defence is corbelled boldly out over the moat, here about 25 feet broad; in another the basement would have been pierced by one of the numerous latrines, had it not been thickened on the outside. We then come to the *Constable's Tower* of two stories,⁸³ about 15 feet square inside, and projecting 9 feet to the field. At the north-east corner is the skeleton of a wheel-stair. The basement, a little window of which is preserved in the north-west corner, is much filled up with rubbish. The upper floors had fire-places in the west wall, and good south windows of two lights in recesses provided with stone seats. Passages lead off the stair into latrines in the thickness of the curtain, while at the second floor level a door, now built up, communicated with the rampart-walk. A little to the north of this tower are the ruins of a rough-walled building of late character, measuring inside 22 feet 4 inches in length, east to west, by 14 feet 4 inches in width. The courses of masonry projecting at the east end show that it was intended to join another building on to it, and there are also arches of identical masonry running north. From its close proximity to the Constable's Tower we may fairly consider this to have been the Hall of the Constabulary with its adjacent houses mentioned as being repaired in 1444.⁸⁴ From the Constable's Tower eastwards another 25 yards of the curtain brings us to a small turret, only 10 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 6 inches inside and of 7 feet projection to the moat. The vault of the basement was formed by large flags resting on a single rib. Near this turret is a flight of steps leading to the rampart-walk.

The southern curtain-wall terminates in the Elgyn,⁸⁵ or Queen

⁸³ The name of this tower, which had been forgotten, is now recovered, thanks to Samwell's Survey, see above, page 185.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 177. The original Latin runs:—'*Circa sclattationem et fere novam reparacionem aule constabularie et domorum annexarum infra dictum Castrum de Dunstanburgh.*'—Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5,978.

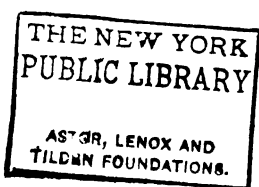
⁸⁵ It seems almost certain that the '*Elgyn*tour' of 1459, and the '*Egyng*clough' Tower of Samwell's Survey are one and the same. Had this postern-tower at the Eggingclough not been manifestly of the same age as the Donjon, the language of the Receivers' Account of 1459 would have led anyone to believe that the turret to the east of the Constable's Tower was the '*Elgyn*tour,' and that the



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DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

from the East



Margaret's Tower,⁸⁶ at the total distance of about 110 yards from the Donjon, and on the brink of the great chasm with cliffs of columnar basalt and metamorphised marble that is often erroneously called the Rumble Churn, but at the time of Samwell's Survey was known as the Eggingclough. The basement of this Eggingclough Tower, about 11 feet 9 inches square inside, served as a postern. The round-headed north door appears to have been restored. The south wall has nearly all fallen away, but the two bar-holes of the door may still be seen on the east side.⁸⁷ The basement is built of huge ash-lars, some nearly 2 feet square. It was covered with flat stones resting on two massive ribs. The masonry of the superstructure is of a poorer character. A wheel-stair, four steps of which are still entire, led to the upper floors and the battlements of the south curtain, at the juncture of the latter with the tower. The first floor has a recess, provided with seats, for a window of two lights in the north wall, and a passage to a latrine in the north-east corner. There was a fire-place in the east wall. The second floor, with corresponding arrangements, was supported on eight beams, laid north and south, as can be seen from the put-holes. The way in which the east side of

Eggingclough Tower was the postern built in that year between this and the sea. See above, p. 178. As it is, we are driven to suppose that the postern of 1459 was in the east curtain of the castle.

⁸⁶ This popular appellation of the tower is probably, after all, of more recent origin than the time of Grose, who, writing about 1772, does not mention it, as so painstaking an antiquary would most likely have done had it then been current. Mr. Tate, in the sixth volume of the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, chose to call the tower St. Margaret's Tower, though associating this with Margaret of Anjou. Of course if the tower was ever really called Queen Margaret's and St. Margaret's indiscriminately, it could only have been after St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. It is difficult to avoid concluding that the whole thing is part and parcel of the modern myth recounting the alleged adventures of Margaret of Anjou after the battle of Hexham, a myth the most telling scenes in which Dr. Perceval has ably traced, in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., p. 290, to the brilliant imagination of the Abbé Prevost, the author of *Manon l'Escravé*. The name of Queen Margaret's Cove has been given to the Eggingclough, in consequence of the highly improbable story of Margaret of Anjou's embarkation. The very use of the word 'cove' in this sense is sufficient to show that the so-called tradition is not of Northumbrian origin. The *coup de grace* is given to the entire cycle of these modern legends by the fact that in the self-same Act of Parliament, passed on the 21st of January, 1465, in which the Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and others were attainted for their adherence to Henry VI. in Northumberland, in 1464, Edmund and John Beaufort and others were so for having 'withdrawn them out of this Land, adhering unto Margaret late called Queen of England,' which Edmund, at least had done in 1463. If Margaret had been in England in 1464, the general charge of joining in the northern rising at Hexham and elsewhere would have been sufficient for the attainder of her courtiers.

⁸⁷ This postern is not shown in the Bucks' view of the castle.

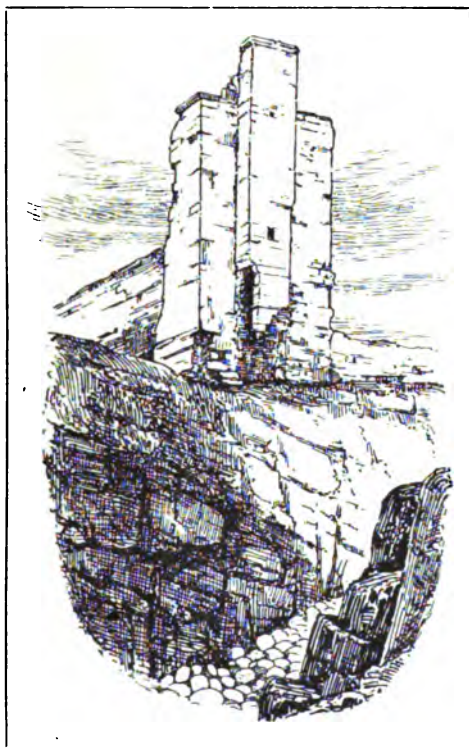
this tower, with all the wild beauty of the Eggingclough at its foot, was given over entirely to latrines is an excellent example of the inability of mediæval minds to appreciate the romantic scenes in which for purely practical reasons their habitations were often fixed.⁸⁸

A high piece of good ashlarwork is still standing round the northern edge of the Eggingclough, but beyond this the east wall of the castle is of mere rubble consisting of a shivery whitish stone sometimes faced with basalt. In one place there is an opening to a narrow passage 5 feet long, in the thickness of the wall; in another, further on, the foundations of two converging walls run back west for 55 yards to what seems to have been a building about 35 yards long by 6 yards broad, possibly the grange in the castle. Near the spot where the east curtain abutted on the precipitous Gull Crag is the genuine Rumble Churn, a cleft in a cavern roof, formed by one of the basalt columns having fallen into the seething abyss below.

⁸⁸ The piece of the tower containing these latrines has fallen into the clough since Mr. Archer's sketch of it in 1862, in the Alnwick Castle portfolio.

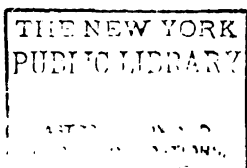
ADDENDUM.

P. 187, l. 2, add after '£400':—'On the 27th of February, 1591, Queen Elizabeth issued a commission 'to view and survey the decaies and decaied places of the walles about the Castle of Dunstanburghe,' by virtue of which 'Mr. Delavale, Mr. Ra. Grey, Mr. Clavering and Mr. Luke Ogle' repaired to the castle on the 1st of September following, and 'by the opinion and judgement of divers skilful artizans freemasons and others, by perambulation and survey,' certified that fifty-three yards of the north-east wall of the castle towards the town of Embleton was utterly ruined in front though the lining was 'in reasonable good state,' and that it would take the total sum of £63 6s. 8d. to repair it, 'which small time will make more chargeable to her majestie.'—*Duchy of Lancaster Depositions*, 33 Eliz. 'Concernen' Supervis' Decas. murorum castri de Dunstanburghe.' P.R.O.



THE EGGINGCLOUGH TOWER, DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

From a Sketch by Mr. James Shotton in 1860.



PRESTON TOWER.

THE Tower of Preston, on high ground, about a mile to the south-east of Ellingham, is first mentioned in the List of Fortalices of 1415. It was then held by Robert Harbottle, who probably built it. There had been a local family of Pressens, or Prestons, two of them knights of the shire for Northumberland in the parliaments of Edward III.,¹ but the manor of Preston, held of the barony of Alnwick, seems to have descended in the families of Bataill, Strivelyn, and Middleton. Harbottle's interest in the place appears to have had its humble beginning in a lease granted to him there on the 8th of October, 1399, by Alice, daughter and heir of William Clerk of Eglingham, of all her land at Preston in Bamburghshire for seven years, at the annual rent of one penny,² and for several years later we find him forming a patchwork estate out of grants and leases of fields and cottages. He must have been high in favour with Henry IV., for in 1408 he was sheriff of Northumberland, and in the following year was re-appointed constable of Dunstanburgh. Yet even in 1417 we find him leasing at that castle thirty-six acres in the field of Preston from Robert Preston for a sum of money paid in hand.³ He married Isabel de Monboucher, widow of Sir Henry Heton of Chillingham, and died in about 1419. Five years later Dame Isabel Harbottle entered into a covenant that her son Robert Harbottle should marry Margerie, daughter of Sir Robert Ogle. In this document the Harbottle lands were of course duly settled, while the marriage was to be celebrated

¹ Michael de Pressen was enfeoffed of the manor of Ellingham as a trustee to effect the entail of it in the Clifford family, by licence of Edward I., 3rd May, 1276.—*Dodsorth MS.* 32, f. 110, dors. 8 in the Bodleian Library. A licence was granted by Edward III. in 1330 to enable Nicholas de Pressen to act in a similar capacity, *Originalia*, 4 Ed. iii. ro. 43, and in 1335 that king bestowed on him the manor of Middleton, near Belford, that had been forfeited by the attainer of David le Mareschal, *Patent Roll*, 9 Ed. iii. mem. 18. The List of Fortalices in 1415 assigns the tower of Barmoor to John Preston, no doubt the same 'Johannes de Pressen armiger' who in that year gives a power of attorney to Richard de Wetwang and John Charlton of North Charlton for delivering seisin of his cottage at Preston to Robert Harbottle.—*Dodsorth MS.* 32.

² *Ibid.* It appears from other deeds that Preston was then included in Bamburghshire.

³ *Ibid.*

at the cost of the bride's father, who was to convey his estate of Newstead to young Harbottle to be held until the receipts yielded fifty-five marks clear, or until Sir Robert paid him that sum. The rest of the dowry consisted of a piece of land, one acre in length, and three half-acres in width, at the 'netherend' of the 'Doufhyll' in the fields of Ellingham, near the stream by the church, for the purpose of erecting a fulling-mill, together with the right of cutting a watercourse from the Waldenburn through Paynscroft. But the most quaint stipulations were that for two years after the marriage, Sir Robert Ogle was to keep and maintain his daughter and a damsel to wait on her, constantly in his 'hostell,' as also his son-in-law and his valet or other servant, together with their horses, when they came there; while the bride was to find her own 'vesture and attire.'⁴

Sir Robert Harbottle was sheriff of Northumberland in 1439, and on the 18th of October of that year he settled his manor of Preston and 'town' of Walden on his son Bertram, and Jane his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Lumley.⁵ Bertram Harbottle, also sheriff in 1447, is said to have died in 1462, and on the 15th of May, 1477, we find Thomas Lord Lumley solemnly protesting in the presence of John, prior of Gisburne, Thomas Stitnam the sub-prior, and others, at Kilton, that though lawful livery and seisin had been given of Preston to his daughter and her late husband, yet recently their son, 'Raffe Harbotell wrongfully withouten tytle of Ryght but with mastery with-houldeth it from his mother by uncourteous counsell.'⁶ On the 12th of May, 1499, Sir Ralph Harbottle granted a lease of the tower, manor, and town of Preston to John Harbottle of Fallodon, gentleman, for the term of thirteen years at the annual rent of £8 13s. 4d. John Harbottle bound himself, at his own cost, 'to set a Roofe upon the said Tower and thack the same with hather flaggs or strawe,'

⁴ 'Et auxi le dit Roberte de Ogle auera et tiendra en son Hostell le dit Margerie, et une Damoyzell ad luy continualment, et le dit Roberte fitz, et un vadlet ou autre servaunt ad luy quant ils veignet, et lez Chivalx a Bouche du court, et la dit Margerie troua tout sa vesture et attire sanz rien prendre pour ycelle par deux anns ensuants les ditz espouselz celebreez.'—*Dods. MS.* 32, f. 114b, Bodl. Libr. (No. 15 of 'Coppyes of sundry deedes given unto me Roger Dodsworth by my cosen Thomas Stockdale of Bitton Parke nere Knaresburgh in Com. Ebor. 1633, and since lent by me to Hen. Lilly of Little Brittain paynter.') The date of this quaint settlement is fixed by the conveyance in the same collection of the land and easements for the fulling-mill from Sir Robert Ogle to his daughter and her husband, executed on the 20th of August, 1424.

⁵ *Dods. MS.* 32, f. 124.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 125b.



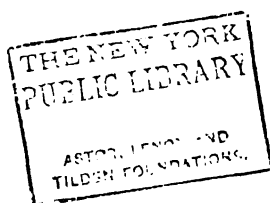
J. P. GIBSON. PHOTO

TYPE-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

PRESTON TOWER, FROM THE W.

1884.

This Plate contributed by MISS CRESSWELL.



while Sir Ralph was to find the timber for the roof.⁷ Such an inflammable roof would seem to court a Scottish firebrand, though a truce between the two kingdoms was existing at the time.

Sir Ralph Harbottle married Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Percy, who fell on Hedgeley Moor, and their grand-daughter, Eleanor Harbottle, became the wife of Sir Thomas Percy, who was beheaded for the share he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Having obtained Preston as co-heiress of her brother, Eleanor Harbottle, under the style of Eleanor Lady Percy, leased her mill at Ellingham on the 20th of May, 1553, to Margaret, wife of Thomas Harbottle of Beamish.⁸ On the attainder of her son Thomas, seventh Earl of Northumberland, Preston passed to the Crown, and at the time of Hall and Homberston's Survey in 1570 it was let to Margaret Harbottle at the yearly rent of £4 13s. 4d.⁹ It afterwards passed into the possession of the families of Armorer and Craster, and is at present the property of Miss Baker Cresswell.

Preston Tower must originally have been a long building with turrets at the four angles, a sort of Haughton Castle in miniature. All that now remains of it is the south front, with the south-east and south-west corner turrets, and portions of the side walls running north from these. The interior of the main building was 16 feet 7 inches wide and the side walls 6 feet 9 inches thick. The south-west turret, about 13 feet 6 inches square externally, is slightly larger than the south-east turret, though this projects a very little further south. The height of the tower, to the crest of the present battlements, is 49 feet 9 inches. A clock was placed in the tower by Mr. Henry Baker Cresswell in 1864, the face occupying the south front of the second floor.

The only present entrance is by a plain doorway cut through the base of the south front, probably at the end of the 17th century. There was no stair originally in the existing fragment of the building,

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 126.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 24. A bond for 40s. from John Harbottle of Preston to Eleanor Lady Percy, dated 5th Sept. 1538, is preserved at Alnwick Castle.

⁹ *Homberston's Survey*, P.R.O. The curious coat of Harbottle, *Azure, three icicles or*, still appears in the achievement of arms of the present Duke of Northumberland at the end of the second volume of *Annals of the House of Percy*. Of this it should have formed the 12th quarter, and have been followed by the Neville coat in the 13th. On the general subject of the Harbottle arms and quarterings, see *Arch. Ael.* N.S. IV. p. 214.

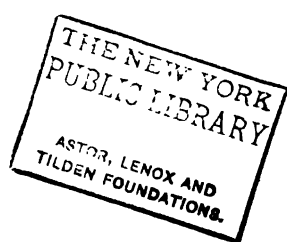
but a wooden staircase was inserted when the ruin was repaired as a clock-tower. The basement of the south-east turret is entered through a pointed door only 4 feet 9 inches high, like most of those in the building, set back in a recess under a half-arch. The rough pointed vaulting rises to the height of 7 feet, and the dimensions are 8 feet 9 inches from east to west, by 4 feet 7 inches from north to south. There is a slit at the east end. The similar vault in the south-west turret springs in the contrary direction, being about 8 feet 6 inches long from north to south and 5 feet 6 inches wide from east to west. The original slit, now blocked up, is here at the south end, while an opening has been made in the west wall, doubtless in connection with the cottages that are shown built up against the tower in Mr. Archer's sketch of it in 1862.¹⁰

The vaulted turret rooms on the first floor are provided with fire-places. The flat head of the fire-place in the south-east turret is of peculiar construction, being formed of three stones, of which the centre one, though shaped like a key-stone, really rests on the two others. A water-tank now nearly fills the vault in the opposite turret, but there is a good plain fire-place still intact in the east wall.

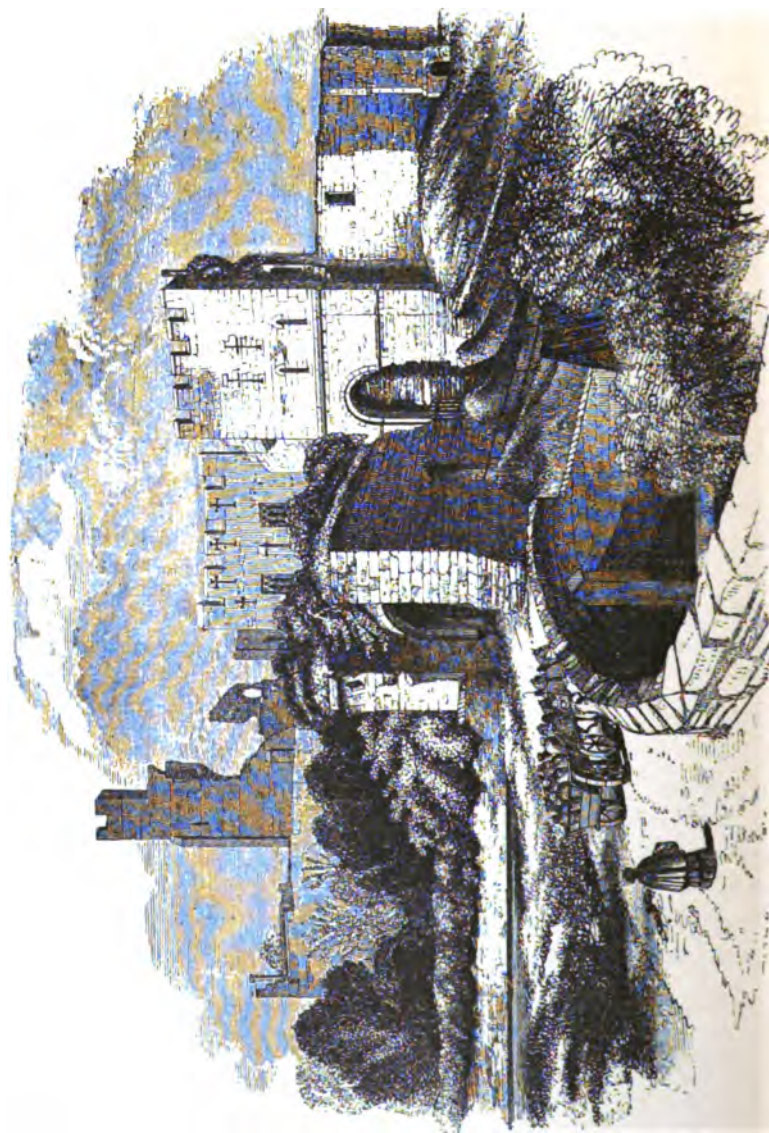
At the south end of the second floor of the main block is a fine window recess, like some in Warkworth Donjon, 5 feet 2 inches in width and 7 feet in height to the springers of the low arch. This is now filled with the clock face, but is said to have formerly contained a square-headed transomed window of two cusped lights. The fire-places in the turrets on this floor have both fallen away. A moulding has been worked on the east jamb of that in the south-west turret.

The south-east turret ends in a room about 8 feet square inside, with rubble walls, probably of the time of Elizabeth. The similar room on the south-west turret contains the bell on which the clock strikes. The roof of this room was removed for the purpose of obtaining a better view from the battlements.

¹⁰ This water-colour drawing forms one of a series of views of the principal castles and towers of the county, executed for the 4th Duke of Northumberland and preserved in a portfolio at Alnwick Castle.



To face page 199.



PRUDHOE CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRUDHOE CASTLE.

AMONG the leading Normans who came over with the Conqueror was Robert de Umfreville, better known as Robert with-the-beard, who received as his reward a grant of the wild district of Redesdale, on the Scottish Border. Henry I. added to the possessions of the Umfrevilles the barony of Prudhoe, and there can be little doubt that they soon built a castle there on the general lines of the existing ruins. The basement of the main gatehouse with its twin-faced corbels looks like the work of the first half of the twelfth century; and the keep, to judge from the masonry, is older than any other keep in Northumberland, except that of Norham.

At the time of the invasion of Northumberland by William the Lion, King of Scots, in 1173, the castle of Prudhoe was held by Odinel de Umfreville, who had been brought up at the court of Henry Earl of Northumberland, that King's father. Odinel's active repudiation of the King's hereditary claims to the county was regarded by him as an act of the basest ingratitude that called for signal punishment. 'May I,' cried William on abandoning the siege of Newcastle, 'be loathed and disgraced, cursed and excommunicated by priest, if I grant any terms or respite to Odinel's castle.'¹ So immediately marching his host up the Tyne, he bade his earls and barons pitch their tents and pavilions before the walls of Prudhoe.² 'As long as Prudhoe stands, never,' he declared, 'shall there be peace.'³ His camp, however, fell a prey to divided counsels. The Flemish mercenaries swore that they would destroy the castle, or forego all claim to pay or rations;⁴

¹ 'Dunc seie-jo maldit,
Escumengié de prestre, huniz e descunfit,
Si jo le chastel Odinel duins terme ne respit.'

—*Chronique de Jordan Fantosme*, l. 592, Surt. Soc. Publ. 11, p. 28.

² 'Là fist li reis d' Escoce tendre ses paveilluns,
Ses trefs e ses acubes, ses cuntes, ses baruns.'—*Ibid.* l. 600.

³ 'Tant cum esteusse Prudhume, jamès pès n'aurums.'—*Ibid.* l. 603.

⁴ 'Nus l'agraventerums,

U mar nus durrez soldeies ne livreisuns.'—*Ibid.* l. 604.

It seems to have been for the damage done to him by the Scots in this first siege of Prudhoe that Odinel de Umfreville obtained a grant of £20 from Henry II.

but the Scottish lords refused to hear of the delay incident to a formal siege, and urged the King to hasten on to the conquest of Cumberland. William was compelled to give way; but having in the following year arranged a truce with the governor of Carlisle, he made a sudden dash for Prudhoe, hoping to surprise the castle.⁵ His disappointment was extreme when he reached it on, or about, Monday the 8th of July, 1174, only to find that Odinel had put it in an excellent state of defence. He summoned it to surrender. The brave garrison knew that if the castle were taken scant mercy would be shown to Odinel, so they entreated him to make his escape and endeavour to raise a force for their relief. Bidding them, then, a sorrowful farewell, Odinel mounted his good brown bay,⁶ and spurred day and night to the Archbishop of York. Enraged at his escape, the whole host of Scotland attacked the castle with a great shout. The garrison defended themselves manfully against the Flemings, and did not receive, says the chronicler, a silver pennyworth of injury,⁷ while many of the besiegers were so sorely wounded as to give them no chance of ever seeing their homes again. Not content with destroying all the corn in the fields and laying waste the neighbouring gardens, some of the Scots, in a spirit of mean vengeance, tore the bark off the apple-trees. At last, finding it impossible to reduce Prudhoe with his spears and arrows,⁸ the Lion-King raised the siege on the Friday morning⁹ and set out for Alnwick, where, the next day, it would seem, he was surprised and taken prisoner by the knights whom Odinel had gathered round him.

towards supporting knights in the castle. It was paid by the sheriff of 'Carleilschire' and was entered by him on the Pipe Roll, ro. 7 dorso., for 19 Hen. II. (19th Dec., 1172—18th Dec., 1173), under the heading 'Minaria Carleoli':—
'Et Odinello de Umfranvilla xx libras ad tenendum milites in castello de Prudho, pro dampno sibi a Scottis illato.'

⁵ 'Ore vait li reis Willame tut dreit vers Odinel,
Suzprendre le voldrad pur aver le chastel.'

—*Ibid.* l. 1649, p. 74.

⁶ This horse deserves to be as famous on Tyneside as the Cheval Bayard, on which the four sons of Aymon are said to have escaped from Charlemagne, is on the banks of the Meuse in Belgium. Fantosme calls it 'Bauçan le Kernu [the hairy]' and 'le bon brun bauçant.'—ll. 1669, 1671, p. 76. Possibly Bauçan was its actual name.

⁷ 'Itant cum amuntast a un denier d'argent.'—*Ibid.* l. 1681.

⁸ 'Ne prendra le chastel par traire ne par lancier.'—*Ibid.* l. 1687.

⁹ 'Vendreadi par matin.'—*Ibid.* l. 1703, p. 78. Fantosme says the siege of Prudhoe lasted three days—'Treis jorz dura le siege' (l. 1677). William of Newburgh, cap. xxxiii., gives the date of the capture of the King of Scots 'MCLXXIV tertio idus Julii die sabbati' i.e. Saturday, July 13th.—Surt. Soc. Publ. 11, p.

The siege no doubt rendered some repairs to the castle necessary. There is a curious legend connected with repairs done by Odinel.¹⁰ All his neighbours, so it runs, had, either from love or fear, given him assistance in the work, except the men of Wylam, a possession of the monastery of St. Oswin of Tynemouth, which had been freed from all contributions to castle-building by several royal charters. Neither the threats nor the persuasions of the king's officers had any effect. Odinel was so enraged that he sent for one of them who lived, without fear of God, in the city of Corbridge,¹¹ and bade him on his allegiance seize the property of the Wylam peasants and bring it to the castle. This man took with him two other officers named Richard and Nicholas, and proceeded at once to Wylam. According to the English law that had then been long established, a fine for neglecting to perform a customary duty like that of repairing a castle was first to be levied on the private property of the serfs, and only in case of this proving insufficient was recourse to be had to the lord's demesne. The Corbridge official, however, announced his intention of laying hands on whatever first came in his way, and it was in vain that his companions cautioned him not to interfere with the herd of St. Oswin. They came to the pasture where the demesne oxen were grazing, but these, together with the ruddy youth and his barking dog who were looking after them, were by the power of St. Oswin made miraculously invisible and inaudible to the wicked distrainer, though Richard and Nicholas had actually to drive them out of his way.

Odinel's grandson, Gilbert de Umfreville, called by Matthew of Paris, 'the Guardian and Chief Flower of the North,' held the barony of Prudhoe from 1226 to 1244.¹² He married the heiress of the Earl of Angus, and his son Gilbert assumed that title. In the very black record of Earl Gilbert's crimes he is said to have harboured a certain bandit named Walter Denyas and his accomplices in Prudhoe

149. He tells us also that Roger de Moubrai fled to the King while he was before Prudhoe, informing him that two of the castles he had been holding for him in Yorkshire had been taken, and that the whole force of that county was advancing against him.—*Ibid.* pp. 147, 148.

¹⁰ 'Potentium de Nordthanymbria potentissimus Odinellus de Umframvilla, ad castelli sui resarcienda sarta tecta indebitis exactionibus vicinos suos compellebat.' Odinel is made to speak of this as 'castelli mei reedificationem.'—*Vita Oswini*, cap. xxx. Surt. Soc. Publ. 8, p. 43.

¹¹ 'In Colebrigia civitate satelles regius.'—*Ibid.*

¹² '1244.—This year the Scots besieged Prudhoe Castle, but were obliged to raise the siege.'—Sykes, *Local Records*. No authority is given for this statement.

Castle.¹³ He appears, however, to have repented of his evil deeds towards the close of his life. He founded a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary, in Prudhoe Castle, in 1300,¹⁴ and there is every reason to believe that he is represented in the knightly effigy with the Umfreville shield now in the north transept of Hexham Priory Church. From the inquisition taken after his death in 1307, we learn that there was a park at Prudhoe, a league in circuit, and 120 acres of arable demesne.¹⁵ Sir John de Crombwell and the Earl of Angus bound themselves in their indenture for the custody of the Marches of the 28th of September, 1319, to send ten men-at-arms to Prudhoe in case of need.¹⁶ In 1324 the castle and orchard, which had been worth 20s. a year in times of peace, are returned as of no value on account of the ravages of the Scots, who seem even to have destroyed all the pigeons.¹⁷ During the minority of the heir, Roger Mauduit was appointed constable of Prudhoe by Edward II., who, in 1326, ordered him to construct a certain pele without the gates of the castle at the expense of twenty marks.¹⁸

The two great northern houses of Percy and Umfreville became allied by the marriage of Robert the only son and heir of Gilbert, third Earl of Angus, with Margaret daughter of Henry, the third Lord Percy of Alnwick, but the bridegroom died without issue in his father's lifetime. The old Earl married again, taking for his second wife Maud de Lucy the heiress of the honour of Cockermouth and barony of Langley, and at Prudhoe on the 16th of August, 1375, John de Haweburgh, parson of Ireby in Yorkshire, and John de Pykworth,

¹³ *Assize Roll* (Northumberland), 7 Ed. I. $\frac{M}{36}$ } 3; *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland*, ii. p. 45. Hodgson (*Hist. of Northd.* III. i. p. 109) calls this notorious robber Walter de Was, from a transcript of the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 3 Ed. I.

¹⁴ *Inq.* 28 Ed. I. no. 86; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 243 n.

¹⁵ *Inq.* 1 Ed. II. no. 45; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 241 n. Hartshorne there gives the *leuca* or league as containing 1,500 yards. In 1244-5 the park at Prudhoe was returned as two leagues in circuit.—*Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 305. Robert de Umfravill, Earl of Angus, by deed dated Prudhoe, 8th April, 1317, gave a quit-claim of common-right in Chopwell to the Abbey of Newminster, with the proviso, 'tamen si contigat averia mea vel her. meor. de castro nostro de Prodow propter defectum claustræ intrare dictum separale absque parcagio, rechacientur.'—*Newminster Cartulary*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 50.

¹⁶ 'Et sont les ditz Gardeins charges denvoier . . . dis ou douzaze homes darnes . au chastel de Prodhou . . . selonc ce qil verront que le temps demande.'—*Excheq. Q. R. Misc. (Army)* 7.

¹⁷ *Inq. p. m.* 18 Ed. II. no. 78; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 241.

¹⁸ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* i. p. 299.

parson of Ovingham, and other trustees, having obtained the necessary royal licence on the 5th of July previous, conveyed the castle to the Earl and his young Countess and the heirs of the Earl's body, with remainder to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and the heirs male of his body.¹⁹ By another licence procured from Edward III. on the 28th of October, 1377, for the consideration of twenty marks, Angus was empowered to assign an annual rent of five marks from his watermills in the vill of 'Shirmondesdene,' in Coquetdale, to the chaplain of the chantry of St. Mary in the 'pele-yerde' of Prudhoe, in augmentation of his stipend.²⁰ The Earl of Angus died in 1381. His widow became the second wife of the Earl of Northumberland, who on her death in 1398, became seized of the castle in fee tail under the settlement of 1375.

The Council held by Lord Say at Durham on the 25th of September, 1408, after Hotspur's death at Shrewsbury, and during the Earl of Northumberland's confinement at Baginton, resolved that Robert Lisle, who was present at Durham, should have the custody of the Earl's castle of Prudhoe confided to him.²¹ Say, however, does not seem to have considered Lisle's position quite regular, for he afterwards advised that Lisle should be instructed to ensure the safety of the castle as soon as the Earl's great seal could be obtained for the purpose of sealing the order to that effect.²² During the insurrection of 1405, in which the Earl was more deeply implicated, John Skipton was commanded, by letters from the King, dated Ripon the 15th of June, to surrender the castle of Prudhoe to David Throllope,²³ and on his return march, at Durham on the 18th of July, Henry IV. gave six oxen to John Coterrell, which the latter had driven off from the Earl of Northumberland's park at Prudhoe.²⁴

¹⁹ *Inq. p. m.* 14 Hen. VI. no. 36, m. 26, P.R.O.

²⁰ *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, IV. p. 54; *Rot. Pat.* 1 Ric. II. m. 1.

²¹ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 214. See above, p. 102.

²² *Ibid.* p. 211. See above, p. 104.

²³ 'De castro de Prodowe in manus Regis capiendo. Consimiles litteras de commissione habet David Throllope ad capiendum et seisiendum in manus Regis Castrum de Prodowe. T. R. apud Rypon xv die Junii. Et mandatum est Johanni Skyp-ton quod eidem David, &c.'—*Rot. Pat.* 1 to 11 Hen. IV. (No. 863) m. 17 (6 Hen. IV.) P.R.O.

²⁴ 'Pro Johanne Coterrelle. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus dilecto ligeo nostro Johanni Coterelle sex boves que fuerunt Henrici Comitis Northumbrie et quos predictus Johannes in parco de Prodowe cepit et penes se in custodia sua habet et valorem sex librarum non excedat ut dicitur, Habendos eidem Johanni de dono nostro. In cujus, &c.'

Apparently Henry IV. held the Earl's estates to have been forfeited on the 6th of May,²⁵ and on the 27th of June bestowed the castles and baronies of Prudhoe, Langley, and Alnwick by letters patent on his own son Prince John, afterwards created Duke of Bedford.²⁶ On the 14th of April, 1416, Henry V. restored to Henry Percy, the second Earl of Northumberland, all the entailed estates of his family, having already compensated the Duke of Bedford for their loss. For some reason or other the entail of Prudhoe was not considered to be clearly established, and it remained in the possession of the Duke. The Earl lost no time in petitioning Henry V. to issue a commission of inquiry into the entail of 1375, and after its report to do him justice, 'as a work of charity.'²⁷ The inquiry held at Newcastle on the 16th of September, before Richard de Norton, Robert Strangways, and John Kirkeby, resulted in a verdict in favour of the Earl's claims.²⁸ Nevertheless the Duke of Bedford retained Prudhoe till his death on the 14th September, 1435, when it passed to Henry VI. as his nephew and heir.²⁹ The Earl of Northumberland appears to have commenced legal proceedings in 1437 for the recovery of Prudhoe, but it was not until after a successful Assize trial at Newcastle in 1441, that he actually obtained possession of it.³⁰

No mention of Prudhoe occurs in the chronicles of the Wars of

T. R. apud Duram xvij die Julii.'—*Ibid.* Henry IV., writing to the Council from Warkworth on the 2nd of July, 1405, informed them that Prudhoe had already fallen before he invested the former castle.—*Proc. and Ord. of P. C.*, i. p. 275.

²⁵ 'Predictus Henricus nuper Comes fuit solus seiscus de castro et manerio predictis (Prodhoe et Ovingham) cum pertinentiis habendis sibi et hereditibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus virtute doni predicti sexto die Maii anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie sexto, &c.'—*Ing. p. m.* 14 Hen. VI. No. 36, m. 26, P.R.O.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ 'Plese a votre tresredoute et tresgracious seigneurie . . . de faire droit au dit suppliant en celle partie en oeuvre de charyte.'—*Ing. ad Q. D.* 4 Hen. V. No. 2, P.R.O.

²⁸ 'Predicta castrum, manerium, feoda et advocaciones cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prefato Henrico nunc Comiti ut consanguineo et heredi predicti Henrici nuper Comitis descendere debent.'—*Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ing. p. m.* 14 Hen. VI. No. 36, m. 26. The *Compotus Johannis Stynger prepositi de Prodehove*, Mich. 15 Hen. VI.—Mich. 16 Hen. VI., is in the Public Record Office, Q.R.M.A. 43, but contains nothing of interest. Sir Richard Wydeville and his wife Jacquet, widow of the Duke of Bedford, released all claim of ward and dower in Prudhoe to Henry VI. in consideration of an annuity of £61 1s. 6d., on 18th June, 1440.—*Rot. Parl.* V. p. 310b.

³⁰ *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 538. It must be remembered that in the meantime a fresh Act of Parliament had been passed in 18 Henry VI. to expressly declare that the forfeiture of the Earl of Northumberland's lands under the Act of 7 Henry IV. was not to extend to his lands held in fee tail.—*Ibid.* p. 537.

the Roses. It was granted by Edward IV., together with all the other Percy castles and manors in Northumberland, to his brother George Duke of Clarence on the 10th of August, 1462,³¹ who on the 26th of March following, appointed William Burgh constable of the castle and steward of the lordship. Burgh became 'servant and sworn man to the said Right high and mighty Prince, and him to serve at his commandment after the King's highness before all other,' and agreed to keep the castle at his own cost and peril, 'unless that such casualty fall by infortune of war that it might pass his might and power so to do.'³² At the same time he obtained a lease of the demesne lands of Prudhoe for twenty years. Possibly these grants may have been part of a stipulation for the surrender of the castle by Burgh to Clarence. Like many more important persons in those uncertain times, Burgh seems to have wished to keep in the good graces of both the rival parties, since on the 8th of December, 1463, he procured letters of protection for himself, his son William, Christopher of Burgh, and six persons with them, with all their goods and chattels, to the following midsummer, from Henry VI., who was then at Bamburgh.³³ His son William had a grant of the orchard of the castle of Prudhoe for his life, on the 31st of May, 1465, from John Neville, Earl of Northumberland and Lord Montagu, who appears to have received Prudhoe with other Percy estates as a reward for his decisive victory over the Lancastrians at Hexham. The grant expressly provides that if the Earl or his household should afterwards abide and dwell at the castle, it should be lawful for them to have all such things growing in the orchard as should be to their pleasure.³⁴

After the politic restoration of the fourth Earl of Northumberland to his title and estates by Edward IV., we find William Ogle, esquire, constable of the castle in 1472.³⁵ The personal connection of the Percies with Prudhoe at this period is illustrated by the fact that in 1474 'the lady the Countess of Northumberland, the consort of the present lord' took into her own hands the orchard under the castle

³¹ *Rot. Pat.* 2 Ed. IV. pt. 1, m. 3.

³² *Notes on Documents belonging to Sir John Lawson, Bart.*, by C. S. Perceval, LL.D.; *Archæologia*, XLVII., p. 189.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 190.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 193.

³⁵ *Comptus Walteri Dod prepositi de Prudhoe* (Mich. 13 Ed. IV.—Mich. 14 Ed. IV.), vellum roll c. viii. 6a, at Syon House.

which had been let to the constable during the two previous years,³⁶ while 16d. was paid that year by Outhbert Newton, the bailiff of the barony, 'to divers men for carrying letters of the lord to divers gentlemen.'³⁷ Newton collected 26s. for castle-ward, and gave 10s. to a clerk for writing out the accounts of all the officials connected with the barony and buying the necessary parchment and paper. On the 30th of June, 1474, William Ogle the constable, and other officials made a scrutiny of the water of Tyne from the mill-pool of Ovingham to the sea, taking away and burning all improper nets and sinking fishing craft that had been illegally placed on the river.³⁸

In 1501 the castle chapel was served by William Franckishe, chaplain to Sir Ralph Harbottle, who was then probably the constable.³⁹ Sir Ralph, the owner of Preston Tower in Northumberland and of Beamish in Durham, had married Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Percy, who fell on Hedgeley Moor. We find George Swinburne constable of the castle in 1514.⁴⁰

The unhappy sixth Earl of Northumberland passed a week or more at Prudhoe Castle in June, 1528, in order to watch, as Warden of the Marches, over the preservation of order in Tynedale.⁴¹ Prudhoe became the home of his brother Sir Thomas Percy. During the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, while the negotiations with the King, commenced at Doncaster, were still in progress, Sir Thomas Percy is said to have repaired with all speed to his house of Prudhoe. On his arrival he was welcomed by the leaders of the disaffected population of

³⁶ '[Super] Willelmum Ogle armigerum, de firma pomarii predicti similiter a retro domino debita pro annis xij^{mo} et xij Regis predicti, videlicet utroque anno xiijs iiij^d—xxvjs viij^d; Dominam Comitissam Northumbrie consortem domini nunc pro firma pomarii predicti pro hoc anno—xiijs iiij^d.'—*Ibid*.

³⁷ 'Et eidem xvjd solutis diversis hominibus deferentibus literas domini diversis generosis directas, ad diversas vices infra predictum tempus ex mandato Domini.'—*Comptus Cuthberti Newton ballivi Baronie de Prudhowe*.—*Ibid*.

³⁸ '*Expense sorutini aque de Tyne*. Et in denariis per ipsum computantem solutis pro expensis Willelmi Ogle Constabularii Castri de Prudhowe et aliorum diversorum officiariorum domini reddantium et scrutantium aquam de Tyne a stagno de [O]vyng[ham] usque mare, et retres irrationabiles (*sic*) capiend' et comburend' et puniend', unacum deposicione kiddyll (?) non legitime in dicta aqua posit' ultimo die mensis Junii . . . nil, quia firmarius solvit.'—*Comptus Ricardi Crisop prepositi de Oryngheam*.—*Ibid*.

³⁹ *Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 22, p. xxi.

⁴⁰ *Hodgson MSS.* Swinburne Charters, i. p. 53. The fourth Earl of Northumberland had appointed Thomas Swinburne and Robert Blakman joint foresters of his park of Prudhoe.—*Ibid*. D. p. 83.

⁴¹ 'I nowe have lyen this sennet at my Castell of Prudehowe, within v mile of Tyndall, to see good orders to be kept.'—Letter of 6th Earl of Northumberland, *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 385.

Tynedale and Hexhamshire, John Heron of Chipchase and his friends, Edward Charlton, Cuddy Charlton, Geoffrey Robson, Anthony Errington, and others, who are said to have formed as much a part of his family as if they had been his own household servants. The special object of their detestation was Sir Reginald Carnaby, who was one of the King's most active supporters in Northumberland. The Carnaby family had thought it prudent to place certain stuff and apparel, worth more than two hundred pounds, in the charge of William Swinburne of Capheaton, who had married Sir Reginald's sister. In good old Border style, Sir Thomas Percy despatched his servants to Capheaton, where they threatened Swinburne that they would burn his lands and do him 'other such displeasures' so that he was compelled to give up all the Carnaby goods, which were conveyed in triumph to Prudhoe Castle.⁴²

The Earl of Northumberland, a little before his death in June, 1537, gave Prudhoe among his other estates to Henry VIII., at the close of whose reign we find Sir Roger Lascelles constable, and Thomas Carey keeper of the gate.⁴³

At the time of the survey of chantries ordered by Edward VI. in 1547, that of St. Mary at Prudhoe had for its chaplain John Dixon, called the 'Lady Preest.' Dixon is returned as being fifty years of age, and meanly learned, but of honest conversation and qualities.⁴⁴

There is reason to suppose that the children of Sir Thomas Percy, who was beheaded for the part he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace, were allowed to be brought up at Prudhoe. By the time Thomas, the eldest of them, reached man's estate, it was natural for him to be on anything but good terms with Thomas Carey, who represented the royal interests. The accession of Mary brought Thomas Percy into favour at court, and on the 14th of March, 1556, the lords of the Council decided at Greenwich that 'whereas variance had of long time depended between Thomas Percy, esquire, and Thomas Carey, gent., for the keeping of the castle of Prudhoe,' it should be entrusted to Percy from that Lady Day, and that Carey should not only 'wholly avoid' the castle at Whitsuntide, but pay Percy the sum of twenty pounds.

⁴² *Ibid.* i. p. 561.

⁴³ *Ministers' Accounts*, 37-38 Henry VIII. P.R.O.

⁴⁴ *Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 22, p. lxxxiii.

On the 1st of May, 1557, Mary created Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland by a new patent, and at the same time restored to him the principal estates of his family. The castle and 780 acres of the demesne lands of Prudhoe were granted by him, at the annual rent of £52, to Thomas Bates,⁴⁵ who so greatly distinguished himself under the Earl's banner in an encounter with the Scots under Sir Andrew Ker at the foot of the Cheviots in the following October, as to receive an especial letter of thanks from the Queen herself.⁴⁶ After the rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569, Thomas Bates was arrested and sent to the Tower on the charge of concealment of treason, and of having transmitted money to the Earl and Countess of Northumberland during or since the rebellion. Arraigned at Westminster at the same time as the unfortunate family of Norton, he was able to prove that the only money he gave the Earl was the stipulated rent of Prudhoe, and subsequently received a pardon.⁴⁷ He continued to reside at Prudhoe Castle till his death, which took place there on the 31st of August, 1587.⁴⁸

The survey of the castle and barony of Prudhoe, made by George Clarkson for Thomas Earl of Northumberland in 1567, has been unfortunately lost.⁴⁹ It is therefore matter of considerable congratulation that the similar survey completed by Stockdale for the ninth Earl in 1596 contains, contrary to his usual practice, the following elaborate description of the Castle⁵⁰:—

'There is an old Ruinous Castle, Walled about, and in forme not much unlike to a Sheild hanging with one poynte upwardes, scituate

⁴⁵ *Stockdale's Survey*, Alnwick MSS. Thomas Bates was M.P. for Morpeth in 1554, but was succeeded in Queen Mary's second parliament by 'Henry Percy, gent.' (possibly the future 8th Earl of Northumberland). He again represented Morpeth 1555-1562; in 1561 was Supervisor of Crown Lands in Northumberland, and in 1567 chief steward of Alnwick barony.

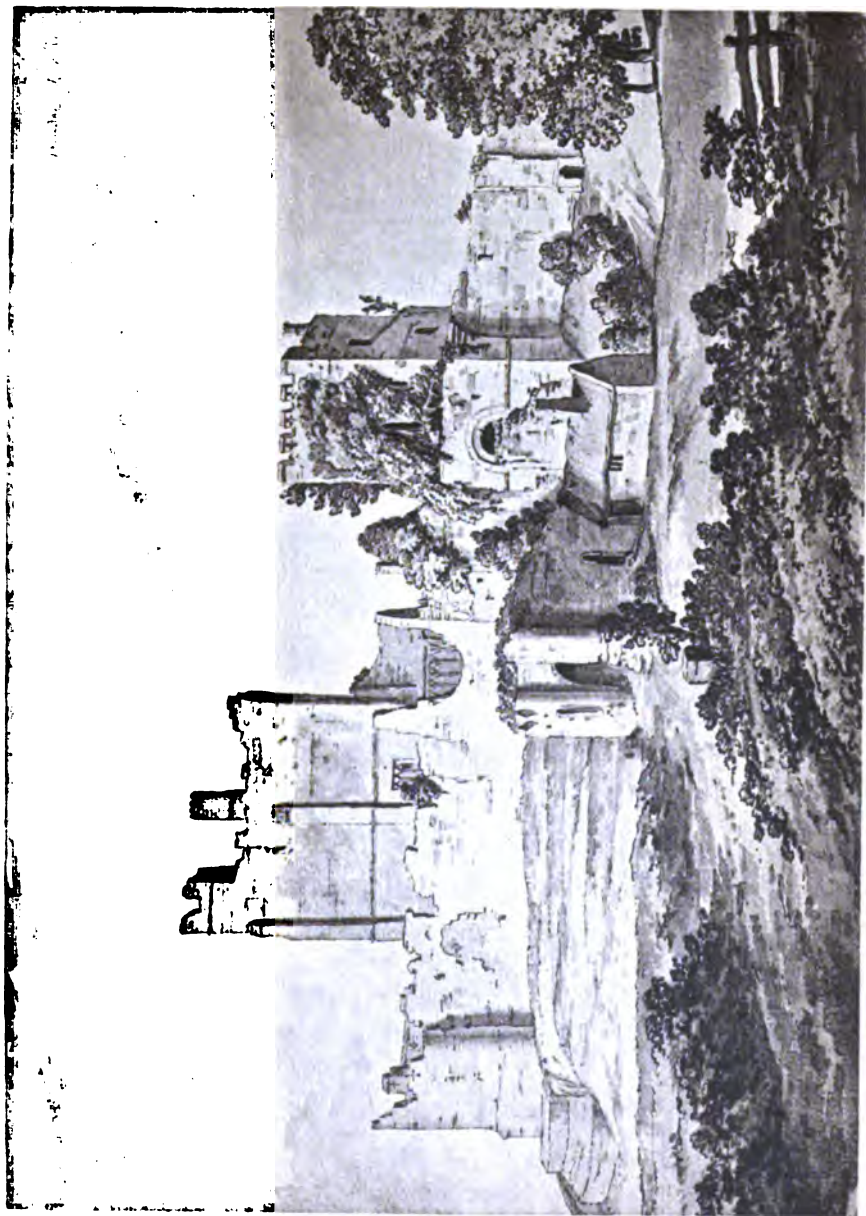
⁴⁶ *Original Letter* at Milbourn Hall.

⁴⁷ Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 361.

⁴⁸ *Inventory, p.m. Thos. Bates*, Probate Office, Durham. Among the items at Prudhoe is 'All the Householde stuffe priced together at £9. 14s 8d,' while the plate there was valued at the considerable sum of £20. There is also a will of Gilbert Swinburne of Prudhoe Castle, who died 4th February, 1590. See Surtees *Hist. of Durham*, II. p. 278.

⁴⁹ A note in Clarkson's MS. at Alnwick says 'The Barony of Prodhowe. The Barony of Tyndale. Memorandum that these remain with Robert Helme or els with Mr. Bates.' No trace of these surveys has been found at Milbourn Hall.

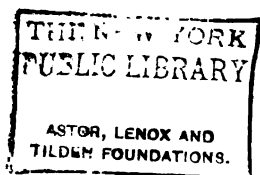
⁵⁰ *Original MS.* at Alnwick Castle. Mr. Hartshorne in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 250, appears to have merely reprinted, with some further errors, the imperfect version given by Grose, *Antiquities*, IV. p. 138.



S. H. Grimm del. c. 1756.

PRUDHOE CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH

B. M. Add. MS. 15543.



upon a high Moate of Earth, with Ditches in some places all wrought with mans handes as it seemeth and is of content all the Scyte of the Mannor, with a litle Garden platt, and the Banckes by estimacon iij acr.

'The said Castle hath the Entrey on the south where it hath had two Gates, the uttermost now in Decay, and without the same is a litle Turne Pyke, and on the west parte a large Gate Rowme, where there hath been a passage into the Lodgeings there scituate without the Castle (as is supposed) or to the Chappell there standing, and between the Gates is a stronge Wall on both sydes, and as it appeareth hath been a draw Bridge, and without the same before it come to the utter gate, a Turne Pyke for Defence of the Bridge. The Gate is a Tower all Massy Worke on both sydes to the Topp of the Vault, above the Vault is the Cheppell, and above the Chappell a Chamber, which is called the Wardrobe, it is covered with Lead But in great Ruine both in Leade and Timber, it is in Length Tenn Yeards, and in breadth six yeards or thereabouts.

'There is opposite to the said Gatehouse Tower joyning to the north wall of the said Castle one Hall of Eighteen yeards of Length and nine yeards of breadth or thereabouts within the Walls, covered alsoe with Lead, Albeit the Tymber and Leade in some Decay.

'Between the said Gatehouse Tower and Hall on the left hand, at your Entry in at the Gate is a House of ij^o house hight of Length xxij^{or} yeards, in breadth six yeardes or thereabouts, Devided into two Chambers covered with slate, the lower House hath a great Room to pass out of the Court through that House to the great Tower, and in the south end a Chamber called the Parlour, and in the north end a litle Buttery, in the house is two Chambers called the utter Chamber and Inner Chamber,⁵¹ Out of the Utter Chamber is a Chamber⁵² is a passage to the great Tower by a litle Gallary, on the other syde a Passage downe to the Buttery, out of the Inner Chamber is a passage to the Chappell, and on the other side a passage to a House called the Nursery.

'On the west parte of the said House is another litle House, standing East and West, upon the south wall called the Nursery in

⁵¹ This passage is garbled past comprehension in Mr. Hartshorne's version.

⁵² *Sic.*

Length Tenn yeards, and in breadth six yeards or thereaboutes of two House height covered also with Slate.

'At the South-west Corner is a House standing north and South, called the Garner adjoyning to the West Wall, in Length tenn yeardes, in breadth six yeardes, of ij^o House height, the under house a Stable, the upper house a Garner covered also with slate.

'At the north-west Corner of the said Castle is a litle Tower called the West Tower of thre house height round on the outside, in Length seaven yeards, in breadth six yeards or thereaboutes covered with Lead, but in decay both in Lead and Tymber.

'Joyned to the said Tower is another House of ij^o house height, in Length nine yeards, in breadth six yeards or thereaboutes Covered with Slate, but much in Decay.

'In the midle of these Houses, by it selfe standeth the Great Tower, one way xvij^o yeardes another way xij^o yeards north and South, of 3 Storyes onely and of height xv^o yeards or thereaboutes, besides the battlements it hath noe Vault of stone in it, it is Covered with Lead, but in some Decay of Lead and Timber, but necessary to be repaired, and a toofall or a litle House adjoyning thereunto in Utter Decay.

'At the East end of the Hall is a House called the Kitchen, of one house height, in Length xij^o yeards in breadth six yeards dim. or thereaboutes, covered with Slate.

'In the east end as it were at the lower poynt of the Sheild is a litle square Tower in length vij^o yeards in breadth v^o yeardes or theiraboutes covered with Lead, but in utter ruine and decay, both in Timber and Lead. adjoyning to the same is a House called the Brew-house, in Length viij^t yeards, and in breadth vij yeards and covered with Slate.

'There is within the Scyte, and without the Walls, an Elder Chappell, which hath been very fair, and covered with Slate. In the tyme that diverse dwellers were on the Demeynes one Dwelled in the said Chappell, and made it his Dwelling House, and Byers for his Cattell, and by that means Defaced, saveing the Tymber, Walls and greate parte of Slate remayneth.

'There is alsoe within the precincts of the Scyte a litle Milne standing at the Castle Gate.

'There is under the Moate on the north syde a Barne, two Byers, and other such an old Kill and Kill-house all which were Builled and Repaired by Thomas Bates in the xx^o Yeare of the Queens Majesties Reigne, (that now is,) and yet now in his late absence Decayed.

'There was an Orchard, sett all with fruit Trees now all spoyled, and an old House, wherein the Keeper of the Orchard Did Dwell.'

Reginald Heron was, at the time of this survey, tenant of the castle and demesne, paying yearly to the Earl £66 13s. 4d., besides an out-rent of £6 to the parson. After the Gunpowder Plot, Sir William Selby and Sir Wilfrid Lawson searched Prudhoe Castle in vain, hoping to discover Thomas Percy, one of the conspirators, who it was thought might be hiding there.⁵³ On the 4th of December, 1606, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, then a prisoner in the Tower, directed a formal warrant to William Orde, bailiff of Prudhoe, to dispossess Reginald Heron of the castle.⁵⁴ Orde appears to have taken up his abode in the castle himself, and according to the quaint inscription on his tombstone in the chancel of Ovingham Church—

'Of sin's foule dregs and vile contagion free,
With credit great while he Lord Percy served,
Of High, of Low, of all, he well deserved.'⁵⁵

As late as 1617, the fee of the constable of the castle of Prudhoe is entered as £10 a year, and that of the porter as £3 0s. 8d.⁵⁶

After having been held by Sir Orlando Gee, one of the Earl of Northumberland's commissioners, in the reign of Charles II., the castle was allowed to fall more and more to ruin.⁵⁷ The 'Prospect' of it, dedicated by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck to Algernon Seymour Earl of Hertford in 1728, shows the south wall of the keep standing

⁵³ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.* 1603-1610, p. 253.

⁵⁴ *Percy Family Papers*, 9, A p. 34, Alnwick Castle.

⁵⁵ He died 27th April, 1630. William Orde of Prudhoe Castle married Ellen, daughter of Gerard Salvin of Croxdale, who was living a widow in 1633.—*Surtees' Hist. of Durham*, IV. p. 119. He was the ancestor of the Ords of Sturton Grange, between Warkworth and Shilbottle, and not as Hodgson, II. iii. p. 107, suggests of the Ords of Whitfield. William Orde of Prudhoe Castle was married at St. John's, Newcastle, to Elizabeth Selby of Whitehouse, co. Durham, by Mr. Henry Horsley a justice in 1654, and appears to have still been living at Prudhoe when rated for Sturton Grange in 1663.—*Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions of Warkworth Church and Churchyard*, ed. by M. H. Dand and J. C. Hodgson, p. 85, privately printed, Alnwick, 1890.

⁵⁶ *Percy Family Papers*, Vol. XI. p. 28, Alnwick Castle.

⁵⁷ 'Anthony Isaacson, Esq., late Zacharia Gee, Esq., and Sir Orlando Gee, sometime Thomas Bates, gent., holdeth there the Castle.'—*Survey of Prudhoe in 1727*, Alnwick Castle.

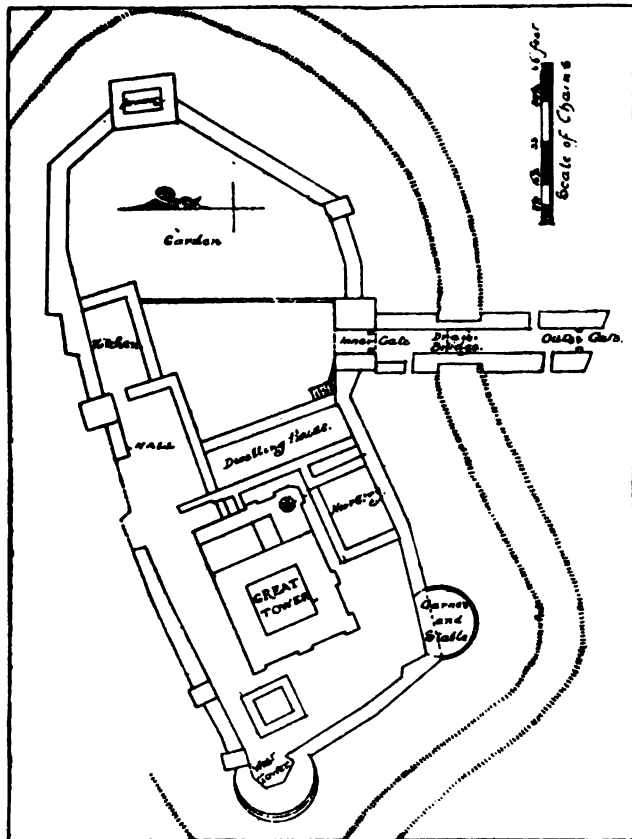
almost perfect, with the foundations of St. Mary's chapel in the foreground. A more faithful drawing of the castle by Grimm, in about 1786, represents the walls in much the same condition; but by the end of the century, the south-east corner of the main building of the keep appears to have collapsed. Considerable works of repair and alteration were carried out by the order of the second Duke of Northumberland, whose younger son, Algernon Percy, afterwards the fourth Duke, was summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Prudhoe of Prudhoe Castle in 1816.⁵⁸ Writing about this time, Sir David Smith, after quoting Stockdale's Survey, adds:—'The interior of the Castle is somewhat altered since the period before-mentioned; the ruinous walls of the Hall, Kitchen, Nursery, Garner, and Stable are taken away—The dwelling house has been rebuilt and enlarged, by continuing its northern end, as far as the foundations of the north wall, where it ends in a bow—the decayed square building between the Great and west Towers has been removed, and a Stable has been built, between the last mentioned Tower, and the former Garner, adjoining to the west wall, the east tower has been converted into a powder Magazine and Armoury; and a new Garden has been made without the Castle, between it, the millpond, and the western exterior ditch, comprehending the site of the old chapel.'⁵⁹ Sir David, whose labours as an antiquary deserve wider recognition, has preserved in his collections a sketch-plan of the castle as it was before being subjected to these well-meant alterations.

Seated on an isolated mount, about five hundred yards to the south of the river Tyne, Prudhoe, though of small dimensions, attains more nearly to the ideal of a Border castle than does any other in Northumberland.⁶⁰ The positions of Wark and Norham on the Tweed

⁵⁸ 'A gold ring set with a sapphire was found in 1808 at Prudhoe Castle: weight, 64 grains. It is of a peculiar form, the bezel projecting with a peak of considerable height, surmounted by the setting—probable date, fourteenth century; preserved at Alnwick Castle.'—*Archæological Journal*, vii. p. 191. Sir David Smith gives a rough sketch of a rusty iron arrow-head dug up at Prudhoe Castle in 1818.

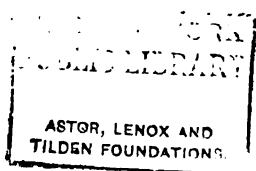
⁵⁹ Sir David Smith, *Collections relating to Camps and Castles*, Alnwick Castle MSS.

⁶⁰ Mr. G. T. Clark delivered an address on Prudhoe Castle to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute, assembled there on Tuesday, the 12th of August, 1884. The substance of Mr. Clark's address is given in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, vol. i. p. 281. In the architectural portion of the present account of the castle the order of Mr. Clark's remarks has been purposely followed.



H. & C., NO.

GROUND PLAN OF PRUDEON CASTLE.
From Sir David Smith's Collections.



may possibly be finer, but the first has almost entirely disappeared, and the latter is in absolute ruin. It is, indeed, a pity that the fanciful derivation of the name of Prudhoe from 'the proud height' cannot be sustained, so admirably does it suit the scornful look which, in all its beauty of wood and tower, the castle seems to cast on the rows of wretched cottages at the foot of the hill and the ugly iron bridge thrown over the river to Ovingham. The castle is about 150 feet above the Tyne. Three small burns running down the steep hill to the south of it unite to form a deep dene defending it from the east. Of these the western and middle burns are caught in the mill-pond that occupies the neck of land immediately in front of the castle; while the eastern and largest burn is crossed by a fine mediæval bridge of a single ribbed arch. Along the west side of the castle area a very deep outer moat has been cut from near the southern extremity of the mill-pond, and in addition an inner moat extends from this at the foot of the south of the curtain of the castle till it gradually combines with the dene already mentioned. Between these two moats and the mill-pond, outside the castle walls, was the 'pele yard.'⁶¹ This now forms a most charming garden, the site of the chapel of St. Mary being covered with rose-bushes.⁶² The earth-works of the castle may easily belong to a period long before the Umfrevilles. The deep western moat does not seem to have formed part of the Norman defences, though of course the 'pele yard' may have been a base court surrounded by a wooden stockade. Traces of what look like early outworks can also be seen on the eastern slope of the castle-mound.

The castle proper is approached across the dam on the east side of the mill-pond. The ruins of the mill appear below this causeway on the right. The barbican, about 36 feet long by 24 feet wide, is

⁶¹ See above, p. 57, for note (C) on the word PELE. It is perhaps more satisfactory to give the whole extract relating to the construction of the pele without the gates of Prudhoe:—Rex Rogero de Mauduyt constabulario castri de Prodhou salutem mandamus vobis quod in reparacionem et emendacionem castri predicti necnon construcionem cujusdam peli extra portas ejusdem castri pro maiore salvacione castri usque ad summam viginti marcarum de exitibus ballivie vestre per visum et testimonium Ricardi de Emeldon maioris ville Novi Castri super Tynam poni faciatis et nos, etc.'—*Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* i. p. 299. Stockdale really says that the pele-yard was entered by a 'a large Gate Rowme,' and not by 'a large gate-toure' as Mr. Hartshorne's inaccurate transcript led me to suppose.

⁶² 'On the brow of a hill, opposite to Ovingham, is *Prudhow-Castle* . . . The castle is now in ruins: as is the chapel of our lady, at the foot of the hill.'—Wallis, *History of Northumberland*, 1769, vol. ii. pp. 163, 166. As to the chantry founded in this chapel, see above pp. 202, 203, 207.

entered under the slightly pointed arch of a gateway vaulted with cylindrical ribs, and flanked by two side walls, that on the right projecting about 11 feet, while the other, probably extending to the mill-pond, was pierced by the gateway into the 'pele yard' mentioned by Stockdale, the springers of the arch of which remain. The pas-



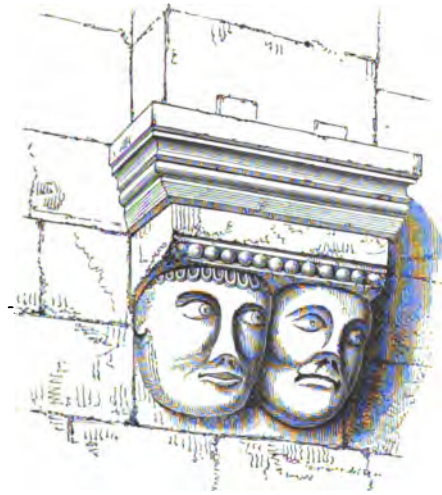
THE GATEHOUSE TOWER FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

sage within the barbican is about 11 feet wide. A small round-headed door on the left opens into the 'pele yard,' and a similar one on the right leads on to the scarp above the eastern dene. From the inner end of the passage straight open stairs ascend on either side to the battlements. The numerous mason-marks on the barbican correspond so closely with those on the gatehouse of Bothal Castle,

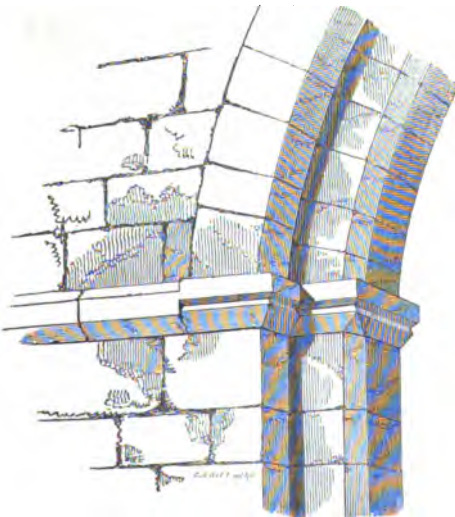
which is known to have been erected about 1343, that it may, with tolerable confidence, be regarded as the work of Gilbert de Umfreville, third Earl of Angus, in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Beyond the barbican the inner moat was spanned by a drawbridge, which was worked apparently from a sort of fore-building erected 20 feet in advance of the main gatehouse, and probably dropped on a cill projecting 5 feet in the rear of the barbican. The space between the drawbridge and the main gatehouse appears to have been at one time covered in. A recess in the wall of thirteenth century masonry, on the west side of the roadway, has had a late square-headed door inserted in it. Of the wall on the east side, only the foundations are left, and the lower portion of the gatehouse has been refaced so as to efface the marks of the ties.

The Gatehouse Tower is a rectangle 18 feet 6 inches deep by 30 feet in width. There are no lodges; the lateral walls of the passage are solid, that on the right being no less than 14 feet thick. There was no portcullis. Much of the plain barrel vault that rises and expands towards the court-



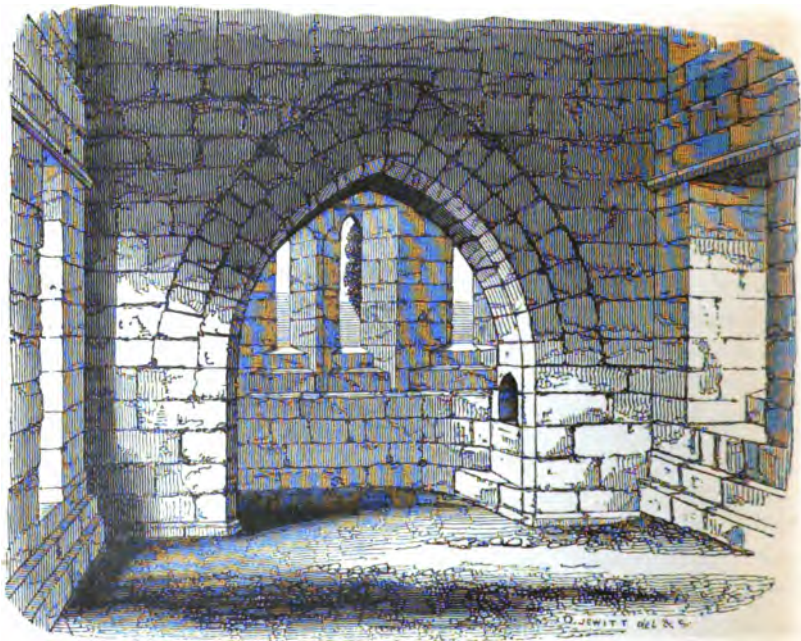
EAST CORBEL OF GATEWAY.



IMPOST OF INNER ARCH OF GATEWAY.

yard is modern. It is traversed diagonally by a single unchamfered rib that rests on two twin-faced Norman corbels with almost classical entablatures. These corbels, like similar ones in Durham Cathedral, may be definitely referred to the opening of the twelfth century. There seems no reason to question the inner archway being Norman along with all the rest of the basement of this most interesting early gatehouse.

In the early part of the thirteenth century a chapel was built over

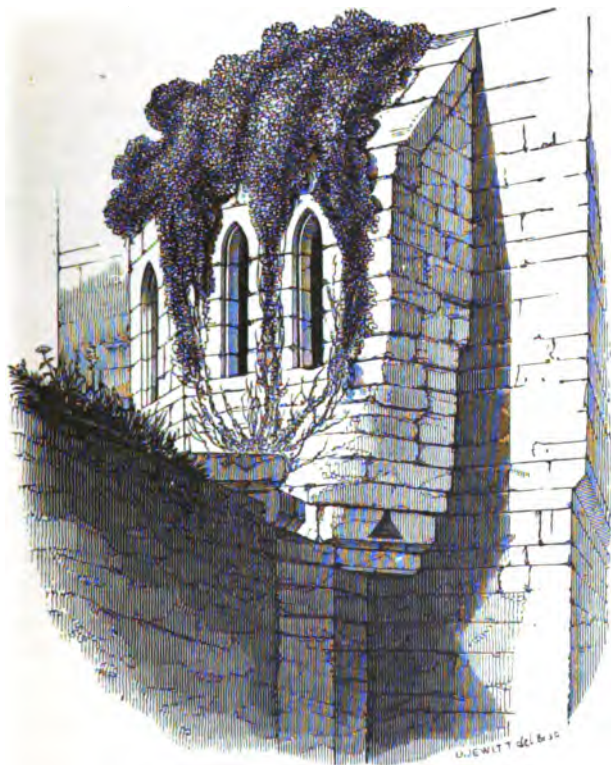


INTERIOR OF GATEHOUSE CHAPEL.]

the gateway.⁶³ Entered by a square-headed door in a sort of projecting porch with a slanting stone roof, it measures internally 24 feet in length by 14 feet 6 inches in width. There are two lancet windows in each of the side walls and an oblique one in the south-west corner. An eastern bay or oriel, 7 feet wide, and resting on the curtain-wall, is thrown out 4 feet beyond a heavy pointed arch, low down in the

⁶³ Mr. Hartshorne, Professor Freeman, and Mr. G. T. Clark, have confounded this small chapel in the Gatehouse with the chantry chapel of St. Mary, which was situated in the pele-yard. The numerous other writers who have been content to follow them blindly have fallen into the same error. Both chapels require also to be carefully distinguished from the chantry chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, which Stockdale informs us was 'in the Towne of Prudhoe', and of which the interesting 13th century doorway still remains.

south jamb of which is a rough piscina.⁶⁴ This stone-roofed oriel has two irregular lancets in its east, and a small one in its south east wall. About the end of the thirteenth century a second floor appears to have been placed over the chapel, which was then reduced to the height of only 8 feet. The outlines of two of the embrasures of the original battlement of the chapel may still be made out on the



ORIEL OF CHAPEL FROM THE COURTYARD.

south front of the gatehouse. One of these has been built up internally, while the other has, with a similar embrasure in the east wall, been converted into an aumry. This second floor was used as

⁶⁴ Under this arch a curious stone originally carved with four faces, but of which three have almost been obliterated, is placed on the apex-stone of a gable. There is a similar stone, of more modern appearance, in the porch of Ovingham Church. They were probably mere finials, but bear a strong resemblance to the four-faced images of Sviatovid or 'See-the-world,' the double Janus of the Slavs, of which there is a good example in the Academy of Sciences at Cracow.

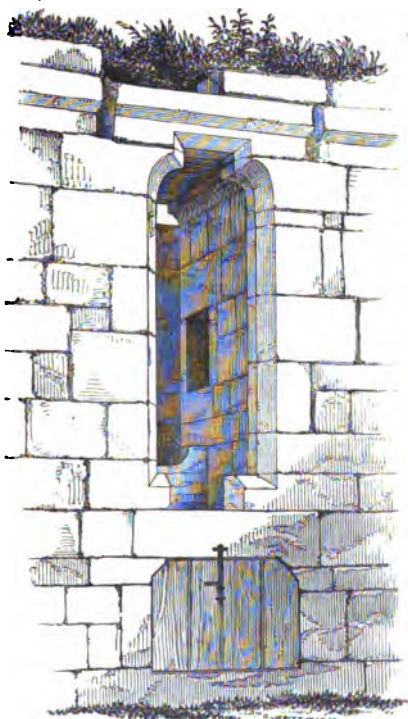
the Wardrobe. It has two fine cruciform loops in the south wall commanding the barbican ; a loop of this description in the south-west corner has been built up. There is a large square window in the north wall, and the plain head of a fire-place across the north-east angle. Both the chapel and the Wardrobe are approached by a break-neck stair, the lower portion of which is modern. Opposite the entrance to the chapel is a small doorway in the wall of the modern house, which, at any rate, occupies the place of the door which, Stockdale tells us, led out of the Inner Chamber. The stair continues to the battlements of the gatehouse. Except on the north side, the merlons of these battlements are pierced with small cross loops, while the embrasures have been provided with swing-shutters, several of the pivot-holes of which still remain. The fine octagonal chimney shaft of the fire-place in the Wardrobe is a prominent object in the north-east corner.

Attached to the north curtain immediately opposite the gatehouse was the Hall, apparently a building of the thirteenth century, about 54 feet long and 27 feet wide.⁶⁵ Traces of one of the windows are seen above a small oblong slit. The dwelling-house, which in Stockdale's time stretched from the Hall to the south curtain near the steps up to the chapel in the gatehouse, thus dividing the castle into an outer and an inner ward, was extended over the west end of the Hall in the beginning of the present century, and made to terminate in a great bow-window immediately above the northern slope. The kitchen, measuring about 36 feet by 20 feet, was built against the curtain at the east end of the Hall. The lower portion of one of the windows is left, but so low down as to clearly prove that the courtyard was intentionally filled up to its present level. This, besides making the ascent to the castle unnaturally steep and burying the foundations of the Hall and kitchen, has had the effect of pressing out the curtain-wall. A fence formerly ran across the outer ward between the kitchen and the north-east corner of the gatehouse, leaving the ground east of it to be used as a garden. The north-east portion of the curtain is of most massive construction. An oblique passage in it leads down to a latrine. The basement of

⁶⁵ The Hall is still clearly seen in the views of the castle from the north-west given by Grose and Hutchinson.

the small tower at the east end of the castle, with two cross-loops in its outer face, appears to be original. Just south of this, a few yards of the battlement of the curtain are still left, and nearer the gatehouse there is a very elaborate latrine entered by a good shouldered doorway of the Carnarvon type. A small oblong window between the latrine and the gatehouse, now built up, shows that there must have been some building against the curtain there.

Immediately west of the external stair of the gatehouse, a modern archway under the dwelling-house leads to the Inner Ward, which contains the Great Tower or keep. This archway replaces one that was considerably further north, with only a buttery between it and the Hall, and the old dwelling-house, the position of the eastern wall of which appears to have coincided with that of its successor, was not more than 20 feet wide. The two picturesque gables of the south end of the old house, shown in the Bucks' view, have been supplanted by a vile servile imitation of the gatehouse battlements. Under the modern archway a very early carved stone, with two grotesque heads, has been built into the south wall.⁶⁶ It was probably a corner-corbel.



LATRINE IN SOUTH CURTAIN.

The main building of the Great Tower, standing nearly in the centre of the Inner Ward, appears to have been almost square, 41 feet north and south by 44 feet east and west, and about 45 feet high to the parapet from the present ground level. A sort of forebuilding is, however, built on about 12 feet beyond the broad flanking pilasters of

⁶⁶ There is an early corbel representing the head of a wide-jawed monster on the first floor of the interior of the keep of Appleby Castle.

the east face, so as to make the north and south face about 56 feet long on the ground plan. Both the Bucks' view in 1728, and the more reliable drawing by Grimm in about 1786, seem to conclusively prove that this forebuilding did not rise to much more than half the height of the rest of the keep. The basement contains two chambers, about 14 feet long east and west. The northern of these, now a cellar, has a doorway of late character in its east wall, opening into the front hall of the modern house. Probably, however, the original entrance to the keep was in the east wall of the southern chamber. If so it has been destroyed to make a wider passage. A wheel stair, with steps 3 feet 4 inches wide, ascends in a sort of turret at the south end of this forebuilding. After passing a latrine-chamber in the east wall, we reach a square-headed door which opened into the first storey of the main keep, but at some height above the floor level. There was no direct communication between this stair and the first floor of the forebuilding. A few steps higher the stair ends at a door opening eastward of what appears to have been the level of the battlements of the forebuilding, as a slopsout in the north wall of the turret must have emptied on to its roof. The first floor of the forebuilding seems to have formed one chamber, remains of the early fire-place of which are left in the east wall. It was with this chamber that the gallery mentioned by Stockdale as leading out of the dwelling-house must have communicated.

The walls of the main building of the Great Tower are about 9 feet thick. There is no plinth visible, the same process of levelling having probably been adopted as in the outer ward. The south and west faces have each three flat and narrow pilasters, which after three 'set-offs' die into the wall below the parapet. The central pilaster of the south face is shorter; there was a chimney above it. The south-west corner turret is the only one that remains.

The interior of the keep is about 23 feet square. In the basement there is a semi-circular rubble arch in the north wall, which may possibly have been a window-recess as there is no sign of any other opening in the external walls. It has been refaced outside and turned into a doorway. The well appears to be buried like so much else of interest in the castle. The first floor, about 15 feet high, had a window of two fine shouldered lights, inserted in an original rubble-arched recess in the remaining fragment of the north

wall, probably about 1300. This wall was refaced at the same time, and has a good labelled string-course above the window. According to the views taken in last century, there was also a window of three lights to the left of the probable fire-place in the south wall.⁶⁷ From the north-west corner of this floor a mural stair rises in the thickness of the west and south walls in the direction of the probable south-east corner turret of the battlements. The lower part of this stair is a restoration, the original is vaulted with rubble. The keep had no vault, but the floors were supported on corbels from all sides. The second floor was entered from the mural stair in the west wall by a square-headed doorway. Above this are the marks of a comparatively modern gable. There were two windows of a single light like those of the first floor in separate recesses in the north wall.

In the curtain-wall south of the keep, the lower portions of two window-recesses of the Nursery, which Stockdale speaks of, may yet be traced. It appears very possible that the name may be derived from the children of Sir Thomas Percy being brought up in it. West of this is a triangular recess pierced with a cross-loop. The base of the large three-quarter round bastion that capped the south-west angle of the castle is now occupied by a conservatory. Within this angle there formerly stood a building called the Garner, which extended 30 feet against the west curtain, and consisted of a stable with a granary above. The north-west angle is also covered by a similar bastion, but the outer walls of this, known as the West Tower, still stand almost perfect. The basement and the merlons of the battlement are pierced with cross-loops. A building connected with this tower seems to have been carried as far east as a door-jamb at the head of the first flight of a stair that leads to the walk on the north curtain-wall. The stair is continued westward in the thickness of the curtain itself. In the buttress at the junction of this last with the West Tower is a small mural chamber, apparently a latrine. The

⁶⁷ A fragment of tracery belonging to a square-headed window of the middle of the 14th century, is now lying on the rockery on the site of the Hall. Possibly it came from this window in the keep, although the Bucks in their Prospect show a two-light and a three-light window in the south gables of the dwelling-house, which have been replaced, their relative positions transposed, by traceried windows of this kind, which may be genuine copies. Grimm in his view has a large window of four lights in what seems to be the wall of the Nursery on the courtyard side.

portion of the north curtain opposite the keep also contains two mural chambers. In the western of these is a latrine, approached by a short stair. The purpose served by the other is not so obvious, but its extremely low level again calls attention to the fact that the whole area within the castle walls was artificially raised at the time of the fortunate repairs and the unfortunate alterations made by the second Duke of Northumberland, in order to secure the monotonous symmetry then in vogue.

ADDENDA.

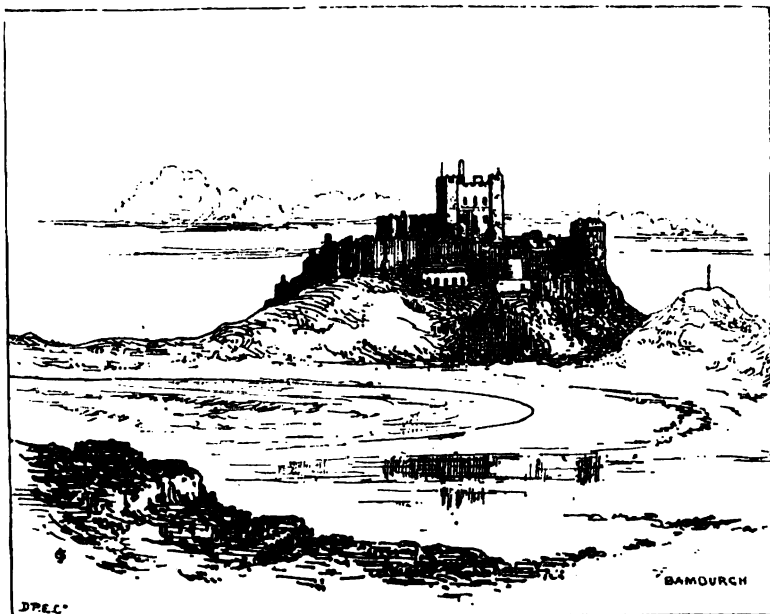
1300-1307.—‘Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, shows the King and Council that for time beyond memory his ancestors and himself have warded prisoners within their franchise of Redesdale in the prison of their castle of Hirbodelle, but it is so ‘abattu’ by the Scots, that prisoners can no longer be safely warded there, and prays the King to permit him to keep them in his castle of Prudhow in the same county till he can repair Hirbodelle.’

(Endorsed) ‘As these facts are attested before the Council, he has leave to imprison for 10 years in Prudhow castle.’—*Parliamentary Petitions*, No. 8,249; Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland, II. p. 523.

March 20, 1336.—‘The King permits Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, to keep the prisoners of Redesdale in his castle of Prudhow for 10 years, as the castle of Hirbodelle is insecure from its damages by the Scottish wars.’—*Pat. Roll*, 10 Ed. III. p. 1 m. 33; Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland, III. p. 220.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.

A NATURAL fortress from the day when it was first heaved through the earth's crust by some great volcanic convulsion, the castle-rock of Bamburgh may justly claim to be regarded as the actual birth-place of England. If it had not been for the ascendancy of the English kings, whose throne was firmly established on its basalt ramparts



BAMBURGH CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

during the most decisive period of our early history, we should find ourselves now living in a New Saxony, or, rather perhaps, if the Church that gave first conception to the idea of our national unity had spread from Canterbury instead of from Lindisfarne, in an insular Jutland.¹

¹ An account of Bamburgh Castle, by Mr. G. T. Clark, appeared in June, 1889, in the *Archæological Journal*, xlv. p. 93. In justice to his own great reputation, Mr. Clark should cancel the historical portion, pp. 93-104.

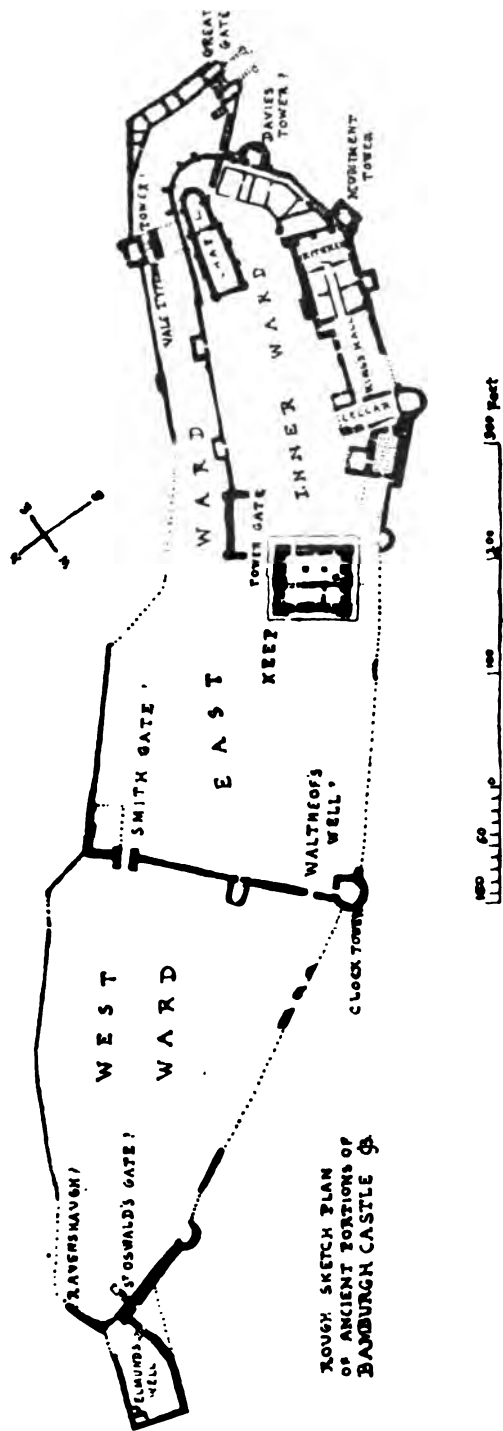
It is in connection with the rise of this English kingdom of Bernicia that Bamburgh, known to the Celts as Dinguaroy,² is first mentioned in our chronicles. The English chieftain Ida, we are told, began to reign there in 547, and he it was who 'timbered Bebbanburh that was erst with hedge betyned and thereafter with wall.'³ According to one account, Ida had in the first instance come over the sea with his father Eoppa, in sixty ships, and landed at Flamborough;⁴ but the general idea conveyed by these early traditions is that he merely united in one kingdom tribes that had previously been ruled by independent headmen. Theodric, one of his successors, was driven out into the island of Metcaut, called in English Lindisfarne, by the British prince Urien. With the accession of Ida's grandson Ethelfrith, at the end of the sixth century, the work of conquest and colonisation proceeded more rapidly. Ethelfrith is compared by Bede to a ravening wolf, and received from the Britons the surname of Flesaur or the Destroyer on account of the devastations he carried across the island as far as Chester-on-the-Dee. He gave, we are told, the stronghold of Dinguaroy to his wife Bebbha, and possibly, after his death at the battle of the Idle in 607, she may have held out in her great rock-fortress against the invasion of Edwin of Deira.⁵ Be this as it may, it is from Queen Bebbha that the name of Bamburgh is derived. One legend, indeed, represents her as living to receive the right hand and

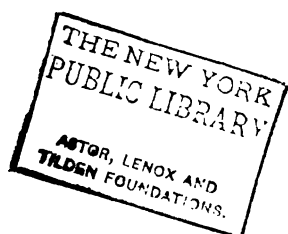
² 'Eadfered Flesaur . . . dedit uxoris suæ Dinguo Aroy, quæ vocatur Bebbab, et de nomine suæ uxoris suscepit nomen, id est, Bebbanburch.'—Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, App. In his History, § 61, Nennius, according to one MS. says that Ida 'unxit (sic) Dynguaroydi Guuerth-berneich.'—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 75.

³ This famous passage appears, after all, to be a mere twelfth-century interpolation of a Kentish scribe.—Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1865, Introd. p. xxiii.; p. 16, p. 17n. Mr. G. T. Clark is sorely perplexed about this hedge of Ida's. It could, of course, have only been a simple stockade, and Bamburgh then no doubt closely resembled what Magdala in Abyssinia was in the time of King Theodore. A Northumbrian countryman still deems it necessary to call a thorn hedge a 'whick (i.e. quick) hedge' by way of distinction.

⁴ *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* in Symeon of Durham, Rolls ed. ii. p. 374. Mr. Hodgson Hinde long ago pointed out that the 'Flamddwyn' of the Welsh bards was much more probably Hussa or Theodric than Ida.—*Hist. of Northd.* p. 69. The evidence, such as it is, seems to be in favour of Hussa being this 'Flamebearer.' Mr. Hodgson Hinde's criticism has been lost on Professor Freeman, who also falls into the old blunder of making Bebbha the wife of Ida.—*English Towns and Districts*, p. 327.

⁵ The statement in the Chronicle of Thomas Rudborne, a monk of Winchester (Leland, *Collectanea*, i. p. 411), that 'Paulinus 36 diebus cum Edwino mansit in Bamburg, intentus predicandi et baptizandi officio,' is evidently a mere stupid perversion of Bede's account (lib. ii. c. 14) of the thirty-six days' mission of Paulinus at Ad Gebrium (Yevering).





arm of her stepson King Oswald, which his brother Oswi had taken down from the stakes on which Penda of Mercia, the fierce champion of the northern gods, had displayed them after the battle of Maserfield in 642, and to treasure them up in her city in a silver shrine placed in a church dedicated to St. Peter.⁶ The right hand of Oswald, known even to the Celts as Oswald Fair-hand, had been specially blest by bishop Aidan. The king and the bishop had just sat down to dinner one Easter day, probably at Bamburgh, when the servant, to whom Oswald had entrusted the duty of distributing his alms to the poor, suddenly entered to say that the streets were full of starving beggars. The king not only immediately ordered the meat that was still untasted to be carried out to these, but also that the silver dish containing it should be broken up for their benefit. Struck by this signal act of charity, the bishop took hold of Oswald's right hand and blessed it, saying 'May this hand never perish.'

Twice was Bamburgh besieged by the heathen Penda. On the first occasion, having in vain endeavoured to take it by storm or reduce it by a close investment, he collected a quantity of planks, beams, wattles, and thatch from the villages he had destroyed in the neighbourhood, and piling them round the foot of the rock on the land side, waited till the wind blew from the south-west, when he set the mass on fire in the hope of burning down the city. The flames and smoke rising high above the walls were seen by bishop Aidan in his hermitage on Farne Island, two miles away. Stretching up his hands to heaven, Aidan is said to have cried, 'See, Lord, what great evil Penda doeth !' whereupon the wind shifting right round, drove the flames back on the Mercian host, who broke up their camp in despair.⁸ Nevertheless, after Aidan's death in 651, Penda burnt down the village of Bamburgh and the wooden church which Aidan had built, probably on the site of the present parish church.⁹

⁶ 'Bebbe vero regina brachia illius sustulit, et in techa argentea una cum sacris manibus ossibus et nervis, carne integra et incorrupta et venis integerrimis in Bebburg civitate reclusit.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. xlvii. Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. i.) p. 373.

⁷ 'Nunquam inveterascit hæc manus.'—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 6.

⁸ 'Qui cum ventis ferentibus globos ignis, ac fumum supra muros urbis exaltari conspiceret, fertur elevatis ad cælum oculis manibusque, cum lacrymis dixisse: 'Vide Domine, quanta mala facit Penda,' &c.'—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 16. The expression 'muros urbis' deserves attention; Ida's hedge had already been superseded by the stone wall.

⁹ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 17.

It was to the Royal City, as Bamburgh was called *par excellence*, that St. Cuthbert, in his prophetic anxiety for the fate of King Egfrid, urged Queen Irminburga to hasten from Carlisle in 685.¹⁰ The church and village which had been rebuilt were again burnt down,¹¹ probably in February 706, when King Eadulf was besieging the powerful ealdorman Bertfrid, who, having revolted against his usurped authority, held the city for the late king Aldfrid's young son Osred. Finding himself hard pressed, Bertfrid, as he afterwards declared, vowed that in case of his resistance proving victorious he would render obedience to the Church of Rome, especially in the question of the restitution of Wilfrid to his bishopric; and Eadulf was soon afterwards defeated and slain.¹²

In 750, Offa son of Aldfrid having, it would seem, unsuccessfully claimed the Northumbrian throne, took sanctuary in Lindisfarne. In consequence of this King Eadbert laid siege to the basilica there, and dragged Kynewulf the bishop a prisoner to Bamburgh, though he released him before his own death, which happened eight years later.¹³ It seems possible that Eadbert at this time removed the head of St. Oswald from Lindisfarne to Bamburgh—possible, that is to say, if there is any foundation in fact for a curious legend related on the high authority of Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx. According to this, many years after the burial of Oswald, St. Cuthbert appeared to a certain old man who was praying at his shrine at Lindisfarne, and said, 'Go unto Bamburgh that thou mayest bring me the head of St. Oswald which is now negligently kept in the church there, in order that it may rest in the same shrine as my body. For the successors of King Oswi un-

¹⁰ 'Et Regiam Civitatem citissime introcas ne forte occisus sit rex.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. xxvii.; ed. Stevenson, ii. p. 102.

¹¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 17.

¹² 'Nam quando in urbe, quæ Bebbanburg dicitur, obsessi, et undique circumcincti hostili manu in angustiaque rupis lapideæ mansimus; inito consilio inter nos, si Deus nostro regali puero Regnum patris sui concessit, quæ mandavit Sancta Apostolica auctoritas de S. Wilfrido Episcopo, adimplere Deo spopondimus: et statim post vota, mutatis animis inimicorum, concito cursu omnes cum juramento in amicitiam nostram conversi sunt. Apertis januis de angustia liberati sumus, fugatis inimicis nostris Regnum accepimus.'—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, lviii.; Gale, *Scriptores*, p. 86.

¹³ 'Anno DCCCL. Eadberht rex Kyniulfum episcopum in urbem Bebban captivum adduxerat, basilicamque beati Petri obsidere fecit in Lindisfarne.'—Symeon Dun. *Historia Regum*, § 41; Rolls ed. ii. p. 39. 'Donec placato rege de captione relaxatus Cynewulf ad suam rediret ecclesiam.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* lib. II. cap. iii.; Rolls ed. i. p. 48. A vulgar error keeps Kyniulf a prisoner of Bamburgh for thirty years.

justly removed it to Bamburgh from this my monastery of Lindisfarne. All they who, by the theft of such a treasure, profaned my sanctuary are now dead, and that which God entrusted to be buried in a cemetery under my protection ought not to be kept from me by human violence.' For a long time the man who received these orders from St. Cuthbert found no opportunity for carrying them out. At last he proceeded to Bamburgh on St. Oswald's day, and found the king's head, wrapt in cloth, placed above the altar for the veneration of the faithful. The crowd of pilgrims, however, forced him to defer the execution of his plans till the following morning. He then lingered behind after mass till everyone had left the church except the one door-keeper of that monastery. This official kept a very diligent watch on his movements. What he did therefore was to drop his belt and gloves near the altar, and then hastened out of the church to mount the horse his servant had brought to the end of the cemetery. Despatching this servant on an errand, he turned to the door-keeper, whose curiosity had brought him out so far, saying, 'Just take hold of the horse, my good fellow, and let me get my belt and gloves which I left in the church.' Before the door-keeper could say nay, he was off to the altar, had the head of St. Oswald under his arm, and coming out with the gloves and belt ostentatiously displayed to allay suspicion, rode safely off with his sacred booty to Lindisfarne, and afterwards had the satisfaction to learn that the door-keeper carefully locked the church up without ever looking inside again.¹⁴

Bamburgh afforded a temporary refuge to Alcred king of Northumberland in 774, before his final exile in Pictland. An early chronicle, in relating this, adds by way of gloss:—'Bebba is a most strongly fortified city, not very large, being of the size of two or three fields, having one entrance hollowed out of the rock and raised in steps after a marvellous fashion. On the top of the hill it has a church of extremely beautiful workmanship, in which is a shrine rich and costly, that contains, wrapt in a pall, the right hand of St. Oswald the king still incorrupt, as is related by Bede the historian of this nation. To

¹⁴ *Ibid.* cap. xlix. p. 375. The '*solus monasterii illius ædituus*' kept following the stranger '*per angulorum basilicæ diversoria*.' The latter deposited his belt and gloves '*infra sedile ecclesiæ*,' and then '*circa cimiterii fines equum straturus longius excessit*.'

the west on the highest point of the city itself there is a spring of water, sweet to the taste and most pure to the sight, that has been excavated with astonishing labour.¹⁵

It is remarkable that Bamburgh appears to have successfully held out against the attacks of the Danes who destroyed Lindisfarne and Tynemouth in 875. It fell, however, before the arms of Athelstan in 926, when Aldred the son of Eadulf was forced to flee from his royal city.¹⁶ The kingdom of Northumberland dragged on a nominal existence for another quarter of a century, and on the sceptre finally departing, Bamburgh became the residence of a line of Earls. At last, in 993, the Danes, under Justin and Guthmund, did break into the fortress.¹⁷ They seem to have sacked but not destroyed it,¹⁸ as six years later Waltheof, the aged Earl of the Northumbrians shut himself up there during the invasion of Malcolm, son of Kenneth of Scotland.¹⁹ Again in the next century, while Malcolm Caenmor was ravaging Cleveland in 1070, Earl Gospatric led a foray into Cumber-

¹⁵ 'Bebba vero civitas urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. Habet in summitate montis ecclesiam præpulchre factam, in qua est scrinium speciosum et preciosum. In quo involuta pallio jacet dextera manus sancti Oswaldi regis incorrupta, sicut narrat Beda historiographus hujus gentis. Est in occidente et in summitate ipsius civitatis fons miro cavatus opere, dulcis ad potandum et purissimus ad videndum.'—Symeon Dunelm. *Historia Regum*, § 48; Rolls ed. ii. p. 45.

¹⁶ 'Aldredum quoque filium Eadulfi de regia urbe quæ lingua Anglorum Bebbanbirig nominatur, expulit.'—Flor. Wigorn. *Chronicon*, sub ann. 926. Ethelwerd's *Chronicle*, lib. iv. c. 4, has under 912, 'Obiit Athulf in Northymbriis oris, qui tum præerat actori oppidi Bebbanburgh conducti.'—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 520. This seems to record the death of Eadulf and to imply that he held the supreme command of Bamburgh; but it perhaps will hardly bear the interpretation that this was the result of a compromise with the Danes. The son of Eadulf had chosen Edward the Elder for father and lord in 924, and 'Ealdred Kadulfing from Bebbanbyrig' was one of the princes who acknowledged the suzerainty of Athelstan at 'Eamot' (probably on the Eamont, near Dacre, see Will. Malm.) on the 12th of July, 926.—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 110, 111.

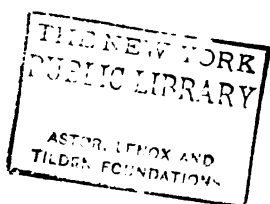
¹⁷ 'Anno DCCCXCIII. Hoc anno prædictus exercitus Danorum Bebbanburh infregit, et omnia quæ in ea sunt reperta secum asportavit.'—Symeon Dunelm. *Hist. Regum*, § 116; Rolls ed. ii. p. 135. '993. Her on thissum gearæ was Bæbban burh to brocon and mycel here huthe theær ge numen.'—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 133.

¹⁸ The chronicle of Marianus Scotus (Leland, *Collect.* ii. p. 246) has 'Anno D. 1015. Danorum exercitus Bebbanburg infregit, et omnia, quæ in ea sunt reperta, secum asportaverunt.' The language shows this to be the same event as the sack of 993 with a wrong date.

¹⁹ 'Waltheof qui comes fuerat Northamhymbrorum sese in Bebbanburc incluserat. Fuerat enim nimis senectutis, ideoque in hostes nihil virtutis facere poterat.'—*De Obsessione Dunelmi*, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. i.) p. 215. The date there given is 969, but see Hodgson Hinde's account of the 'Saxon Earls of Northumberland,' *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. p. 130.



RELIQUARY, WITH BONE OF ST. OSWALD'S RIGHT ARM,
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. URMUS, SOLEURE.
(See page 228.)



land, at that time Scottish territory, and returned in triumph with great booty to Bamburgh. He continued also to harass the enemy by frequent sallies from the castle.²⁰

The right arm of St. Oswald had, however, been stolen from its shrine in the middle of the eleventh century by an enterprising monk of Peterborough named Winegot,²¹ who having made himself master of the ins and outs of the ruined church, was able to find a favourable opportunity for his purpose, owing to the little interest with which the cult of St. Oswald had come to be regarded. In alluding to this pious theft, Reginald of Durham breaks out into a pathetic lament over the fallen fortunes of Bamburgh, which he probably translated from some English poem. 'The city,' he says, 'renowned formerly for the magnificent splendour of her high estate, has in these latter days been burdened with tribute and reduced to the condition of a handmaiden. She who was once the mistress of the cities of Britain has exchanged the glories of her ancient sabbaths for shame and desolation. The crowds that flocked to her festivals are now represented by a few herds-

²⁰ 'Peracta cæde et incendio cum magna præda revertitur, seque cum sociis in munitionem Babbanburch firmissimam conclusit. Ex qua sæpius prorumpens, vires hostium debilitavit.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Reg.* § 156; Rolls ed. ii. p. 191.

²¹ 'Winegotus apportavit brachium sancti Oswaldi de Bebeburch.'—Hugo Candidus, *Cænob. Burg. Hist.* ed. Sparke, (*Hist. Anglic. Script. Var.*) p. 44. This was in or about the time of Abbot Leofric, during whose rule Egelric bishop of Durham returned as a monk to Peterburgh in 1056—Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 1686, supplement, p. 251. 'Monachus quidam de Burch cenobio, quod quondam Middilham dicebatur, qui in partibus illis advenerat, spiritum audaciæ concipiendi in proximo parturire furtum sacrilegii non timebat. Aditus ergo et exitus viarum ecclesiæ quæ in Bebburgh fuerat diutius exploravit; sed tandem, data opportunitate, brachium dextrum de techa extrahens secum clanculo asportavit, et eam in ecclesia sua cum honore et gloria collocavit.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi* cap. xlviii.; Rolls Series (Symeon of Durham i.), 1882, edited by Thomas Arnold, M.A. p. 374. After the very clear statements that the left arm of St. Oswald was at Gloucester (p. 370) and the right arm at Peterborough, the editor in a note on p. 381 describes cap. lii. liii. liv., which he has mangled the text by leaving out, as containing a minute account of the hand and arm of St. Oswald preserved at Durham. The MSS. of the *Vita S. Oswaldi* used, are said, Introd. p. xix., to be MS. Fairfax VI. Bodl. Lib. and MS. Harl. 4853 B.M. The last and most accessible of these proves to be *les Mémoires du Maréchal de Fleurange*, the *Vita S. Oswaldi* really being in Harl. MS. 4843, but there is not a single syllable about a hand or arm of the saint being at Durham in any of the three unprinted chapters. The relic-mongers of the Middle Ages did not credit their clients with much intelligence, but it may be doubted whether any of them would have dared to ascribe three arms to one saint in the same volume. On the general history of the relics of St. Oswald, see *Acta Sanctorum*, August II. pp. 87-90. The account in the false Ingulf that already in 1018 the prior of Peterborough fled to Ely from the Danes with the arm of St. Oswald, is of course valueless, though it is difficult to understand how the Danes came to overlook the arm with its shrine in their sack of Bamburgh in 993.

men. The pleasures her dignity afforded us are past and gone."²³ Swartebrand, a venerable monk of Durham, who died at the close of the century, was the last of the community who could remember having seen the right hand and arm of the royal martyr in his Bernician capital.²⁴

From the time of the Norman Conquest the office of porter of the castle-gate of Bamburgh was hereditary in the family of a certain Canute;²⁵ and from some time in the reign of the Conqueror the lands of Callale and Yetlington were held by a tenure that comprised the duty of sending a cart to Bamburgh with the trunk of a tree for the king's hearth every other day between Whitsuntide and Lammass.²⁶ The English owners of Eslington, Mousen, Beadnell, and Roddam with the three Middletons, were also compelled to cart logs to the castle.²⁶ The barony of West Chevington near Warkworth, which

²³ 'Civitas ista, quæ quondam præ suæ nobilitatis pompa enituit gloriosa, his diebus novissimis de ingenua et libera facta est sub tributis serviens et ancilla. Unde sicut cultus deperit illius honoris, sic et antiquæ nomen honorificum decedit dignitatis; et quæ tunc domina fuerat civitatum Britonensium, jam laudis antiquæ sabbatum in lamentabile desolationis commutavit opprobrium, dies festos cultus antiqui in raricolone tugurium, honoris vero gaudium pæne transformavit in nichilum.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. xlviii. Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. i.) p. 374. This description cannot be reconciled with the state of Bamburgh in 1165, the date of the compilation of this hagiography (p. 382), and was no doubt supplied from the same poetical old English book at York from which the particulars of St. Oswald's appearance are translated in cap. i. p. 378.

²⁴ 'Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ monachus venerandæ canitiei et multæ simplicitatis, vocabulo Swartebrandus, qui nuper, episcopatum Willelmo administrante, defunctus est, sæpius se vidisse attestatus est.'—Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 2; Rolls ed. i. p. 20. Professor Freeman has kept the hand of St. Oswald at Bamburgh till the siege of 1095, or even till after the building of the castle chapel in the following century.—*Reign of William Rufus*, ii. pp. 49, 50.

²⁵ 'Robertus Janitor de Bamburg tenet in capite de domino Rege dimidium carucatam terre in burgo de Bamburg per servicium iij. viij. per annum et antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servicium post conquestum Angliæ.'—*Testa de Nevill*; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 236. 'Robertus le Port tenet dim. caruc. terre per serjant. custodiendi januam castri.'—*Verdicta de com. Northumbrie*, 1219; *ibid.* III. i. p. 228. 'Et in liberatione consueta Roberto Portario de Baemburg lxs. et xd.' *Pipe Roll*, 5 Hen. iii.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 124. This payment first occurs as made to 'Johanni filio Canuti' in 1158 and 1159, 'and from that time to 1220 it is made regularly to John Canute, which was probably the name of a succession of persons who filled the office of porter of Bamborough; as, from this year to the end of the reign of Henry the Third, it occurs as paid to persons filling the office of *Porter*, or of the *King's Porter* there: whose wages in 21 Henry III. are mentioned as amounting to 2d. a day, which comes exactly to £3 0s. 3d. in the year.'—*Ibid.* III. iii. p. 124a.

²⁶ 'Gilbertus de Calveleya tenet in capite de dno. Rege duas villas . . . et inveniet unam caretam cum uno trunco ad castellum de Bamburgh . . . omnes vero antecessores sui tenuerunt prefatas villas post tempus Regis Willelmi Bastardi.'—*Testa de Nevill*; *ibid.* i. III. p. 236.

²⁷ *Ibid.* III. i. pp. 223, 237. The owner of Mousen had to cart fifteen logs in the year, *ibid.* p. 95. Liulf, son of Liulf, who held Roddam and the Middletons, was fined the large sum of £4 15s. 0d. in 1170 'quia non advexit ligna ad faciendum rogam Regis de Baenburg.'—*Pipe Roll*, 16 Hen. II.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 17.

appears to have been held from the Conquest by the Morwick family, paid the annual sum of 13s. 4d. towards the castle-ward of Bamburgh.²⁷

In the spring of 1095 Robert of Mowbray, the third Norman Earl of Northumberland, refused to appear at the court of William Rufus to answer the charge of having, in company with his nephew Morel, violently plundered four large vessels, called *canards* that had arrived from Norway. This refusal was construed into a definite act of rebellion, which the Red King marched north to chastise. Tyne-mouth, Newcastle, and Morpeth fell before the royal arms. The Earl himself took refuge in Bamburgh, then so strongly fortified as to be pronounced impregnable. With him were his young bride Matilda de Aquila, and Morel, who was sheriff of Northumberland,²⁸ and who had slain Malcolm of Scotland on the banks of the Aln two years previously. Finding it impossible to carry the castle by assault the king built in front of it a castle of wood, to which he gave the name of *Malvoisin*, or Evil Neighbour. This he filled with soldiers, arms, and provisions for the purpose of defending the country and overawing the rebels.²⁹ He compelled the leaders of his army and his other subjects to carry on the work incessantly. Dismayed at the progress it made, Mowbray called loudly from the ramparts of Bamburgh to those among the labourers who had sworn to join his rising not to be forgetful of their oath, addressing each by name. These despairing

²⁷ *Compotus Johannis de Esselyngton*; Q.R. Misc.: Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh, 5-6 Ed. ii. †† P.R.O.

²⁸ 'Signum Morealis vicecomitis.'—Charter in *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres.*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 9, p. xxii. The Peterborough Chronicle (ed. Earle, p. 232) ann. 1095, calls Moreal explicitly 'stiward.' This is interesting, as the sheriff (*vicecomes*) or 'scir-gerefa' was the steward of the county, the fundamental, universal, and permanent idea of the 'gerefa' being stewardship.—Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 8vo, 1875, i. p. 113; p. 83n.

²⁹ 'Munitissimum castrum, quod Babbenburg dicitur, obsederunt. Et quoniam illa munitio inexpugnabilis erat, quia inaccessibilis videbarur propter paludes et aquas, et alia quedam itinerantibus contraria, quibus ambiebatur, rex novam munitionem ad defensionem provinciae, et coartationem hostium construxit, et militibus, armis ac victualibus implevit.'—Orderici Vitalis *Hist. Ecol.* Lib. viii. cap. xxi. (Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, vol. 188). At the present day, at any rate, *waters and marshes* do not constitute the principal defences of Bamburgh. It is Roger of Wendover, ii. 46, who tells us that the Malvoisin was 'castellum ligneum.' A probably genuine charter of Edgar, claiming to be King of Scots, to the bishop and monks of Durham, is stated in a rider to have been confirmed in the churchyard of Norham 'eo anno quo Rex Willelmus filius magni Regis Willemi fecit novum Castellum ante Bebbanburghe super Robertum Comitem Northanhymbrorum.'—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 2, VII.; p. 378. According to Gaimar, ll. 6161-6162, Rufus appears to have suffered from the sallies of the garrison:—

'Li reis grant piece i demorad
E maint assaut i endurad.'

taunts and the fear and shame they naturally engendered, contributed no little to the amusement of Rufus and those really loyal to him.³⁰ Wearied out at last by the protracted siege, the king returned to the south of England, leaving Bamburgh to be watched by the garrison of Malvoisin.

Provisions were beginning to run short in the castle, and Mowbray's spirits were being affected by the close blockade, when a secret message reached him from the warders of Newcastle promising to throw open the gates if he appeared suddenly before it.³¹ Only too delighted at this prospect of retrieving his fortunes, he slipped out of the postern one night with thirty followers, and embarking in a ship, steered by a single pilot, was carried by a favourable wind down the coast to Tynemouth,³² where the monks were no doubt still sensible

³⁰ 'Dum rex in armis cum agminibus suis ad bellum promptus constaret, et chiliarchos ac centuriones, aliosque procures Albionis, cum subditis sibi plebibus, operi novæ munitioris indesinenter insistere compelleret, Rodbertus de propugnaculis suis contrarium sibi opus mæstus conspiciebat, et complices suæ alta voce nominatim compellebat, ac ut iurandum de proditionis societate conservarent, palam commonebat. Rex autem, cum fidelibus suis hæc audiens, ridebat, et conscia reatus publicati mens conscios et participes timore et verecundia torquebat.'—Orderici Vitalis *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. viii. cap. xxi. This seems to prove that the Malvoisin must have been very close to the castle. Earl Robert's incriminating reproaches, however stentorian his voice, could not have reached the uneven field to the south of the village, popularly pointed out as the site of the Malvoisin because it is now called the Meisen. Sir David Smith considered 'the Moisin more like a quarry' and adds 'although Mr. Senhouse of Cumberland found there were evident marks of fortification, I could not discover them.'—*Collections relating to Castles and Camps*, Alnwick Castle MSS. Indeed it would appear in the first instance more probable that if there was any ancient building at the *Meisen*, it was the hospital or *Maison Dieu* of St. Mary Magdalen, though documentary evidence hardly tallies with this site.

³¹ 'Comiti Rotberto vigiles Novi Castellii promissere in id se permissuros illum intrare, si veniret occulte.'—Flor. Wigorn. Professor Freeman (*William Rufus*, ii. p. 52) says, without giving any authority, 'The garrison of the New Castle, doubtless not without the knowledge of the garrison of the *Malvoisin*, sent a false message to Robert, saying that, if he came thither privily, he would be received into the castle,' and has in the margin 'Robert entrapped by a false message.' The only apparent evidence for the message being a fraud is the passage in the 14th century *Scalachronica* (Maitland Club, 1836, p. 22), 'Cesti Morel reioy qe ceo estoit sa couyne.' If Professor Freeman accepts this, he must fain also accept the 'pierce-eye' version of the death of Malcolm Caenmor at Alnwick, as it is derived from the self-same source. The fact is that Professor Freeman altogether fails to distinguish between the 'vigiles' of Newcastle who sent the message to the Earl and the 'custodes' who received the warning from those of the Malvoisin of his escape.

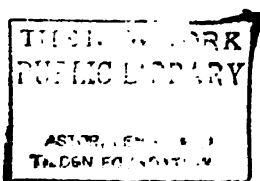
³² 'Mes el chastel out poi vitaille.
Quant li quens veit de co la faille,
Deurs la mer, par la posterne,
Vint a la nef que vns hom gouerne,
Dedenz entra od poi de gent,
Si se mist en mer, mult out bon vent,
A Tinemue en est alez.'

—Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, ll. 6163-6169, Rolls ed. i. p. 263.



BAMBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE S.E.

Drawn by S. H. Grimm, circa 1786.



of the favours he had bestowed on their house. The garrison of the Malvoisin, hearing of the Earl's escape, set out in pursuit of him themselves, and warned the captains of Newcastle.³³ On the Sunday, Mowbray made his attempt to enter Newcastle, but the plot had been discovered,³⁴ and he was fortunate in being able to make his way back to Tynemouth.³⁵ After a gallant defence of that monastery for two days, he was taken³⁶ and carried a prisoner to Durham.³⁷ Nevertheless Bamburgh continued to hold out under the brave Countess of Northumberland and the sheriff until the November, when the king, having returned from Wales, ordered Mowbray to be led before the castle, with the menace that both his eyes should be gouged out unless it instantly submitted. Naturally a wife and a nephew chose the latter alternative.³⁸

From about this time, and possibly in consequence of some incident

The Peterborough Chronicle confirms this account:—‘Tha sona æft’ tham the se cyng wæs suth afaren. feorde se eorl aare nihte ut of Bebbaburh towards Tine muthan.’ It is Florence who gives the number of the earl's followers:—‘quadam nocte cum xxx. militibus . . . exivit.’ Professor Freeman has altogether neglected Gaimar, whose notices of northern affairs are of the greatest value.

³³ ‘Equites qui castellum custodiebant illum insequentes, ejus exitum custodibus Novi Castelli per nuntios intimaverunt.’—Flor. Wigorn. This of itself should be enough to prove that neither did Mowbray set out from Bamburgh in the direction of Newcastle, nor did the knights from the Malvoisin take that road in their pursuit of him. They probably rode down the coast.

³⁴ ‘Die dominica tentavit peragere cepta, sed nequivit deprehensus enim erat.’—Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* English Historical Society's Publications.

³⁵ ‘Comes . . . malis offenso sibi rege circumvallatus, dum circumfuso quaquaversum hoste procedendi et redeundi via obstruitur, Tinemutham pro loci firmitate ingreditur.’—Sym. Dun. Rolls ed. ii. p. 346, *De Miraculis et Translationibus*, cap. xiii. The details of the fortification and defence of Tynemouth belong rather to the history of that castle.

³⁶ ‘Biduo obsidione facta.’—*Ibid.* This account was almost contemporary, being written at Durham between 1100 and 1115; see *ibid.* p. 338*n.* Florence, an inferior authority, says Mowbray was taken ‘sexto die obsessionis,’ probably an error for ‘secundo die.’ Symeon in his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, cap. iv. (Rolls ed. i. p. 125), also relates how ‘comes . . . in eadem ecclesia (Tinemuthe) quam sancto Cuthberto abstulit, res omnes et honorem cum sui corporis libertate amisit,’ and again in his *Historia Regum*, § 201 (Rolls ed. ii. p. 262) says ‘captus comes in loco quem Sancto Cuthberto abstulerat,’ yet Professor Freeman declares that ‘if any one chooses to move the site of Robert's resistance and capture from Tynemouth to some unknown spot, there is only the statement of Florence against him.’—*William Rufus*, ii. p. 610.

³⁷ ‘Propter inflictā sibi vulnera in feretro delatus . . . Dunelmum.’—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Regum*, § 201.

³⁸ ‘Tha het he niman thone eorl Rotbeard of Northhymbran and to Bæbbanburh lædan . . . and ægther eage ut adon . . . buton tha the thær inne wæron thone castel agyfan woldan. Hine heoldan his wif . . . and Moreal se wæs stiward and eac his mæg. Thurh this wearþ se castel agyfen.’—*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1095; Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 232.

in the campaign, a carucate of land in Bamburgh was held by the serjeantry of making distrains for debts due to the king and for carrying his letters between the Tweed and the Coquet.³⁹

Under Henry I., who gave the church of St. Oswald that was probably in the castle, with that of St. Aidan in the village, to the Austin canons at Nostell,⁴⁰ the castle was maintained in a good state of defence. Odard, sheriff of Northumberland,⁴¹ accounts, in 1131, for 35s. paid to Osbert the master-mason of Bamburgh, and for 7d. expended in re-making the gate of the castle.⁴²

On the accession of Stephen, when David of Scotland invaded England in the interest of the Empress Matilda, Bamburgh was the only place of strength on the Border that offered a successful resistance.⁴³ The loyalty of its constable Eustace fitz John, lord of Alnwick, was open to suspicion in February, 1138, and King Stephen relieved him of the charge.⁴⁴ Eustace openly joined David the following summer. As they were passing Bamburgh on their way to the Battle

³⁹ 'Willelmus filius Odonis tenet in capite de domino Rege unam carucatam terre cum pertinentiis in Bamburghe per servicium serjantii ut faciat districtiones pro debitis domini Regis et ut portet brevia domini Regis inter Tueda et Coket. Et omnes antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servicium post tempus Willelmi Regis Ruffi.'—Testa de Nevill, Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 236.

⁴⁰ 'Præterea confirmo donum quod feci predictæ ecclesiæ, et canonicis ejusdem loci [Nostell]; videlicet, ecclesias Sancti Oswaldi, et Aidani de Baenburch sicut Algarus presbiter unquam eas melius tenuit.'—Charter of Henry I. (1121-1129) in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi. p. 92.

⁴¹ He appears as 'Odardus vicecomes Northymbrensiū' at the great council of notables held at Durham on 13th April, 1121.—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Regum*, § 201, Rolls ed. ii. p. 261. Mr. J. H. Round in the *Genealogist*, January, 1888, makes him 'son of Ligulf of Bebbanburch, a grandson of Eadwif.' Henry I., in 1133, confirmed William, son of Udard of Baenburgh in all the lands his father had held.—Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters, No. 10; Pipe Roll Soc. Publ. 10, *Ancient Charters*, p. 33. The barony of Stamford which Henry I. granted to this family (see above p. 168) paid 40s. a year towards the castle-ward of Bamburgh; the barony of Bradford, another grant of the same king contributed 18s. 4d.—*Comptus Johannis de Esselyngton* Q.R. Misc: Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh, 5-6 Ed. II., §§.

⁴² 'Et in liberatione Osberti cementarii de Baenburgh xxxv s. . . . Et in porta castelli de Baenburgh reficienda vij d.'—*Pipe Roll*, Hen. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 1. 'Osbertus cementarius' can scarcely have been the same as 'Osbertus colutarius (?)' who built the priory of Brinkburn.—MS. copy of the *Brinkburn Chartulary* in Library of Soc. Antiq. Newcastle.

⁴³ 'Bahanburch minime habere potuit.'—Ric. Hagustald. *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph.*, &c. iii.) p. 145. 'Citius munitiones Cumberlandiæ et Northimbricæ cum populis adjacentibus obtinuit usque Dunelmum, præter Bahanburch.'—Joh. Hagustald. *Historia* § 3, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. ii.) p. 287.

⁴⁴ 'Notæ autem factæ sunt insidiæ regi Stephano, qui parans reditum iratus coegit Eustachium reconsignare in manu sua munitionem de Bahanburch.'—Joh. Hagustald. *Historia* § 4, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. ii.) p. 291.

of the Standard, certain young men of the garrison began to jeer at the Scots from behind a wall they had erected in front of the castle. Their trust in this protection proved to be misplaced, since the Scots broke in and slew nearly a hundred of them.⁴⁵

By the provisions of the Treaty of Durham, concluded on the 10th of April, 1139, Bamburgh, like Newcastle,⁴⁶ seems to have been excepted from the earldom of Northumberland then granted by Stephen to David's son Henry, an equivalent for these castles being promised him in the south of England. Both castles were in the sequel made over to Earl Henry. It was at Bamburgh that he gave a charter to the monks of Tynemouth freeing the peasants of their demesnes from the obligation of assisting at the building of Newcastle or any of his other castles. There were at Bamburgh with the Earl, at this time, his constable Gilbert de Umfrerville, Gervase Ridell his sewer, and Ethelwald bishop of Carlisle.⁴⁷

It is expressly recorded that in 1157 Henry II. recovered possession of Bamburgh at the same time as the rest of the northern counties,⁴⁸ and in the Pipe Roll of the following year the payment of 60s. 10d. as the accustomed wage of John, son of Canute, porter of Bamburgh, is duly entered.⁴⁹ In 1164 there is a solitary charge of £4 for the erection of the tower or keep of Bamburgh.⁵⁰ Four years later the Sheriff accounts for £30 laid out on the works of the castle.⁵¹ The

⁴⁵ 'Profecti sunt itaque per Bahanburch. Et juvenes ejusdem loci temere præsumentes de munitione valli quod extruxerant ante castrum, conviciis exagitant Scotos pertranseuntes. Applicuerunt se illico Scotti animo concitati ad vallum diruendum, et citius intus proruentes quotquot apprehenderunt occiderunt.'—*Ibid.* § 5, p. 292. '(David) cum maxima parte exercitus ad oppidum, quod Bahanburg dicitur, profectus est. Ubi ante castrum, quodam vallo capto, fere centum homines interemit,'—Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph. &c.* iii.) p. 158.

⁴⁶ 'Exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello et Bahanburg.'—*Ibid.* p. 177.

⁴⁷ 'Testibus Archewaldo Episcopo Carliol.; Hugone de Morevill; Gaspatrio Com.; Gervasio Ridell; Gilberto de Umfravill; Willelmo de Somervill; Ada Vicecomiti, apud Bamburg.'—Landsdowne MS. No. 863, fo. 79 B.M.; Gibson, *Tynemouth* ii. App. p. xviii. No. XXIV. By 'Archewald' is meant Ethelwald, alias Aldulf, the first bishop of Carlisle, who had been connected with Bamburgh as prior of St. Oswald's at Nostell.

⁴⁸ 'MCLVII. Henricus rex Anglorum transfretavit in Angliam, et Melchomus rex Scottorum reddidit ei civitatem Karluil, castrum Baenburg, Novum Castrum super Tinam, et comitatum Lodonensem.'—Radulf. de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, Rolls ed. i. p. 302.

⁴⁹ *Pipe Roll* 4 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 2.

⁵⁰ 'Et in operatione turris de Baenburg iiiij li. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 10 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 7.

⁵¹ 'Et in operatione castelli de Baenburc xxx li. de brevi Ricardi de Luci et per visum Roberti de Stutevill.'—*Pipe Roll* 14 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 11.

insignificance of these amounts is probably due to the fact that the labour and materials were nearly all furnished by the Crown tenants. Indeed, the thane of Hepple, William son of Waltheof, is fined five marks in 1170 for refusing to lend assistance.⁵² It was fortunate that these additions to the defences of the castle were completed by the time of the invasion of William the Lion. In 1174 he despatched in the night a number of knights from his camp before Wark-on-Tweed, with the apparent design of surprising Bamburgh; but the sun having risen by the time they reached Belford, they seem to have abandoned the enterprise.⁵³ In 1183 the castle and castlegate were repaired.⁵⁴ Certain improvements were made in the king's houses within the castle in 1197,⁵⁵ and in the castlegates the year following.⁵⁶ King John, during a court progress in 1201, stayed at Bamburgh from the 13th to the 15th of February,⁵⁷ and during this and the three following years the considerable total of more than £87 was laid out in works of construction and reparation connected with the castle.⁵⁸ John was again there on the 28th of January, 1213, while engaged in ravaging the property of his enemies in Northumberland.⁵⁹

⁵² 'Willelmus filius Waldef debet v marcas quia denegavit operacione de Baenburc Castelli Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 16 Hen. II.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 17. 'Willelmus filius Waldenii debet xl s. pro respectu operacionis de castello.'—*Ibid.*

⁵³ 'Mult grant chevalerie la nuit apparaila

Al chastel de Baenburc sempres les enveia.'—Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique* (Lincoln MS.) ll. 1157-1158; Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph. &c.* iii.) p. 300.

M. Francisque Michel, who edited Fantosme for the Surtees Society, misinterprets him in the Introduction, p. xxi., in describing the Scots as entering Bamburgh by surprise, slaying all the inmates, and then towards morning attacking the town of Belford. Fantosme says nothing of the kind; and if such a portentous event as the seizure of Bamburgh by a *coup de main* had taken place, other chroniclers would have been sure to have mentioned it. Besides Belford lies on the road from Wark to Bamburgh.

⁵⁴ 'Et in reparatione castri de Baenburc et porte castri xix li. et vjs. et viij d. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi de Jarun et Yvonis filii Radulfi.'—*Pipe Roll* 29 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 5.

⁵⁵ 'In emendatione domorum in castello de Baenburc xj s. et iij d. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 9 Ric. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 60.

⁵⁶ 'In emendatione portarum castelli de Baenburc x s. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 10 Ric. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 62.

⁵⁷ Itinerary of King John in *Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. ed. T. D. Hardy, 1835.

⁵⁸ 'In operacione Castelli de Baenburc xv li. et xij s. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi filii Edulfi et Ade de Baenburc.'—*Pipe Roll* 3 Joh.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 74. 'In emendatione castelli de Baenburc lx li. et ij s. et v d. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi de S. Andreae et Willelmi filii Rogeri.'—*Pipe Roll* 3 Joh.; *ibid.* p. 82. 'In reparatione castelli de Baenburc xij li. per breve Regis et per visum Ade de Baenburc et Walteri filii Pagani.'—*Pipe Roll* 6 Joh.; *ibid.* p. 86.

⁵⁹ Instructions had been issued to Robert Fitz Roger for the delivery of the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle to William, Earl of Warren, Emeric, arch-deacon of Durham, and Philip de Ulcotes, on 20th August, 1212.—*Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. p. 94. In 1216 Philip de Ulcotes seized Philip Quirettarius (*sic*), a man of

In the spring of 1221 Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciary, proceeded to Bamburgh, accompanied by Brito the balister and his eighteen comrades.⁶⁰ The castle was visited by the youthful Henry III. on the 21st of March. While there he directed the sheriff of Northumberland to pay the constable John Wascelin, John the Carpenter, and Robert the Porter, their proper salaries, and to erect in the castle a good grange 150 feet in length and 34 feet broad.⁶¹ That same day he gave orders at Alnwick for the payment of 60s. to Roger de Hodesac for his expences in providing the castle with knights and serving-men from the death of John's trusty adviser Philip de Ulcotes to the time of Wascelin's appointment as constable.⁶² The Forester and Verderer of the forest of Northumberland were charged, a day or two later, to deliver to the sheriff the timber required for the new grange, but to carefully note down the different sorts supplied.⁶³ The constable of Newcastle received instructions to despatch to Bamburgh three horn 'balistæ' and three well-strung wooden ones, as also the 'balista' that William de Stratton had had, and four thousand quarrels.⁶⁴ Four good 'baldrei' with good crooks were to be provided by the Sheriff of Northumberland, who was also to supply the garrison with two hundred 'bacones.'⁶⁵ Soon afterwards two horse-balisters, the brothers Boniface, and Roger Quatremares, arrived with a foot-balister named Roger de Bosco at Bamburgh, and were supported there at the king's charge for the next eight years.⁶⁶ As much importance, or more, was attached at that time to a 'balista' as has ever been to a 'mitrailleuse' or a Gatling-gun in the nineteenth

the bishop of Winchester, at Bamburgh; but on the 23rd of August was ordered to release him with his ship and merchandise.—*Ibid.* I. p. 194 b.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 454.

⁶¹ 'Unam bonam grangiam de longitudine C et L pedum et xxxiiij^{or} pedum in latitudine.'—*Ibid.* p. 451 b.

⁶² *Ibid.* A *Comptus de Baemburg*, containing the accounts of Roger de Hodesac, as the 'custos' from, 16 Feb. 1221—29 Sept. 1224, was printed by Mr. Hartshorne in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxxiii. These accounts are of no particular interest. Four casks of Gascon wine were bought in 1221, and sold again in 1223. In the former year 10s. 8d. was spent in building a stone wall round the barn in the bailey—'Et pro muro lapideo circa horreum in ballivato faciendo xs. et viij^d.'

⁶³ 'Ita quod tallietis contra eum quot fustes ad unam maneriem maeremii et quot ad aliam maneriem maeremii in predicta foresta capi fecerit.'—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 451 b.

⁶⁴ 'Tres balistas corneas et balistam quam Willelmus de Stratton habuit et quæ est in custodia tua, et tres balistas ligneas bene cordatas et ad omnia paratas.'—*Ibid.*

⁶⁵ 'iiij bonos baldreos cum bonis crokis.'—*Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 454. The horse-balisters received 7½d. a day, the foot-balister 3d.

century. Condemned by the church as an unchristian weapon, the 'balista,' by which we are to understand the engine of war as well as the smaller cross-bow, was brought principally into use by Richard I., who was killed by a quarrel discharged from one.⁶⁷ The cross-loops with which the walls and merlons of our castles were pierced for its employment are a special characteristic of the thirteenth century.⁶⁸

In 1222 the new grange was completed at a cost of £46 18s. 0d., and the drawbridge before the Great Gate repaired.⁶⁹ The 'plan-chicium' of the Great Tower and the gutters of it and the other turrets were attended to in the following year.⁷⁰

John Wascelin the constable of Bamburgh was to have received, in 1227, forty pounds by the king's orders from the burgesses of Newcastle. They paid him only £32 12s. 2d., their bailiffs alleging that after making similar remittances to the balisters at Bamburgh there was no more due to the king for the rent of the town. Wascelin accordingly wrote to Hubert de Burgh the justiciary of England, who had just been created Earl of Kent, asking him to instruct Roger de Hodesac, the steward of the demesne of Bamburgh, to make good to him the deficiency of £7 7s. 10d. In the same letter he reminded Burgh that he had had some timber that belonged to the Bishop of Durham, and was likely to be of service in keeping up the castle of Bamburgh, led thither in accordance with his orders. Hodesac also had spent 106s. on the cartage of this timber, and Wascelin trusted that the justiciary would see this put right so that there might be no dispute when the account came to be passed at the Exchequer.⁷¹

Brian fitz Alan, sheriff of Northumberland, had the castle and the

⁶⁷ Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, 1860, i. pp. 158, 202.

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 153, 218, 221.

⁶⁹ 'In operatione j^a. grangie de longitudine c et l pedum et xxxiiij pedum in latitudine facte in castro de Bamburgh xlvj li. et xvij s. per breve Regis et per visum Warini de Warnetham et Willelmi Ragge. . . . Et in reparatione pontis torneicii ante magnam portam castri de Bamburgh c et ij s. et ij d. per breve ejusdem.'—*Pipe Roll* 6 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 129. Directions were sent to the sheriff from the Tower 29 June 1222, to have the grange ready for the corn in the coming autumn.—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 403.

⁷⁰ 'Et in operatione planchicii magne turris castri de Bamburgh guttariarum ejusdem turris et aliarum turrellarum et aule et aliarum domorum ejusdem castri xiiii li. et i. marcam per breve Regis et per visum Ade Cockesford et Nigelli Cordewanarii.'—*Pipe Roll* 7 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 134. The sheriff had been ordered to go in person to Bamburgh to inspect the 'plan-chicium' and gutters, Westminster, 12 May, 1223.—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 545. Hodesac was to have the keep covered with lead.—'turrem nostram ejusdem castri plumbo cooperiri.'—*Liberate Roll* 10 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁷¹ 'Reverendo domino H[uberto] de Burg Comiti Kancie justiciario Anglie fidelis suus J. Wacelin Constabularius de Bamburgh salutem et fidele in omnibus

demesne of Bamburgh entrusted to his charge in 1230,⁷² and built in the following year a new chamber in it, repairing also the drawbridge and a stable.⁷³ He was succeeded in 1236 by Hugh de Bolebec.⁷⁴ Soon after his appointment Bolebec wrote to the king to complain of his salary being both insufficient and in arrear. 'Thou, sire, badest me,' he says among other matters, 'both in your letters and through your knights, Richard fitz Hugh and Simon de Brumtoft, to have the buildings and turrets of your castle of Bamburgh repaired, the wall of the castle raised in one place, a new turret built, another that had been half-finished completed, and your great grange in the castle repaired lest it should fall. All this stands in great need of being attended to, on account of the violent gales that have been again prevalent in these parts. If the whole work is carried out in a proper manner, it is estimated that it will cost £200 or more.'⁷⁵

obsequium. Vestra noscat dominacio me recepisse de Burgensibus Novi Castri super Tinam de sexaginta marcis unde literas domini Regis receperunt xxxij libras et xij s ij d et sunt in areragio vij libras vij s x d ad que hidem Bailivi responderunt quod firma ville sue ad majus non extendebat pacatione facta Balistariis in castro de Bamburgh. Quare ad vestram occurro dominacionem quatenus Rogero de Hodesak servienti dominici de Bamburgh si placet detis in mandatis ut dictum areraguim, scilicet, vij libras, vijs xd mihi persolvat. Ceterum, domine mi, sciatis quod ad mandatum vestrum meiremium qui fuit episcopi Dunelmensis ad sustentamentum castri de Bamburgh utile apud Bamburgh attraxisse. Et est custum cvjs per totum, unde servienti dominici qui hoc custum in conduccione dicti meiremi apposituit tam per visum literarum vestrarum mihi transmissarum quam per preceptum meum literas si placet warantisacionis ne alias per me super computum suum coram baronibus de Bancho dampnum pro hac liberatione incurrat fieri jubeatis. Valet et valeat dominacio vestra.'—*Royal Letter* 5126 P.R.O. 'Homines de Novo Castro reddidunt compotum de C li. de firma ville sue. . . . Et Johanni Wascelino constabulario de Banburc lx. m. (xxxij li. xij s. ij d.) per breve Regis in parte solucionis C et xx. marcarum quas percipit per annum ad custodiam castri de Bamburc.'—*Pipe Roll* 11 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 146. The timber had evidently been taken after the death of Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, in 1226, and during the delay in the appointment of his successor. Hodesac was to have a breach of the castle repaired—'reparari facias breccam castri nostri de Bamburgh quæ prostrata est.'—*Liberate Roll* 12 Hen. III. m. 6. In Sept. 1229, was to be paid 60s for the erection of a windmill in the manor of Bamburgh—'in constructione cujusdam molendini ad ventum in manerio nostro de Bamburgh'—*Ibid.* 13 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁷² *Pipe Roll*, 14 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 160. Hodesac is to give him seisin of the demesne.

⁷³ 'Et in reparacione pontis castri de Bamburgh et cujusdam stabuli in eodem castro. . . . Et in operacione unius nove camere quam vicecomes fieri fecit in eodem castro xxvj li. xxij d. et ob. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll*, 15 Hen. III.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 161.

⁷⁴ Bolebec's appointment to the custody of the county of Northumberland and the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle is dated, Mortlake, 12 May, 1236.—*Originalia*, 20 Hen. III. ro. 7.

⁷⁵ 'Similiter, domine, precipitis mihi per literas vestras et per milites vestros, scilicet, Ricardum filium Hugonis et Simonem de Brumtoft ut facerem reparare in Castro vestro de Bamburgh edificia et turrella (*sic*) et in quadam parte murum

During the next year excavations were made in the rock near the barbican, and a new grange and a bake-house were erected.⁷⁶ The castle suffered severely from its exposed situation. The mills had been destroyed by a tempest in 1243.⁷⁷ A certain Master Gerard appears as the engineer engaged in repairing the 'balistae' about this time.⁷⁸ William Heron was appointed constable in 1248.⁷⁹ The tower of Elmund's Well and the barbican before St. Oswald's Gate were repaired in 1250,⁸⁰ as the Great Tower, the three gates within the castle, and the great drawbridge outside the Great Gate on the south side, were to be three years later.⁸¹ Mention is made of the King's Hall in 1256,⁸² in which year William Heron, sheriff of Northumberland, was entrusted with the castle.⁸³

The cost of the defence of Bamburgh and the maintenance of the garrison for one year, reckoned from the 3rd of May, 1266, during the

castelli exaltare et unum turellum de novo edificare et alium turellum semifactum perficere, et magnam grangiam vestram castelli reparare ne cadat, que scilicet grangia et predicta nunc majori indigent auxilio propter rapaces ventos qui de novo in partibus illis emeruerunt. Et si omnia predicta in dicto Castello de Bamburgh debito et competenti modo perfici debeant, de necessario oportet in ipsis perficiendis imponere, ut creditur, 80. libr. vel eo amplius.—*Royal Letter* (temporarily numbered 5093) P.R.O. The date of this letter, which contains the account of the erection of a tower in Tyndale by David de Lyndesey, see above p. 56, is fixed by the passage 'Et de meo proprio de vj libr. et xj solid. et vij den. pacatis ultra receptam meam,' which tallies with the entry at the end of the *Pipe Roll*, 21 Hen. III. 'idem habet in rotulo precedenti vj li. xj s. et vij d. in proficuo comitatus.'

⁷⁶ 'Et in rupe iuxta Barbicanam in castro de Banburch concavanda. Et in una grangia et pistirno ibidem faciendis et in ponte ejusdem castri reparando.'—*Pipe Roll*, 21 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 182.

⁷⁷ 'Et in reparatione molendinorum de Bamburch que corruerunt per tempestatem xij li. xij s. ix d. et ob. per breve Regis et per visum et testimonium Petri de Streyde et Walteri de Oxonia.'—*Pipe Roll*, 27 Hen. III.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 200.

⁷⁸ 'Pro magistro Gerardo Ingeniatori.'—*Liberate Roll*, 28 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁷⁹ At a salary of 80 marks, Windsor, 28th of April.—*Originalia*, 32 Hen. III. ro. 4. P.R.O.

⁸⁰ 'Et in reparatione turre fontis Elmundi in castro de Bamburc et barbacane ante portam S. Oswaldi ibidem xvij li. ix s. et viij d.'—*Pipe Roll*, 34 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 218. The sheriff was told, 20 April, 1250, to have this tower and barbican repaired.—'Rex vicecomiti Northumbrie salutem. Precipimus tibi quod Turrim fontis Elmundi, etc.'—*Liberate Roll*, 34 Hen. III., m. J. Mr. Hartshorne, *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1852, ii. p. 246, erroneously calls this tower that of *St. Edmund*.

⁸¹ Rex vicecomiti Northumbrie salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus Comitatus tui reparari facias magnam Turrim in Castro nostro de Baumburch et tres portas infra idem Castrum et eorum valvas seruras et ligaturas et magnum pontem Turnitium extra magnam pontem versus australe emendari et reparari facias reparatione qua indigent.'—*Liberate Roll*, 37 Hen. III. m. 4.

⁸² 'Et in reparatione aule Regis in castro de Bamburc vj li. et ij s. et vj d. per breve Regis et visum et testimonium Walteri de Doxeford et Johannis de Elmedone.'—*Pipe Roll*, 40 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 237.

⁸³ At Woodstock, 20 June, 1256.—*Originalia*, 40 Hen. III. ro. 6. P.R.O.

obstinate resistance of the northern barons to the royal authority after the defeat of Simon de Montfort at Evesham, came to the enormous sum of £1,231 Os. 9½d.⁸⁴ It was at the siege of Kenilworth that Henry III. bestowed on the friars preachers of Bamburgh seven acres for enlarging the site of their house there, which he had acquired by exchange from Henry Spring, Simon fitz Robert, and Stephen le Mareschal.⁸⁵ This was followed in the next year by his grant to them of six acres in the old mill-pond of Bamburgh, and of four of arable in the 'Grenewellflat,' worth 40s. a year, for the purpose of enabling them to erect a chapel, and the other buildings required by their rule.⁸⁶ It says much for the importance of Bamburgh that the Dominicans, whose object it was to mix as much as possible with the world, should have made this settlement there, and the position of their Friary conveys some idea of the extent of the ancient town, as they would endeavour to fix it in as central a locality as possible.

Immediately after his arrival in England in 1274, Edward I. appointed a commission of inquiry into the abuses of the administration during the previous reign. William Heron was denounced to this commission as having, when constable of Bamburgh, charged the king £9 for the erection of a granary within the castle which it was estimated could not really have cost more than £4; while Robert de Nevill, who was then in charge of the castle, was roundly accused of having obtained an order on the Exchequer for 1,200 marks on account of building operations that could have been perfectly well executed for 200 marks.⁸⁷ In consequence, no doubt, of this peculation, Robert de

⁸⁴ 'In vadiis militum et servientium existentium in munitione predicti castri (Bamburgh) tempore turbacionis habite in regno a festo invencionis sce crucis usque ad idem festum anno 1j^o et in operacionibus factis in eodem castro per predictum tempus M.co.xxxj li. ix d. ob. per breve Regie.'—*Pipe Roll*, 51 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 276.

⁸⁵ 'Septem acras terre ad placeam suam de Bamburgh ampliandam apud Kenilleworth xxvj die Aug.'—*Rot. Pat.* 50 Hen. III. m. 6. The acres are measured by a perch of twenty feet—'per perticatam nostram viginti pedum.'

⁸⁶ 'Ad quoddam oratorium in quo divina celebrare possint et ad alia edificia ibidem construenda, et secundum morem sui ordinis inhabitanda imperpetuum . . . Datum apud Sanctum Paulum Lond.' xij die Julii.—*Cart.* 51 Hen. III. m. 4.

⁸⁷ 'Item dicunt quod Willelmus Heron tempore quo fuit constabularius castri de Bamburgh fieri fecit unum granarium in predicto castro cujus factura computata fuit domino Regi pro ix li. et non valuit praeter quatuor li. per estimationem fide dignorum.

Item dicunt quod Robertus de Nevill nunc custos ejusdem castri computavit se apposuisse in operacionibus dicti castri M.CC. marc. et inde habuit allocacionem ad Scaccarium que quidam operaciones bene potuissent perfici per ducentas marcas.'—*Rotuli Hundredorum*; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 95.

Nevill was relieved of his office in 1276, and ordered to deliver the castle, with all its store of arms and provisions, except his own goods and chattels, to Thomas de Normanville, the king's steward.⁸⁸

Two Welsh princes, Cynan ap Maredudd and Rhys ap Maelgwn, the destroyer of Aberystwyth, were confined in Bamburgh by Edward I. In 1288 Walter de Cambo, the constable, was instructed to expend £4 on robes for them and 13s. 4d. on robes for their servant.⁸⁹ They remained there till 1296, when they were sent up to London in a dying state.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, on the 10th of August, 1293, an order was made for the delivery of Bamburgh by Walter de Cambo to the sheriff of Northumberland, after a due inventory had been made of its contents.⁹¹ Two years later Hugh Gubion, then sheriff, was similarly to hand over the castle to John Earl of Warren.⁹²

In 1296 Edward I. vainly summoned John Baliol to meet him at Bamburgh, and halted there himself on his triumphant return from Scotland on the 20th of September.⁹³ He was again there at the close of 1299.⁹⁴ Four Scottish prisoners 'Nichole Patenesone of Levenax, Fynny le Soul of Stirling, Thomas Clerc of Elisman, and Wauter du Larder of Inchetethe,' were committed to the custody of the constable in 1305.⁹⁵

The deliberate way in which Edward II. set at naught his father's dying counsels is well illustrated by the grant he made in 1307 to Isabel de Beaumont, widow of John de Vesey lord of Alnwick, of the custody of the castle of Bamburgh, with the truncate due to it, and the rent of the town of Warenmouth, for the term of her whole life, on payment of £110 annually into the Treasury.⁹⁶ During her

⁸⁸ At Westminster, 7 June, 1276.—*Originalia*, 4 Ed. I. ro. 8. P.R.O. The *Comptons* of Thomas de Normanville for the issues of the castle and demesnes of Bamburgh 6 Ed. I. (1277-1278) is entered on the *Pipe Roll*, 8 Ed. I. m. 28, but contains nothing of interest in relation to the castle.

⁸⁹ *Rot. Lib.* 18 Ed. I. m. 6.

⁹⁰ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 243.

⁹¹ *Originalia*, 21 Ed. I. ro. 18. As to Walter de Cambo, see Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 284.

⁹² Canterbury, 6 Oct. 1295.—*Originalia*, 23 Ed. I. ro. 15. On Hugh Gubion, see Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 453.

⁹³ *Rot. Scot.* i. p. 34.

⁹⁴ *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ ann.* 28 Ed. I. (published by Soc. Ant. Lond. 1787). The Friars Preachers of Bamburgh paid, by the hands of Brother Henry de Endreby, 6s 8d on 12 Dec. 1299, as their *puture* to avoid having men and horses quartered on their house for two days 'in adventum Regis ibidem,' p. 26.

⁹⁵ *Chancery Misc. Portf.* No. 44; *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, ii. p. 449.

⁹⁶ King's Langley, 23 Nov. 1307.—*Originalia*, 1 Ed. II. m. 7.

tenancy of Bamburgh, in July, 1311, the king made a pretence of imprisoning his favourite, Piers de Gaveston, in the castle, in order to secure him from the violence of his enemies and to apparently satisfy their demands for his removal from the court.⁹⁷ In October he assented to the Ordinances drawn up by parliamentary authority, which especially provided that 'la Dame de Vescy' should be banished from court for obtaining grants of lands for her brother Sir Henry de Beaumont and others to the disherison of the Crown, and that the castle of Bamburgh should be taken from her and not let out again except during the king's pleasure.⁹⁸ Indeed Edward actually went so far as to appoint Henry de Percy custodian of Bamburgh on the 18th of December, and to order Isabel de Vescy to give up the castle to him.⁹⁹ Then suddenly, a month later, he recalled Gaveston to him at York and restored him to his estates, while Isabel de Vescy continued to hold Bamburgh, like another Queen Bebbra or Countess Matilda, in defiance of Percy, until on the 28th of May, 1312, a week or so after Gaveston's capitulation at Scarborough, she was commanded by the king to yield the fortress to John de Eslington.¹⁰⁰ There is nothing of moment in Eslington's accounts which have been preserved, except, perhaps, that the truncage due to the castle from the several townships had by that time been commuted for the annual sum of £4 19s. 4½d., which appears to have been for the most part taken out in horses and swine.¹⁰¹ Eslington was taken prisoner at Bannockburn on the 25th of June, 1314, and owing to the extreme gravity of the crisis the king three days later appointed Roger de Horsley constable of Bamburgh by word of mouth.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ 'Eodem anno (1311) rex timens invidiam et odium majorum regni erga dominum Petrum de Gavastone, posuit eum in castrum de Bamborhk pro sua securitate, asserens praelatis et magnatibus regni se misisse eum ibidem in carcerem ut placeret eisdem.'—*Annales Paulini* (*Chronicles of Ed. I. and Ed. II.* Rolls ed. i.) p. 269. 'Rex igitur, ut eum a magnatum insidiis servarat, eum castro Bamburgi inclusit: se id fecisse asserens, ut eorum animos placeret.'—Thomas de la Moore, *Vita et Mors Ed. II.* (*ibid.* ii.) p. 298. See also A. Murimruth, *Chronicon* (English Historical Society's Publications) p. 14.

⁹⁸ 'Pur ceo que homme entent que le Chaustel de Baunburgh est de la Corone, Nous ordeinoms aussuit que cel Chaustel soit repris de lui en la mein le Roi, et que mes ne soit baillee a li ne a autre forsque a la volente le Roi.'—*Rot. Parl.* i. p. 284a.

⁹⁹ *Originalia* 5 Ed. II. m. 11, P.R.O.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 5 Ed. II. m. 17.

¹⁰¹ *Particula compoti Johannis de Eesselyngtone Constabularii Castri de Bamburgho*, Q.R. Misc. Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh 5-6 Ed. II. 13. P.R.O.

¹⁰² Rogerus de Horslei dictum Castrum in manum Regis cepit per mandatum Regis oretenus propter ingens periculum quod tunc temporis iminebat in patria

A terrible picture of the condition of Northumberland at this period may be drawn from the complaint addressed by the poor people of Bamburgh Ward to the king in 1315. The constable of the castle, they say, refused to let them accept the truce which they had been offered till the following Easter by Bruce's lieutenant, the Earl of Moray, at the price of £270, unless they paid him as much more; and the means at their disposal did not possibly admit of this. He also charged them exorbitant fees for permission to store their *petitz biens* in the castle, and his porters and servants extorted money for letting them in and out; so that between the Scots on one side and the constable on the other, they were reduced to the bitterest straits. Moreover, John the Irishman and his fellows in the castle seized their provisions without any pretence of paying for them.¹⁰³ The same doleful story of exactions is told in the petitions to Parliament of John de Gaskrik and other merchants of Barton-on-Humber, and of Isabel de Eshet, the executrix of William le Ken of Eshet. Horsley had pounced down on the corn ships of the merchants which, bound for Berwick, had anchored through stress of weather between Bamburgh and Warenmouth,¹⁰⁴ and never dreamt of paying £10 for mutton he had bought at Eshet in order to victual the castle.¹⁰⁵

During 1315 Horsley maintained twenty men-at-arms and thirty hobelars in the castle at the king's expence, and Adenevit a Welshman in the royal household, and Roger le Attallour were also quartered there, the latter being engaged in improving the 'balistæ,' bows, and other artillery. Two hostages were also detained there, who appear to have been liberated by John the Irishman in exchange for Jordan de Stokhalgh, a Scot, and the king's enemy. On the 7th of February, 1316, Horsley had to resign the custody of Bamburgh into the hands of William de Felton, and it is to be hoped that the poor people in the neighbourhood breathed more freely for a time.¹⁰⁶

post conflictum de Strevelyn ubi dictus Johannes de Esselyngtone per Scotos capiebatur: a quo quidem xxvij^o die Junii supradicte dictus Rogerus de exitibus ejusdem Castri debet Regi respondere.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland.*

¹⁰⁴ *Rot. Parl.* i. p. 327a.

¹⁰⁵ 'Pur Multon de ly achatez, du temps le piere nostre Seigneur le Roi que ore est, par Sire Roger de Husch (Horseli) nadquers Gardeyn du Chastel de Bamburgh pur vitailier le dit Chastel.'—*Ibid.* ii. p. 394a.

¹⁰⁶ 'Rogerio de Horseleghe custodi Castri de Baumburghie habenti in comitiva sua xx homines ad arma et xxx hobelarios super salva et segura custodia ejusdem Castri et pertinentium adjacentium per preceptum et ordinacionem domini Regis

Horsley seems to have been re-appointed before 1819, for in a contract entered into by John de Cromwell and the Earl of Angus, apparently in that year, for the custody of the Marches, it is noted that the permanent garrison of Bamburgh, where Horsley was constable, consisted of fifteen men-at-arms and thirty foot soldiers, and that in addition to these the king was to provide fifteen men-at-arms, commanded by David de Langeton and Thomas de Hedon.¹⁰⁷

One of the first acts of Edward III. on his accession was to appoint Robert de Horncliff constable of Bamburgh, and soon afterwards he received the homage of Robert, son and heir of Robert the Porter, who was, we learn, bound among other things, by his tenure, to provide a watchman every night in peace or in war on the gate of the castle called the Smith Gate.¹⁰⁸ Horncliff found the castle in most deplorable plight—the lead with which the Great Tower was covered was so old and decayed that the rain had caused the main beams to rot, and the tower was threatened with ruin; the roof of a tower called the ‘Davytoure,’ which had been covered with stone, had been carried right off by a tempest; the ‘Belletoure’ had suffered in the same way, and its main timbers were rotten; the Hall, the Great Kitchen, the

post conflictum de Strivelyn super hoc facta pro vadiis eorundem hominum ad arma et hoberliariorum a primo die Decembri anno viij^o quo die dominus Willelmus de Melton primo recepit custodiam garderobæ domini Regis predicti usque vij diem Februarii anno ix^o quo die dictus Rogerus liberavit custodiam dicti Castri domino Willelmo de Felton per breve sub magno sigillo et indenturam in eos factam primo die computato et non ultimo per ccccxxxiiij dies pro quolibet homine ad arma xij^d et quolibet hoberlario vij^d per diem dcclviij^{li}. xvs. Eidem pro vadiis Ade Nevit Wallensis de hospicio Regis morantis in eodem Castro per preceptum ejusdem Regis per dictos ccccxxxiiij dies percipientis per diem iij^d. cviijs. iij^d. Eidem pro vadiis Rogeri le Attallour morantis in eodem Castro pro balistis arcubus et aliis instrumentis ad officium suum spectantibus emendandis per totum tempus predictum percipientis per diem iij^d. Lxxijs. iij^d. Eidem pro vadiis duorum hostagiorum liberatorum in eodem Castro per Johannem Lirreis et per preceptum Regis pro Jordano de Stokhalgh Scoto inimico Regis et in dicto Castro commorantium a ij die Februarii anno viij^o usque ij die Februarii anno ix^o. quo die dicti hostagii liberabantur dicto domino Willelmo de Felton ad custodiendos primo die computato et non ultimo per cccv (*sic*) dies quolibet percipienti per diem iij^d. vij^{li}. xxd. Summa totalis allocata dicto Rogero DccLxxij^{li}. xvij^s. jd.—*Ministers' Accounts*, Bamburgh ff 8-9 Ed. II.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Fait a remembrer que en le Chastel de Baumburgh dount Monsieur Rogerus de Horsle est conestable, outre la certeine garneison que y est de xv hommes darmes et xxx hommes a pe doivent demorer David de Langetone et Thomas de Hedone od xv hommes darmes as custages le Roy.’—*Indentura dominorum Johannis de Crombwell et Comitiss Dunegos super custodia partium Northumbrie*, Excheq. Q. B. Misc. (Army) 1/2 P.R.O.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Per servitium custodiendi portam castri predicti et inveniendi unum vigilatorem quolibet nocte tempore pacis et guerre super quandam portam vocatam Smythyate in castro predicto.’—*Originalia*, 1 Ed. III. ro. 13; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 301.

Great Grange, the towers called 'Valetipping,' 'Dedehuse,' and 'Colelofte,' the Granary, the Horse Mill, and the Great Stable were in equal decay, the result of the fact that former constables could not make any allowance for repairs in the accounts they returned to the Exchequer.¹⁰⁹ Nor were the stores contained in this tumble-down castle of anything but the most poverty-stricken nature. Horncliff's inventory from Michaelmas, 1328, to Michaelmas, 1329, comprised four casks of wine that had turned bad; a pipe of Greek wine no better; one jar full of honey, and another with some honey in it; seven targets, broken and not repaired; one aketon, of no value;¹¹⁰ five bassinets, of no value; seven 'balistæ,' with screws, one of them made of whalebone, provided with a case of new work; a dozen 'balistæ' of one foot; four bucketfuls of bolts for 'balistæ;' one bow; five sheaves of arrows; seven baskets for bows; twelve baskets for one-foot 'balistæ,' four of them of no value; two baskets for screw 'balistæ;' ten one-foot 'balistæ,' of no value; one 'teler,' without a nut, for a screw 'balista;' thirty-five bolts for a springal of new work;¹¹¹ twenty-eight unfeathered bolts for a springal, four of them without heads; forty-six wax torches in one chest, and fifty torches and thirty-six wax tapers in another chest; fifteen baldrics, four of them without fastenings; three hundred and sixty leaves of whalebone; one old brass pot, containing five flagons; ten pairs of fetters; one copper and a mashfat in the brewery; one copper in the kitchen furnace; two tables, with four pair of trestles; one fixed table; four vats; one tun; one boulting tub; one jar for putting

¹⁰⁹ 'Die quo dominus Rex commisit dictum Castrum de Bamburgh Roberto de Horncliffe nunc constabulario Castri predicti quam plures defectus fuerunt in eodem Castrò videlicet in magna turri que cooperta fuit de plumbo et quod plumbum ita vetus fu . . ss . . et putridum fuit quod maeremium ejusdem turris pro defectu cooperture predictæ per pluvias putridum fuit ita quod turris illa ruinam minabatur. Et in turri [vocat]a Davytoure que cooperta fuit de petra et que tempore predicto per tempestatem totaliter discooperta fuit. Et in turri vocata Belletoure que cooperta fu[it] [t]abula et que per tempestatem discooperta fuit ita quod maeremium ejusdem per pluviam totaliter fuit putrida. Et iidem defectus fuerunt in aula m[agna] coquina, magna grangia in turri vocata Valetippinge et in turri vocata Dedehuse et in turri vocata Colelofte et in granaria et molendino equino et in magno stabulo &c.'—Inquisition at Bamburgh, 8 Sept. 1330, *Inq. Ad Q.D.* 4 Ed. III. No. 13, P.R.O.

¹¹⁰ An 'aketon' was a coat of plate.—Kelham, *Norman Dictionary*.

¹¹¹ A 'springal' was a military engine for casting stones, as in the old romance of 'Bevis of Hamtoun'—

'And sum thai wente to the wal
With bowes and with springal.'—Halliwell.

bread in; two barrels; two sail-yards; two windlasses; and four ship's cables. Of this valuable stock, four screw 'balistæ,' four one-foot 'balistæ,' a bucketful of bolts, the bow, and the five sheaves of arrows were expended in defending the castle from the assaults of the Scots during the months of October, November, and December, 1828.¹¹²

Horncliff set to work and laid out £25 15s. 3d. on the most pressing repairs, but an inquiry held at Bamburgh in 1830 resulted in a report that it would take £300 to put the castle in order, and that the great tower and all the other towers, the hall, the chambers, the grange, and all the other houses and gates were so roofless and decayed that unless something were done very speedily the whole place would be a heap of ruins.¹¹³ The urgent language of this report must have led at any rate to a partial restoration of the fortress, as three years later it was able to stand a famous siege. Berwick was being

¹¹² 'Instaurum Mortuum, Mich. 2 Ed. iij.—Mich. 3 Ed. iij. Item reddidit compotum de iiij doleis vini putridi, j pipa vini greci de xiiij pollicibus putridi, j doleo melle pleno, vij pollicibus mellis in j doleo, viij fortinalis plumbi, ij barrellis ascerre plenii, vij targis fractis et non reparatis, j barello stanni cum sudura, j mortario novo de petra, j mortario de cera ponderis unius lb., unius aketon nullius valoris, v. bacinettis nullius valoris, vij balistis de vicibus quarum j de baleigne cum j basepe de novo apparatu, xij balistis unius pedis de novo apparatu, j cista, iiij bukettis plenii de quarellis pro predictis vj balistis, j arcu, v garbis sagittarum, vij costis pro arcubus, xij costis pro balistis unius pedis quarum iiij nullius valoris, ij costis pro balistis de vicibus, x balistis unius pedis nullius valoris, j teler sine nuce pro balista de vicibus, xxxv quarellis pro springald de novo apparatu, xxvij quarellis pro springaldo sine pennis quarum iiij sine capite, xlvj torches cere in una cista, l tortic et xxvj broches cere in una alia cista, xv baudreis quorum iiij sine clavibus, cclx foliis de baleigne, j olla enea veteri continenti v lagenas, x paribus compedum, j plumbo in bracina, et j maskefat, j plumbo in fornace in coquina, ij mensis, iiij paribus tristellorum, j mensa dormienti, ij cuvis, j tina, j doleo pro bultura, j doleo pro pane imponendo, ij barrellis pro serviciis, ij saillayerdes, ij wyndacias, et iiij cabulis pro nave de remanenti compoti sui anni proximi precedenti.'—*Comptus of Roger de Horncliffe*, from 8 Feb. 1 Ed. III. to Mich. 4 Ed. III. in Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh, ½ 1-4 Ed. III. P.R.O.

'Idem computavit in consumptione et defensione Castri contra insultas Scottorum mensibus Octobris Novembris et Decembris hoc anno—iiij balistas de vicibus, iiij balistas unius pedis, j buketam plenam de quarellis, j arcum et v garbas sagittarum.'—*Ibid.*

¹¹³ 'Robertus de Horncliff postquam recepit custodiam castri predicti emendavit et reparavit plures defectus in eodem Castro, videlicet in magna turri et aliis turribus domibus muris et aliis parcellis et locis in eodem Castro uque ad summam xxvii. xvs. iiijd. . . . Defectus in Castro predicto adhuc existentes et qui venerunt temporibus aliorum constabulariorum per tempestatem et aliis causis predictis possunt emendari de cccii. . . . Magna turris et omnes alie turres aula camera grangia et omnes alie domus et porte ejusdem castri . . . ita sunt putrifacta et discooperta et putrida quod nisi cicius emendantur totaliter in brevi erunt perditæ.'—*Ing. ad Q. D.* 4 Ed. III. No. 13 P.R.O. taken at the castle of Bamburgh before William de Denom and Robert de Tughale, Saturday, 8 Sept. 1830.

closely invested by the English king, and the Scots, under Archibald Douglas, in hope of forcing him to raise the blockade, made an attack in great force on Bamburgh. The queen, Philippa of Hainault, was in the castle at the time, and no doubt helped to encourage its valiant defenders. The Scots were effectively repulsed, and Berwick fell.¹¹⁴

The Earl of Murray, after being in captivity at Bamburgh, was conveyed to York by John de Denton of Newcastle in 1335.¹¹⁵ After the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, David Bruce, 'who called himself King of Scotland,' was brought a prisoner to Bamburgh. Masters William de Bolton, and Hugh de Kilvington, barber surgeons, came to the castle from York to extract the arrow with which he had been wounded in the battle, and to heal him with despatch. They received £6 for their services.¹¹⁶ In the following March John Darcy was sent from London to bring David Bruce to the Tower.¹¹⁷ In a later phase of the Scottish wars, Bartholomew de Preston and Adam de Cokeburn, Berwick burgesses, whose loyalty to England admitted of suspicion, were given in charge of the constable of Bamburgh in 1355.¹¹⁸ It was at Bamburgh on the 20th of January, 1356, that Edward III. completed the final convention with Edward Baliol for the latter's surrender of the Scottish crown,¹¹⁹ and he appears to have spent ten days there in February, 1357.¹²⁰

On the 14th of June, 1372, it was declared on oath before Alan del Strother, William Acton, John de Refham, and the sheriff Robert de Umframvill, the king's commissioners at Bamburgh, by two separate juries, that the executors of the late constable Ralph de Nevill had done all the repairs that they could be charged with, and that over and above these they had been compelled by certain of the

¹¹⁴ 'Interea sub dolo Scoti combusserunt in partibus Northumbrianis, et obsederunt castrum de Bamburgh ubi tunc temporis regina Angliæ morabatur, ut sic fortasse possent solvere obsidionem (Berwici).'—*Chronicon Angliæ*, 1328-1338, Rolls ed. p. 4. The *Chron. de Melsa* (Rolls ed. i. p. 369) says the Scots led by Archibald Douglas numbered 90,000 men in four divisions.

¹¹⁵ *Eschequer*, *Q.R.* 20-21 *Ed. III.*, *Misc. Army* ⁴⁷ 23 & 24; De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 491.

¹¹⁶ Rymer, *Fœdera*, III. i. p. 109.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* II. ii. p. 919.

¹¹⁸ *Rot. Scot.* i. p. 381b.

¹¹⁹ *Thesaur. Cur. Receipt. Scacc.*; Rymer, *Fœdera* III. i. p. 319.

¹²⁰ Protection for Menald de Insula 'clericus conjugatus' of our city of Aquen, Bamburgh, 6 Feb.—*Rot. Vascon*, 30 *Ed. iii.* m. 5; Rymer, *Fœdera* III. i. p. 322. Warrant for ship timber, Bamburgh, 10 Feb.—*Rot. Pat.* 30 *Ed. iii.* p. 1, m. 22; *ibid.* III. i. p. 323. Documents dated Bamburgh, 12-16 Feb. 30 *Ed. iii.*—*Rot. Scot.* i. p. 800.

king's lieges, of whose names the jury were ignorant, to build and repair a wall, a tower, and a turret at 'Waldehavewell,' within the castle of Bamburgh; and also a postern and great walls there in the said castle.¹²¹ Furthermore, the executors had been forced to repair a wall stretching from 'Davyestour' to the gate of the castle from the west side; a postern at the 'Gaitwell' and a great wall between the 'Smetheyet' and Ravenshaugh, and another long wall between this 'Smetheyet' and 'Vallam de Typppyng.'¹²² The extra expenditure thus extorted from them amounted in all to £266 13s. 4d.

On the 21st of August following, a similar inquiry held before the sheriff, John de Ravenser, clerk, and Robert de Gayton, the king's 'servant at arms,' confirmed grave charges brought against the constable Richard de Pembrigg. During his term of office, the well in the great tower had been choked by the offal of cattle killed in the castle, and the water in it polluted, so that it would take 40s. to purify it again. The rope and bucket had also been made off with, to the king's loss of 13s. 4d.¹²³ William Scra, the steward of the castle under Pembrigg, had taken clean away beds, chairs, tables, trestles, saddles, horse-shoes, bows, plates, dishes, leaden vessels, and other necessities for the custody of the castle to the tune of ten marks.¹²⁴ Certainly, Sir Alan de Heton, Pembrigg's deputy, had arrested twenty-five fat animals, worth twenty marks, belonging to Scra, and sold them by way of indemnity, but then the king got none of the proceeds. Perhaps the worst character for knavery is given to John de Fenwyk,

¹²¹ 'Unum murum, unum turrem et unum (sic) turrellam apud Waldehauewell infra castrum de Bamburgh. Item in castro predicto unum postern' et magnos muros ibidem.'—*Inq. ad Quod Damnum*, 51 Ed. III. No. 32, P.R.O.

¹²² 'Item in reparacione cujusdam muri a Davyestour usque ad portam dicti castri ex parte occidentali. Item unum postern' apud le Gaitwell et unum magnum murum a le Smetheyet usque ad Ravens Haugh. Item unum alium longum murum a dicto Smetheyet usque ad vallam de Typppyng' in dicto castro.'—*Ibid.*

¹²³ 'Fons in magna turri infra castrum de Baumburgh per inieccionem intestinorum animalium occisorum et culaverum, tempore quo Ricardus de Pembrigg habuit custodiam castri predicti, est obstructus, et aqua in eodem infecta et corrupta ad dampnum quadraginta solidorum. Item . . . corda pro aqua de eodem fonte haurienda et haustum pro eodem tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti per ministros suos sunt elongata ad dampnum domini Regis tresdecem solidorum et quatuor denariorum.'—*Inq. ad Q.D.* 51 Ed. III. No. 22 (3) P.R.O.

¹²⁴ 'Willelmus Scra nuper prepositus in castro predicto et minister dicti Ricardi ibidem, tempore custodie dicti Ricardi de castro predicto lecta, cathedras, tabulas, tristella, sellas, ferra equina, arcus, discos, platella, plumba et alia instrumenta pro custodia castri necessaria ad valenciam decem marcarum cepit et asportavit et totaliter elongavit.'—*Ibid.*

the constable of the castle under Pembrigg. Fenwyk bared the castle of the entire stock of peats and 'hather,' valued at 82s., which Ralph de Nevyll had left behind him for its 'garniture.' Even after Umframvyll as sheriff had taken possession of the castle and its contents by the king's orders, Fenwyk had the audacity to carry off the principal table in the king's hall, with its trestles, seven stones of lead, and the iron-work of a certain mangonel, having previously filched the wood-work of an old mangonel. Twenty-four mastich trees, each worth 4d., had, we are told, been taken out of the castle by Pembrigg's officers and servants.¹²⁵

An inquiry, held before the same commissioners two days later, brought out the facts that two iron chains, an iron bolt, a lock, and a small door at the postern, as also an iron bolt for two 'barrers,' had been the worse for wear since Nevyll's time; while under Pembrigg, a drawbridge had decayed which it cost 13s. 4d. to replace.¹²⁶ Besides this, the jury certified that Thomas de Heddon held certain lands and tenements, called the Porterland, within the demesne of the castle, and had a fee of 2d. a day paid him by the constable, on condition of his finding a porter in constant attendance at the gate, and a watchman inside the castle every night, and of his maintaining the Porterhouse in the castle near the 'Vale Typpying.'¹²⁷ The Porterhouse had, how-

¹²⁵ 'Johannes de Fenwyk nuper constabularius castri predicti tempore custodie dicti Ricardi de eodem petas et hather pro garnitura dicti castri per dominum Radulfum de Nevyll ibidem dimissa, ad Valenciam sex marcarum et duorum solidorum cepit et elongavit et dictum castrum de eadem garnitura vacuum dimisit. Item . . . predictus Johannes de Fenwyk postquam Robertus de Umframvyll vicecomes Northumbrie de precepto domini Regis per breve suum custodiam castri predicti receperat, bona et catella, armaturas, utensilia et instrumenta pro custodia ejusdem necessaria ibidem inventa arrestaverat, mensam principalem pro aula domini Regis ibidem et tristella, septem petras plumbi, et instrumenta ferrea cujusdam mangonelli in castro predicto existencia, cepit et asportavit contra arrestacionem predictam ad Valenciam viginti solidorum. Item . . . meremium cujusdam mangonelli veteris in dicto castro existentis tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti, per dictum Johannem de Fenwyk est asportatum ad Valenciam viginti solidorum. Item . . . quatuor viginti arbores lentisci, precii cujuslibet iiij*d.* tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti per ministros et servientes ipsius Ricardi sunt elongati extra castrum predictum.'—*Ibid.*

¹²⁶ 'Due cathene feree cum uno bolt de ferro et una serura et una parva porta apud le Posterne, et uno bolt de ferro pro ij barrers sunt defectuose et poterunt reparari per quadraginta solidos, et predicti defectus fuerunt ibidem tempore quo dominus Radulfus de Nevyll habuit custodiam castri predicti. Item . . . quidam pons infra castrum predictum tempore quo R[icardu]s de Penbrigg habuit custodiam castri predicti perioratur ad dampnum tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum.'—*Inq. ad Q.D.* 51 Ed. III. No. 22 (2) P.R.O.

¹²⁷ 'Debet eciam sustentare unam domum vocatam le Porterhouse in eodem castro juxta le Vale Typpying.'—*Ibid.*

ever, gone to utter ruin during the time of his predecessor, William de Heddon, and could not be repaired for less than 60s. Then, too, during Pembrigg's term of office, the roofs of the four houses in the four turrets on the north side of the castle had become so decayed that 12s. would scarcely mend them.¹²⁸ Pembrigg had also allowed three stables and the 'slaughterhous' to suffer to the extent of 20s., and a 'bordour' over the 'Tourgate,' valued at 12d., to decay.¹²⁹ Forty marks would hardly cover the further consequences of his neglect, while it would take quite 10s. to carry out the repairs that had become necessary during the time the castle was in the hands of the king.

In 1393 the burgesses and community of Bamburgh presented a petition to Richard II., from which it appears that there were three wells in the town, known by the names of 'Wydnewell, Edynwell, and Mandeleynewell.'¹³⁰ The two former often went dry in summer, when not only the burgesses but also the constables of the castle had recourse for their water supply to the last named spring, which was situated within the boundaries of the hospital called the 'Maudeleys,' and was the principal source of the stream which turned one of the king's mills.¹³¹ No impediment had been placed in the way of anyone using the well until recently certain Friars Preachers of Bamburgh in a

¹²⁸ 'Quatuor domus infra quatuor turellas ex parte aquilonari in castro predicto, sunt in coopertura adeo pejorate ut vix per duodecim solidos poterunt reparari.'—*Ibid.*

¹²⁹ 'Quatuor domus infra castrum predictum videlicet tres stabule et una domus vocata le Slaughterhous peiorantur tempore quo predictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti ad dampnum viginti solidorum. Item . . . unum bordour super portam vocatam le Tourgate peioratur ad dampnum duodecim denariorum.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Rot. Pat.* 17 Ric. II. pars I. m. 35, a tergo.—The 'Wydnewell' was no doubt at the Wynding a little to the north-west of the castle, nor is there any difficulty in allocating the 'Edynwell,' that of St. Aidan, in the 'Church Quarter.' It appears from *Inq. p.m.* 50 Ed. III. Ed. 71, taken at Bamburgh on 27 March, 1376, that the Hospital or Chantry of the Blessed Mary Magdalene there, founded by the king's ancestors and in his patronage, consisted of a chapel, hall, pantry, kitchen, and other chambers in an enclosed site, which with other lands and tenements of the chantry was worth five marks a year. The object of the foundation was to provide a chaplain to celebrate mass and do other works of piety for the souls of the king and his ancestors. The 'custos' John de Barnoldby had neglected to provide a chaplain for the ten years previous, the chapel was most in ruin and could not be repaired for less than twenty marks, while it would take twenty-six marks to put the other buildings right. The chantry had possessed vestments, books and other ornaments, but they had all disappeared.

¹³¹ 'A quo quidem fonte, melior et maxima pars cursus aque, que uni molendinorum nostrorum juxta villam predictam ad molendinum blada dictorum ville et Castri et patrie adjacentis deseruit, currere solebat, pro quo quidem molendino nobis de quatuor marcis annuatim responditur.'—*Rot. Pat.* 17 Ric. II. pars I. m. 35, a tergo.

fit of passionate spite killed a cur called Jolyff—so the burgesses alleged and the king was inclined to believe—and threw it secretly into the well with stones round its neck.¹³² Jane Boys, a matron of Bamburgh, not knowing that the well was thus contaminated, came, one vigil of the Blessed Virgin, and drank of the water, and was so poisoned that she gave birth to a dead child. Afterwards William West, one of the friars, so it was said, completely stopped up the well, to the great injury of the town, the castle, and the mill.¹³³

The office of constable of Bamburgh was one of the rewards that Hotspur received from Henry IV. for his share in the dethronement of Richard II. He was himself at the castle on the 23rd of February, 1403.¹³⁴ After his death in battle at Shrewsbury, the castle was entrusted by the king to the Earl of Westmoreland, at that time the mortal enemy of the Percy family. It remained loyal while the other castles in the north were making a show of resistance to the royal authority, and we have a letter from John Coppyll, the constable, dated there the 18th of January, 1404, in which he assures the king of the safety of the castle and lordship.¹³⁵ Westmoreland appears to have subsequently purchased the office of constable. He bestowed it on Sir Thomas Gray of Heaton, who thereupon, on the 6th of August, promised to spend his life in peace or war with the Earl on receiving from him in time of war the same wages as others of his own degree.¹³⁶

In 1419 Sir William Elmeden was appointed constable of the castle by Henry V. War broke out almost immediately afterwards between England and Scotland. The Scots were well informed of the extremely weak state the castle was in owing to its not having been kept in repair, and to the insufficient number of men-at-arms and bowmen in the garrison.¹³⁷ Sir William therefore, acting on his own responsibility,

¹³² 'Set jam tarde, certi fratres predicatorum dicte ville de Baumburgh, fervore malicie erumpentes, quandam brachetam Jolyfe interfecerunt et eam in dictum fontem vocatum Maudeleynwelle, cum petris circa collum ejusdem brachete ligatis, private projecerunt.'—*Ibid.*

¹³³ 'Ac postmodum quidam frater Willelmus West fontem predictum totaliter obturavit.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁴ 'To William Lloyt the lord's esquire, by the lord's letter of warrant on 23rd February at Baumburgh in Northumberland and indenture with William of Dynbigh on 1st April 1403 'ad conferendo domino usque Berwick, £133 6s 8d.'—*Eschequer Q.R. Misc.* (Army No. 45); *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 136.

¹³⁵ *Royal and Historical Letters temp. Henry IV.* Rolls Series, i. p. 206.

¹³⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, Series B, 3515. P.R.O.

¹³⁷ 'Statimque post ingressum ipsius Willelmi in officia predicta guerra inter regnum Anglie et illos de Scocia subito inchoaverit ac inimici de regno Scocie

engaged on the 8th of September six men-at-arms, John Elmeden, Thomas Forster, two John Lermouths, John Chatour, and Thomas Blakwoode, at a shilling a day each, together with twelve bowmen, John Bare, John Taillour, William Roche, Thomas Coke, Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Bour, Thomas Rosse, Edward Todd, John Elwyke, Peter Wade, Thomas Bell and John Clerkson, at sixpence, for the defence of the castle. He maintained them, in addition to his own messmates,¹³⁸ for two years and more, till peace was made with Scotland. Moreover, he laid out £66 8s. 8d. in repairing the castle, particularly the north wall near the gate of the tower and the drawbridge and well there, two ovens in the baker's house, two coppers in the brewery, the north wall near the postern, the chamber called Neville Chamber, the 'rakkys' for defending the walls, and the walls of the Valetippyng, the Reed, and the Maiden Towers, which were in no condition to resist the attacks of the enemy.¹³⁹ Elmeden had the singular good fortune to be ultimately allowed the expences he thus incurred.

Bamburgh played an important part in the Wars of the Roses. The castle, which had been surrendered to Edward IV. some time after the battle of Towton, was recovered by Margaret of Anjou, aided by French vessels and Scottish troops, in October, 1462. Writing to his father from Holt Castle, in Denbighshire, on the 1st of November, John Paston the younger remarks, 'Syr Wylliam Tunstale is tak with the garyson of Bamborowth, and is lyke to be hedyd, and by the menyys of Sir Richard Tunstale, his owne brodyr.'¹⁴⁰ Bamburgh was entrusted by Margaret to the charge of Henry Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Ralph Percy.¹⁴¹ Soon afterwards the queen

tunc bene informati extiterant de gravi debilitate Castri predicti occasione non reparacionis ejusdem necnon de debilitate stuffure hominum armatorum et sagittariorum ejusdem, &c.—*Ministers' Accounts*, Bamburgh, ½ 7 Hen. V.-8 Hen. VI. (*Comptus Willelmi Elmedene*) P.R.O.

¹³⁸ 'Ultra suos proprios commensales.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁹ 'Videlicet, in reparacione muri borealis juxta portam Turris ibidem, in reparacione pontis ibidem, in reparacione fontis ibidem, in reparacione domus pistoris in duabus fornacibus in eadem domo, in reparacione duorum plumborum braccine ibidem, in reparacione muri borealis juxta le posterne, in reparacione Camere vocate Neville Chambre, in reparacione de rakkys pro muris ibidem defendendis, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate Valetippyng, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate le Reede Tour, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate le Maiden Tour.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 120.

¹⁴¹ William Wyrcestre's *Chronicle* in *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, ed. Hearne, 1771, ii. p. 494; C. L. Perceval, *Inaccuracies in the Accounts of the early years of Edward IV.*, in *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 269.

was herself besieged in the castle. Hearing of the advance of King Edward with a large army, she went on board a 'carvyle' with the intention of sailing to France. A violent storm arose, and Margaret, abandoning the 'carvyle' and the treasure it contained, was glad to reach Berwick in a small boat. That same day four hundred of her French troops were driven on shore near Bamburgh, and being cut off from the Lancastrian garrison in the castle by the Yorkist lines, burnt their ships to prevent these being taken, and sought safety for themselves on Holy Island. A party of two hundred Yorkists, under the Bastard Ogle and John Manners, who had already occupied the island, allowed themselves to be surprised by the unexpected arrival of the French fugitives. In the end, however, more than two hundred of the foreigners, some of whom fled for protection to the church, were either slain or made prisoners.¹⁴²

On the 10th of December the siege of Bamburgh, as well as that of Alnwick and Dunstanburgh, was begun in good earnest by the great Earl of Warwick, who, fixing his head-quarters at Warkworth, rode round every day to direct the operations.¹⁴³ There were no more than three hundred men left with the Duke of Somerset, Lord de Ros. Sir Ralph Percy, and the Earl of Pembroke, to man the walls of Bamburgh against the great army collected there by Lords Montagu,

¹⁴² "Regina Margareta cepit castrum de Anwyk et obsessa erat in castro de Banburw. Et cum cc. Anglici intrassent quandam parvam insulam in illis partibus ad succurrendum se si necesse fuisset, ipsis nescientibus, advenerunt cccc. de Francigenis ad eos includendos et capiendos, et subito in Anglicos irruerunt; sed capti et interfecti erant ex Francigenis cc. et plures, et alii fugierunt ut dicitur.—*Lambeth MS.* 448, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. Publ. (133) 1880, p. 156. Fabyan says:—' (Queen Margaret) brake her array and fled, and took a carvyle, and therein intended to have sailed into France. But such a tempest fell upon the sea that she was constrained to take a fisher's boat, and by means thereof landed at Berwick, and so drew her to the Scottish king. And shortly after her landing tidings came to her that her said carvyle was drowned, within the which she had great treasure and other riches. And the same day upon four hundred Frenchmen were driven upon land near unto Bamburgh, where they for so much as they might not have away their ships they fired them, and after for their safeguard took an island within Northumberland, where they were assailed by one called Manners with others in his company, and of them slain and taken as many as there were. Halle and Grafton corroborate this, naming Holy Island as the seat of the adventure, and mentioning 'the Bastard Ogle and John Manners' as the assailants.'—Perceval, *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 270. Dr. Perceval, however, failed to understand the ins and outs of this complicated incident. That Yorkists were quartered on Holy Island is shown by the entry in the Priory accounts, 1463-4, of 60s. from Robert and Henry Haggerston and their men, for their dinner for a year.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 122.

¹⁴³ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

Strange, Say, Gray of Wilton, Lumley, and Ogle.¹⁴⁴ The Earl of Worcester appears to have come on from the camp before Dunstanburgh in order to assume the chief command, and a few days later to have been joined by the Earl of Arundel.¹⁴⁵ The besieging force was then estimated at 10,000 men, and in the face of these overwhelming odds the castle surrendered conditionally on Christmas Eve.¹⁴⁶ The conditions were that life and limb should be spared, that the leaders of the garrison should be restored to their estates on swearing allegiance to Edward, and that Sir Ralph Percy should have the custody of the castles of Dunstanburgh and Bamburgh.¹⁴⁷ All the same, about the following Lent, Sir Ralph 'by false collusion and treason he let the French men take the castle of Bamburgh from him *volens volo*.'¹⁴⁸

The Lancastrians, though they had regained possession of the most important fortresses in the North, still failed to make any substantial progress, and in April, 1463, Queen Margaret set sail from Bamburgh for Flanders in company with the Duke of Exeter, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Pierre de Brezé, and two hundred others, on board four 'balyngarrys.'¹⁴⁹ Her husband King Henry was left behind at

¹⁴⁴ *Cotton Charter*, xvii. 10 (see above p. 179n).

¹⁴⁵ 'The Wednesday by fore Cristmasse, Anno Domini M^o. cccc. lxi^o. In castello de Banburw sunt dux de Somerset, comes de Penbrok, dominus de Roos et Radulfus Percy, cum ccc. hominibus. At the seege of Hem (them) sunt comes de Wyceter, comes de Arundel, dominus de Ogyl et dominus de Muntegeu cum XMⁱ.'—*Lambeth MS.* 448; Camden Soc. Publ. (133), 1880, pp. 158, 159.

¹⁴⁶ Stow, *Annales*, ed. 1614, p. 417.

¹⁴⁷ Gregory, *Chronicle*; Camden Soc. Publ. (122), 1876, p. 219: Among those who yielded on these conditions appears to have been Sir Nicholas Latimer. He had been attainted 4 Nov. 1 Ed. IV. 'aftre which,' he states in a petition to that king, 12 May, 8 Ed. IV., 'at your Castell of Baumburgh, in your Shire of Northumbr', by the right noble Lordes th' Erles of Warrewyk and Worcestre, with other there havyng sufficient auctorite by your Highnes, appoyntment was taken that the said Nicholas shuld come and submitte hym to youre goode grace, and therupon to have your Pardon.'—*Rot. Parl.* vi. p. 230b.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 220. A Yorkist writer would naturally style the partisans of Margaret 'Fraynysche men,' whether they were all French or not. The time of this surrender is fixed by Fabyan, *Chron.* ed. Ellis, 1811, p. 663.

¹⁴⁹ Wyreestre, *Chron.* p. 496; *Arch.* xlvii. p. 275. 'Queene Margarete whythe alle hir consaile, and Syr Perys de Brasey whythe the Fraynysche men, fledde a-wey by water with iiij balyngarrys; and they lonyd at the Schluse in Flaundys, and lefte Kyng Harry that was be hynde hem, and alle hyr hors and hyr harneys, they were so hastyd.'—Gregory, *Chron.* p. 220. The 'balyngarrys' were probably 'whalers.' Dr. Perceval, *Arch.* xlvii. 1883, pp. 275, 286-294, has shown that, in all probability, this was the final departure of Margaret of Anjou from Northumberland; but his criticisms on Miss Strickland are hardly fair, as they are directed against statements in the 2nd edition of her *Lives of the Queens*, which had then already been considerably modified in the several later editions of that most popular work. In the edition of 1877 (Bohn), vol. i. p. 598n, Miss Strickland triumphantly refers to the *Chronique des Derniers Ducs de Bourgogne*, by the contemporary George Chastellain (b. 1404, d. 1474), in support of the story of

Bamburgh. He appears to have remained a whole year or more in the castle, issuing letters of protection there for William Burgh on the 8th of December, 1463,¹⁵⁰ and granting a charter to the burgesses of Alnwick on the 9th of April, 1464.¹⁵¹ In all probability he fled back to Bamburgh from the fatal battle fought near Hexham on the 8th of May. At any rate, on the last day of that month, Sir Henry Bellingham and Sir Thomas Philip, knights, and William Lermouth and Thomas Elwyk of Bamburgh and John Retford of Lincolnshire, gentlemen, John Purcas of London, yeoman, Philip Castelle of Pembroke in South Wales, Archibald and Gilbert Ridley of Langley in Northumberland, and Gawen Lamplough of Warkworth, gentlemen, John a Whynfell of Naworth in Cumberland, yeoman, and Alexander Bellingham of Burneside in Westmoreland, gentleman, 'adhered unto Henry, called late king,' at Bamburgh, and 'him assisted, succoured, and helped.'¹⁵²

Whatever became of Henry VI., and these his immediate adherents, Sir Ralph Grey, who had fled from the field of Hexham before the battle began, remained in command of Bamburgh castle.¹⁵³ On the

Queen Margaret's presence at the battle of Hexham in 1464 and her subsequent adventure with the robber. But on referring to Chastellain's account (i.e. Part. chapitre xx.), it turns out that it was two years previously, in 1462, that Margaret related the story of this adventure to the Duchess of Bourbon in Chastellain's presence at St. Pol, and that therefore 'the last unhappy discomfiture, when she was taken prisoner and robbed of all her wealth, including her crown jewels and plate, and the treasures that she was endeavouring to carry with her to Scotland' ('la derrenière mal-eurée desconfiture où elle fut prinse et saisie, elle fut robbée et pillée de tout son vaillant, de ses royaulx joyaulx etabis, de ses grosses vasselles, et des trésors les quels cuidoit aller sauver en Escocce'), must have been during her retreat from Towton towards Scotland in 1461. There are circumstances that make it possible that, after all, the adventure did take place in the woods of Hexhamshire, and so the tradition of the Queen's Cave, if a genuine tradition, may have some foundation in fact, although it can have absolutely no connection with the battle of Hexham. Bishop Stubbs, whose knowledge of the period has much improved since the publication of the 1st edition of his *Constitutional History*, now says 'it appears almost certain that Margaret, after her departure from England in 1463, remained abroad until 1470'—4th ed. crown 8vo, Oxford, 1890, p. 205n, but he cautiously refers to Plummer's notes on Fortescue, p. 62. For a very interesting letter of the chivalrous young Edward Prince of Wales, probably written soon after Margaret's arrival in Lorraine, see *Archæological Journal*, vii. p. 170.

¹⁵⁰ Perceval, *Notes on Documents belonging to Sir John Lawson, Bart.*, in *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 190.

¹⁵¹ Tate, *History of Alnwick*, ii. App. VI.

¹⁵² *Rot. Parl.* v. p. 511, b.

¹⁵³ 'Radulfus Gray fugit de Hexham ante bellum inceptum ad castrum Bamburgh, et post bellum de Hexham multi ex parte Regis Henrici fugerunt in eodem castrum. Et non longò postea comes Warwick cum maximis milibardis obsedit idem castrum.'—Wyrcestre, *Chron.* p. 499; *Arch.* xlvii. p. 280n.

25th of June the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the newly created Earl of Northumberland, having kept the feast of St. John Baptist at Dunstanburgh, proceeded to lay formal siege to the castle. They despatched the king's Chester herald, with their own Warwick herald, to say unto Sir Ralph Grey and 'other that kept his rebellious opinion,' that they were immediately to deliver up the place, when all the garrison would be accorded a royal pardon, from which, however, Sir Humphrey Neville and Sir Ralph Grey were specially excepted, 'as out of the king's grace without any redemption.' To this summons Sir Ralph replied that he had 'clearly determined within himself to live or die in the castle.' Thereupon the heralds declared that all the guilt of bloodshed would be laid to his charge, and one of them delivered this final message:—'My lords ensureth you, upon their honour, to sustain siege before you these seven years or else to win you. My said Lord Lieutenant and my said Lord Warden hath also given us further commandment to say unto you, if ye deliver not this Jewel, the which the king our most dread sovereign Lord hath so greatly in favour, seeing it marcheth so nigh his ancient enemies of Scotland, he specially desireth to have it, whole, unbroken with ordinance; if ye suffer one great gun laid unto the wall and be shot, and prejudice the wall, it shall cost you the chieftain's head; and so proceeding for every gun shot, to the last head of any person within the place.'¹⁵⁴

Notwithstanding this terrible warning, Sir Ralph Grey left the herald and 'put him in devoir to make defence.' Warwick then ordered all the king's great guns to be charged at once, and 'to shoot unto the castle.' 'Newe-Castel,' the king's great gun, and 'London,' the second gun of iron so 'betyde' the place that stones of the walls flew unto the sea, while 'Dysyon,' a brazen gun of the king's,¹⁵⁵ smote through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes. The cannonade seems

¹⁵⁴ *Coll. Armor. MS.* l. 9, printed in the notes to Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 36.

¹⁵⁵ It has been suggested that as the two iron guns 'Newe-Castel' and 'London' derived their names from towns where they were probably cast, the name of the brazen gun 'Dysyon' may be a corruption of 'Dijon.' There are several curious examples of cannon with their names cast on them in the Zeughaus Museum at Berlin, and it seems a pity that a practice that gave a certain personality to them and their performances has been discontinued. Locomotive engines have similarly been deprived of their names in recent years on the principal English railways, and neither travellers nor drivers can take that interest in them that they did, while makers say that mistakes are of much more frequent occurrence in refitting them when there is no name but only a number to refer to.

to have been directed by Edward and Richard Bombartell, and other of the king's ordinance; and assisted by men-at-arms and archers they won the castle of Bamburgh, and taking Sir Ralph prisoner, led him to Edward IV., at Doncaster, where he was executed, one of the chief articles in the judgment pronounced on him by the Earl of Worcester, as constable of England, being that he 'had withstood and made fences against the king's majesty, and his lieutenant, the worthy Lord of Warwick, as appeareth by the strokes of the great guns in the king's walls of his castle of Bamburgh.'¹⁵⁶

Edward IV. granted, under his great seal, an annuity of £100 to Sir Richard Ogle for 'the office and keypyng of oure Castell of Bamburgh.' Sir Richard subsequently surrendered this in Chancery, and received in recompense a grant of £40 a year for his life, which was saved to him by the Act of Resumption of 1473.¹⁵⁷ Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, was made constable of the castle; but it appears to have been in the actual keeping of his cousin, Sir Henry Percy, who, like his father, Sir Ralph, played a very important part in the history of the North.¹⁵⁸

The report of Richard Bellysyes and his fellow-commissioners in 1538 on the repairs requisite for the 'sure holding and keeping of Bamburgh' runs as follows:—

'The view of the castell of bawmborh wich is of thre grett wardes and in grett reuyn & decay albeit the scytuacyon & standyng of the said castell is of the strongest and imprinaby[ll] ground that may be, And theis thynges folloyng is most nedfull ther to be doyn.

'Fyrste the Draw brydge at the enterrye of the est warde must be all new mayd and all thynges ther to will cost xls.

'Item ther must be a new gaytt mayd of wode with seym and roye for the gaythowse at the enterre of the said draw bryge of foure yerdes and a half hye and thre yerdes and a half broyde wich will cost by estimacion all mayner of thynges vii.

'Item the walles of the two utterwardes is veray mych in rouyne

¹⁵⁶ *Coll. Armor. MS.* l. 9; Warkworth, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. Publ. 10) p. 38.

¹⁵⁷ *Rot. Parl.* vi. p. 96a. This Sir Richard does not figure in the pedigrees of the Ogle family. He was possibly the 'Bastard Ogle' of the Holy Island affair.

¹⁵⁸ Sir Henry Percy received a grant of the office of porter of Bamburgh, 3rd May, 1486, with the same wages as Thomas Marshall had.—*Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*, Rolls Series, i. p. 423. On his death the offices of receiver and porter were granted for life to Sir William Tyler, 22nd Jan. 1487.—*Ibid.* ii. p. 112.

and decay albeyt the grounde and the situacion of theym is marvellus stronge so that yf ther were but xlii be stowyd in dyvers places of the said walles wher most ned were wolde do mych gude.

‘Item ther must be an yron gaytt mayd for the innere warde of foure yerdes & a quarter hyght and thre yerdes & a quarter of breyde wich will tayke two tonne of yron xlii.

‘Item to the smyth for maykyng of the said yron gayt vjli.

‘Item ther is a gret chambere within the innerwarde that will serve very well for the hall wherof the leydes of the royf must be new cast, and a fother of leyde more towarde the mendyng of the said leydes, And the castyng & the layng of the said leydes & the warkmanschype therof iijli.

‘Item ther muste be for the said hall two doys & two wyndowes wich will cost xxs.

‘Item half a roide of sarkkyng bord for the sayd hall vjs.

‘Item ther is a nothere fayre chambere Jonyng of the north syde of the said hall that must have a new balke of vj yerdes and a half longe, wich balke most be hade frome chopwell wodes be west new castell wich wodes pertenyys to the layt monestery of new mynster and the balke must be carryd by watter & all charges therof xijs.

‘Item ther must be for the said chambere half a royd of sarkyngge borde vjs.

‘Item the leydes of the royff of the said chambere must be new cast and a fother of new leyd more towards the mendyng of theym. And for gutters spowttes and fyllettes & the charges of the castyng & laynge xlvijjs.

‘Item ther is thre fayre vawtes undere the said hall and chambere convenyent for a buttre a sellere & a store howse wich must have thre new Doyres xxs.

‘Item ther must be a new royf mayde for an howsse at the east end of the hall wich must serve for the kychynge & for larders, And undere the said howsse ther is a fayre vawte wich will sërve for a stabyll for xxiiij horssees. And for maykyng of the said royff there must be vj balkes of viij yerdes longe and for wyvers (*sic*) wallplayttes spars & other tymbere for the said royff xvj tonne of tymbere wich tymbere must be had in chopwell wodes appertenynge to the layt abbay of new mynster and for the caryage & maykyng of the said royf vijli.

'Item ther must be for coveryng of the said royf fyve roye de sclattes with lattes broddes & lym all thynges by estimacion will cost vij*li*.

'Item for the said kychynge & layrdere for wyndoys Dore and particyons by estimacion lijs iij*li*.

'Item ther must be for the stabyll a bove said of xxiiij horsse bays mayngers & rakes and a doyre the charges ther of for caryage of the tymbere & warkmanschype iij*li*.

'Item there is a narrow towre of a convenient lenth at the est syd of the said kychynge wych will be two chambers for lodgynges and must have xij geystes of iij yerdes longe and half a royd of floyngyng borde and xij spars of thre yerdes longe and a roye de sarkynge borde the charges ther of xls.

'Item the royf of the said howse must be new theykyd with leyd and must have two fudders and a half of leyd more then is of it. And for the castynge and laynge of the said leyd xxiijs.

'Item ther is a lyttyll towre at the sowth end of the sayd kychynge, wherof the leydes of the said towre must be new cast & half a fother of leyde putt to it the castyng and the laynge of the said leyd xijs.

'Item for the saym towre a roye de sarkynge borde xijs.

'Item for the floyres of the said towre a roye de floyryng borde xiijs.

'Item for the said towre for Dore and wyndowes lockes and bandes for Dore xxs.

'Item ther is two fayre Chambers well wallyd Jonyng boith to getheres standyng at the est ende of the olde walles callyde the Kynges hall & under the said two Chambers ther is foure fayr vawttes & the said two chamberys must have two newe royffes of v balkes of viij yerdes longe for ather of the said two chamberys. And the ryst of all mayner of tymbere for the royffes of boith the said chamerys will be xxx tonne of tymbere the said tymbere to be hade at chopwell woddes a for said, and at bykere wodes a lyttyll from new castell, wich bykere wodes was layt the erle of northumberlandes. And this said tymbere must be caryid by watter. And all mayner of charges as well for caryage as warkmanschype of the said royffes xiiij*li*.

'Item ther must be for coveryng of the said two chamer royffes x royd of scelaytt wich will cost with lyme lattes broides & other necessarys by estimacion xiiij*li*.

'Item ther must be for the said two chamers and for the said foure vawttes for Doyrs wyndows lockes and kays and other necessarys ther to appertenynge by estimacion *iiijli*.

'Item ther must be half a fother of leyde for a gutter to the said two chambers for the plumere wages *ijs*.

'Item ther is a brewhowse and a bakhowse boith under one royff wich is Decayd, wherfor ther must be a new royff of balkes *vj* yerdes longe. and for all other tymbere appertenynge to the said royffes *xiiij* tonne of tymbere, wich tymbere may be had at chopwell and bykare wodes aforsaid And framyd and wroght in the said woddes and caryd by watter all mayner of charges ther of by estimacion *vjli*.

'Item ther must be for coverynge of the said howse of sclattes foure royde wich wyll cost with lyme lattes broddes and othere necessarys by estimacion *vli*.

'Item for Dors wyndowes partycyons & lookes to the said howsses *xxs*.

'Item for maykyng ovynnes rayngyes fornesses & brewynge vessell meyt for a brewhowse by estimacion *viiijli*.

'Item ther must be a fother & a half of leyde for makynge of the brewynge leydes.

'Item ther must be a horse milne wych wyll cost all thynges meyte for the saym purpos *xli*.

'Item there is two draw welles wherof one in the Dongyone wich Dongyone the royff ther of is all decayd & the said well is of a marvellus grett dypnes.

'Item the other well is in the west end of the west warde and the wall that inclosys the said well to the castell must be amendyt, for the mendynge ther of and clensynge of the said well by estimacion *iiijli*.

'Item ther must be for reparellynge & a mendynge boith of dyvers fayre towres and for the walles of the innere warde that is to say for battylmenttes and for putyng in of archelare stones and for pynynge with ston where the walles is rent and rowgh castyng of the said walles with lym by estimacion *xlii*.

'Item there is foure towres within the said innere warde wherof the walles ar veray god and the tymbere of the royffes fresche and the leyde of the said foure royffes must be new castyn and there must be thre fother of leyde more for mendynge of the said royffes And for

the castynge of the leyde of new of all the foure forsaid royffes with gutters spowttes and fyllettes iiiij*li*.

‘Item dyvers of theis howses a for said must be dyght and clensyd for ther is a grett substans and quantyte of sand within theym wich in mayner has fyllyd full dyvers of the said howses. And for the labore and carrynge owte ther of iiiij*li*.

‘Summa totalis ccx*li* xs iiiij*d*.

‘And over and above the said Summa } x fother of leyd.¹⁵⁹
ther must be for the said castell }

Neither the cannonade of 1464 nor the utter absence of any attempt to keep the castle in regular repair could, however, destroy the basalt ramparts of Queen Bebbas fortress. Leland calls Bamburgh ‘some-time a huge and great castle, one of the strongest in those parts.’¹⁶⁰ William Patten, Londoner, who accompanied the Duke of Somerset on his expedition to Scotland in 1547, thus writes enthusiastically of the place:—‘Tuesday, xxx of August. This day his Grace having journeyed in the morning a x mile (from Alnwick) dined at Bamborow Castle whereof one Sir John Horsley Knight is captain. The plot of this castle standeth so naturally strong, that hardly can any where (in my opinion) be found the like: inaccessible on all sides, as well for the great height of the crag whereon it standeth, as also for the outward form of the stone whereof the crag is, which (not much amiss perchance) I may liken to the shape of long bavons,¹⁶¹ standing on end with their sharper and smaller ends upwards. Thus is it fenced round about, and hath hereto on the east side the sea, at flood coming up to the hard walls. This castle is very ancient, and called in Arthur’s days (as I have heard) Joyous Garde: hither came my Lord Clinton from shipboard to my Lord. In the afternoon his Grace rode to Berwick xiiii mile further.’¹⁶²

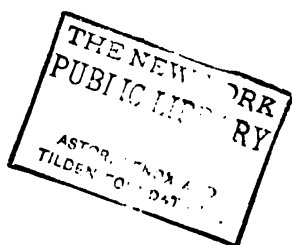
In 1550 Sir Robert Bowes advised that Bamburgh Castle should be surveyed and kept in proper repair ‘for the scyte therof is wonder-

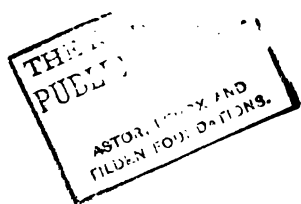
¹⁵⁹ *Chapter House Book*, B₁₁, p. 53, P.R.O. This Survey was printed with comparatively great accuracy by Mr. Hartshorne in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 244n.; but the place assigned to it, among the notes to the chapter on the Barony of Prudhoe, was not well chosen.

¹⁶⁰ See *ante*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹ i.e. faggots of brushwood.

¹⁶² Dalzell, *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 28. John Horsley appears to have followed Somerset to Scotland, and to have been made a knight banneret at the battle of Musselburgh.—Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 104, quoting Holingshead, *Chron.* ii. 991.





full strong, and the keping of the same castle is the best office that the King's ma^{tie} gevethe, within the east marches of England.¹⁶³

As usual, little or nothing seems to have come of Sir Robert's representations.

In June, 1575, a special commission was directed by Queen Elizabeth to Thomas Bates, supervisor of crown lands in Northumberland, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, John Selby, porter of Berwick, William Reade, captain of Holy Island, and Robert Raynes, bidding them repair to the castle of Bamburgh and execute six articles of inquiry on the Queen's behalf.¹⁶⁴ It is to them and their panel of twelve jurors that we owe:—

'THE SURVEY [and view taken of]¹⁶⁵ the Castell of Bambrough in the County of Northumberland the [four] and twentieth Day [of October in the 17th year]¹⁶⁶ of the reigne of our soveraigne lady the Quenes ma^{tie} that now ys by the Comissioners and Jury above named as foloweth: [To the first article, the said castle is scituate upon a may]ne Rocke [on] the sea banke, a very stronge scituatyon, and hath on the Coast Northward from yt the Holy Iland distant [by estimacion four miles and from thence the] Quenes Ma^{ties} towne of Barwick distant from Iland six miles And towards the Sowth from Bamburgh, on [the sea coast ys scytuate the castle of Dunstan]borough parcell of hir ma^{ties} Possessions of the Duchy of Lankester distant five myles or thereabowtes w^{ch} sayd Ca[stell of Bamburgh, in] the said [Commission named is] in utter ruine and Decaye, the Draw Bridge and gates ys so broken that [there is] no usuall entry on the [fore part save at a breach in the wall, that hath been] well walled and yett hath walles much decayed standing, and ys of thre wardes in the two utterwards w[hereof nothing is but walls much] decayed; [in the

¹⁶³ *State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI.* vol. iv. No. 30, P.R.O.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 206.

¹⁶⁴ *Special Commissions*, Northumberland, 17 Eliz. No. 1729, P.R.O. Dated 'apud Westm. xvij die Junii anno regni nostri xvij.' The Survey 'in lingua Anglicana scripta' was confirmed by an 'inquisitio indentata' taken at Bamburgh before Selby, Reade, and Bates, 16 Apr. 1576.—*Ibid.* m. 3.

¹⁶⁵ The words between the parentheses are mostly supplied from a copy of this survey printed in Hutchinson's *View of Northumberland*, ii. p. 168n, as the original is in an extremely bad state of preservation. Hutchinson was indebted for this copy to Ralph Spearman of Eachwick, and in spite of its many inaccuracies it now proves most valuable.

¹⁶⁶ This survey was originally dated '16 Eliz.' The date of the writ for the Commission, and the subsequent mention of the day of the week, 'the *monday* the xxiiijth of October,' conclusively prove this to be an error for '17 Eliz.'

innermost] ward ys one tower of xxv yeardes square, by estimatyon standing upon the top of [the rocke an]d in the same a w[ell of fresh water, the walls] whereof are upright [but] much Ruyned and decayed with wether The rooffe wherof which hath bene tymber and some tyme co[vered] with [lead as it seemeth is utterly decayed and gone; within the] said ward [al]so have bene the principall Lodginges of the howse, and as yt may appeare [al]l the offyces belonging th[ereunto which for the more part, as it seems, have] bene l[ong in] decay and the ruinousse walls do in the most part therof stand And yet in one p[art of the same lodgings hath] been of [late a lodging for the] Cap[tain, the par]ts whereof called the halle and great chamber have bene Covered wth Leade and yet [have] some Leade upon [them, and in some parts revin and the lea]d ta[ken away.] Th[e hall in] the Captaines Lodging conteaneth in length xj yeardes and in bredth vij yeardes by estimatyon, [hath lead upon it yet, by estimation . . . fothers; the] great Chamber conteanyng in length x yeardes and in bredth v yeardes by estimation hath lead [yet remaini]ng [to the value of . . . fothers by] est[imation the] reast of the lead of both howses decayed and taken away. The timber [of both the said houses is peri]shed and in much dec[ay; within the said ward] hath bene of Late a chappell and other littell Turrettes Covered, all which be now utterly decayed [saving the . . .] walles [of the most part thereof, mu]ch worn with wether standeth.

* * * * *
 ‘[There is belonging to] the said [castle the demayne lan]ds of Bambrough, the demayne lands at Sunderland, The townes or hamletts of Bedenhall [Shorston and] Sunderland, [all which be reputed as] the proper Lordshipp belonging to the said Castelle and besydes the payment of ther rents in mony and [grains mentioned in the] next [article following they or] some of theme (perfectly there knowen) do owe by there tenures and by Custome certain services [to the said castle] as the casting [away of sand and cleansing] the said Castell thereof. Certaine day works of husband labor for the occupation and [enjoying] of the [said demayne lands, and alsoe that every two tenan]ts shoode bring every yere one cart lode of wood from Rochewood and one Lode of [turves from the Kings Moore to the said castle to be spent with certaine] other accustom-

able services To the said Castell also belongeth a certaine pece of ground w[hich as it] semeth h[ath] beene inclosed, because there remaineth] yet abowt yt the mēcyē (*sic* memory ?) wher the Dyche hath bene, called by the name of Roche wood [where great] woods [hath be]ene but now [utterly decayed] and no wood at all remayneth theron. Ther ys also certaine other townes as Bewick, Dychburn [Calvele, Eslington,] Yetlington, [Midleton Midle,] Midleton north and Midleton sowth, Mulsfen, and Bedenhall; which pay yerely severall [rents] unto the said [Castell, whic]h rents [be commonly called Dring]age.

* * * * *
 ‘ For the decay of the said Castell of Late tyme, the deposicyons of certaine persones who were servants [to Sir J]ohn horseley Late Capitane there, ys by vertew of the said Comissyon taken, as foloweth at Bambrough the monday the xxiiijth of October [in the] xvjth yere of the reigne of the Quenes ma^{tie} that now ys: Willm Hunter of Thornihawhe¹⁶⁷ in the county of Northumberland of [the age] of liij yeres or therabowts sworne and examined, to the first, second third fowerth fiveth and Sixth, sayeth that in the tyme of S^r John [hor]seley Late Capitane of the said Castell and at his death ther was in the said Castell, one hall, one great Chamber, and one other Chamber [on the] East syde of the hall all covered with lead, and furnyshed in other reparatyons, at that tyme convenient, to be dwelled in, and that there [was] at that tyme two other Chambers in the said Castell likewise covered with leade and in like reparacyons, And that ther was in the said [Castell] a kitching covered with Flagge and a Chappell covered with sclate, and that under the said hall and great Chamber were sellers for offices [with] doores and all such other furnitures as wer Convenient, and being examined how he knowth the same to be trew he sayeth that Sir John horsley [who] was the last Capitane ther, before Sir John foster, did dwell and kepe his howse continually in the said Castell, and that this Deponent was his servant and [di]d for the most part attend on him ther.

‘ Henry Muschants of the grenes¹⁶⁸ in the County of Northumberland of the age of Liiij yeres or ther abowt sworne and Examined to

¹⁶⁷ Thornyhaugh on the right bank of the Coquet, just above Brinkburn priory.

¹⁶⁸ Apparently in Felton parish, a little to the north of Swarland.

the first Second third Fowarth, fiveth and sixt articles sayeth in all things as his cotestye Willm hunter [hath] said saving that he sayeth the tymber of the chapell was in some decay at that tyme, as he doth remember.

‘(T)h(omas?) Ersden of the Feild head¹⁶⁹ in the County of Northumberland, of the Age of Lx yeres, or ther abowts sworne and Examined to the first [second] third fowerth fiveth and syxt sayeth in all things as his precotesties have said.

‘WHICH Lodgings are now in utter decay, the Chappell [tim]ber and stones cleane taken away and all thother buildings before mencioned, save onely the hall and great Chamber which have yett some [lead] upon them as appeareth in the answer of the first article, the Tymber by reason of the leade taken away, is much perished [but] by whome the same spoile ys done they know not.

‘The decay of the Decay (*sic*) of the Castell ys before declared and [what] the repayre therof will cost they know not, but yf yt shalbe to any purpose, to restore the former strength and Bewty therof, the [charges will] be great. And they say that to ther knowledg, the Quenes ma^{tie} ys to repare and maneteane the same, bycause yt ys the auncyent Inheritance [of the] Crowne.’

When we remember the scandalous way in which Sir John Forster, who had succeeded Horsley as captain of Bamburgh, set to work to ruin Alnwick and Warkworth for his own purposes,¹⁷⁰ there can be little doubt that ‘the spoil’ of Bamburgh was the consequence of his rapacity, and that the jury, for fear of offending him, had recourse to the convenient plea of ignorance. The serving men of Horsley, who had long before earned the character of ‘a true man, a wise borderer, and well minded to justice,’¹⁷¹ in vain bore witness to the very different state of things that prevailed at Bamburgh in their master’s time. In 1584, however, Forster was directly charged with having laid waste the castle, together with a gentleman’s house and six tenements in the village.¹⁷² His family had received a grant of the possessions of the cell of Austin canons at Bamburgh in about 1545,¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Fieldhead, a mile east of Long Horsley Church.

¹⁷⁰ See *ante*, p. 127.

¹⁷¹ *Cotton MS.* Calig. B. vi. 244, fo. 432; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 68.

¹⁷² See *ante*, p. 80.

¹⁷³ *Originalia*, 37 Hen. VIII. pars iv. ro. lxxx.

and on the 15th of March, 1610, James I. bestowed the castle and lordship on Claudius Forster, the son of one of Sir John's illegitimate progeny.¹⁷⁴ The estates of the Forsters of Bamburgh were sold to pay their debts in 1704, and were purchased by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who had married one of their co-heiresses. On his death in 1720, Lord Crewe left the greater part of his property to trustees for charitable purposes. The restoration of the castle was commenced by the Crewe Trustees in 1757. On Sunday the 10th of August, 1766, Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, the trustee by whose zeal the work was carried out, had the satisfaction of entertaining at dinner in the court room of the keep, Dr. Trevor, Bishop of Durham, who had been holding a confirmation in the village.¹⁷⁵ 'Dr. Sharp,' says Pennant, writing in 1769, 'has repaired and rendered habitable the great Norman square tower: the part reserved for himself and family, is a large hall and a few smaller apartments; but the rest of the spacious edifice is allotted for purposes which make the heart to glow with joy when thought of. The upper part is an ample granary; from whence corn is dispensed to the poor without distinction, even in the dearest time, at the rate of four shillings a bushel; and the distressed for many miles round, often experience the convenience of this benefaction. Other apartments are fitted up for shipwrecked sailors, and bedding is provided for thirty, should such a number happen to be cast on shore at the same time.'¹⁷⁶

Grose, whose remarks are entitled to more attention than those of most writers who have treated of Bamburgh, tells us in 1776:— 'The stones with which the keep or great tower is built, are (some lintels excepted) remarkably small, and were taken from a quarry at Sunderland (next the) sea three miles distant. From their smallness,

¹⁷⁴ *Writ of Privy Seal*, 7 James I. Camden's account of Bamburgh is only curious from its ascribing the destruction of the castle to the Lancastrians:— 'Nostra . . . etate castrum potius quam ciuitas habetur, sed adeo amplum vt ciuitatis sit emulum. . . . Decoris maximam partem longo pōst tempore, intestino bello amisit, cūm Bressius Normannus vir militaris qui Lancastrensi familie studuit inclementius in illud senuiret. Iam inde verò cum tempore, et ventis conflictatum est, qui incredibilem vim sabuli ex oceano in eius munitiones per fenestras patentes conuerterunt.'—*Britannia*, ed. 1587, p. 545.

¹⁷⁵ Hutchinson, *View of Northumberland*, ii. p. 174, quoting Randal's MS.

¹⁷⁶ Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 5th ed. i. p. 44. A cannon, belonging to a Dutch frigate of 40 guns, lost with all the crew opposite the castle in about 1709, was fixed on the top of the keep to be fired in case of a ship being seen in distress.—*Ibid.* p. 45n. This appears to be the cannon now 'traditionally' called the Armada Gun.

it has been conjectured they were brought hither on the backs of men, or horses. . . . The walls to the front are eleven feet thick; but the other three sides are only nine. They appear to have been built with regular scaffolding to the first story; and so high the fillings in the inside are mixed with whin-stone, which was probably what came off the rock in levelling the foundations; but there are no whin-stone fillings higher up, the walls above having been carried up without scaffolding, in a manner called by the masons over-hand work; the consequence of which is, that they all overhang a little, each side of the tower being a few inches broader at the top than at the bottom.

‘The original roof was placed no higher than the top of the second story. The reason for the side walls being carried so much higher than the roof, might be for the sake of defence, or to command a more extensive look-out, both towards the sea and land. The tower was, however, afterwards covered at the very top.

‘Here were no chimneys. The only fire-place in it was a grate in the middle of a large room, supposed to have been the guard room, where some stones in the middle of the floor are burned red. This floor was all of stone, supported by arches. This room had a window in it near the top, three feet square, intended to let out the smoke: all the other rooms were lighted by slits or chinks in the walls, six inches broad, except in the gables of the roof, each of which had a window one foot broad. The rock on which this tower stands rises about 150 feet above low water mark.

‘The outworks are built of a very different stone from that of the keep, being a coarse free-stone of an inferior quality, ill abiding the injuries of the weather. This stone was taken from the rock itself; a large seam of it lying immediately under the whin-stone.

‘In all the principal rooms in the outworks there are large chimneys; particularly in the kitchen, which measures forty feet by thirty; where there are three very large ones, and four windows: over each window is a stone funnel, like a chimney, open at the top; intended, as it is supposed, to carry off the steam.

‘In a narrow passage, near the top of the keep, was found upwards of fifty iron heads of arrows, rusted together into one mass; the longest of them about seven inches and a half. It is likely they were originally all of the same length. There was likewise found some painted

glass, supposed to have formerly belonged to the windows of the chapel. It was not stained; but had the colours coarsely laid upon it.

'In December 1770, in sinking the floor of the cellar, a curious draw well was accidentally found. Its depth is 145 feet, cut through the solid rock; of which 75 feet is a hard whin-stone.

'In the summer of the year 1773, on throwing over the bank a prodigious quantity of sand, the remains of the chapel was discovered; in length 100 feet. The chancel is now quite cleared. It is 36 feet long, and 20 feet broad; the east end, according to the Saxon fashion, semicircular. The altar, which has been likewise found, did not stand close to the east end, but in the centre of the semicircle, with a walk about it, three feet broad, left for the priest to carry the host in procession. The front (font), richly carved, is also remaining.'¹⁷⁷

Before proceeding with his restoration of the keep, Dr. Sharp appears to have been careful to make sketches and notes of the exact condition he found it in, and these, sometime previous to his death in 1792, he communicated to Edward King, an antiquary of great erudition but little common sense. 'From his account,' says King, speaking of Dr. Sharp and Bamburgh keep, 'which I received with several most curious drawings, it appears, that very strong vestiges of its real antiquity, actually *remained visible*, before Bishop *Crew's* charity was applied to make that great change in the whole appearance, which now deceives the eye of the antiquary. . . . Instead of there having been magnificent State rooms in the *upper stories*, at a great height, as in *Gundulph's Towers*,¹⁷⁸ there appeared to have been a roof let in low, beneath the top of the building, as at *Porchester*, and at *Castleton*,¹⁷⁹—and even to have been placed no higher than the top of the second story. from the ground;—insomuch that the middle old small window of what is now the third story, must have been a mere large

¹⁷⁷ Grose, *Antiquities*, 1785, iv. pp. 56-58. The two plates there given represent the north-west and the south aspects of the castle, and were drawn respectively in 1773 and 1771, when the keep was all that had been restored. It is curious to note how Grose's phrases have been copied and recopied *non mutatis mutandis* in every description of Bamburgh from Hutchinson and Mackenzie down to the very latest guide-books. Scissors and paste are two of the most formidable enemies of true provincial history.

¹⁷⁸ *I.e.*, Rochester Castle and St. Leonard's Tower, West Malling; but the former is probably really later than Bishop Gundulf's time.

¹⁷⁹ King shows this 'inverted pointed roof' in fig. 6 pl. xxvii., and in sections of the keeps of Castleton (Derbyshire) and Porchester in vol. ii. figs. 2, 3, pl. xxi. The roof of Porchester resembled a double V.

loop for shooting arrows, or used as a sort of *look-out*, between the slopings of the roof, to which the walls carried up so much higher all round, were a defence. In subsequent ages, indeed, the Tower was covered at the very top of the third floor: but the vestiges in the side walls of the stone mouldings, in the form of a V, remained to Doctor Sharp's time. It clearly appeared also, that *originally* all the rooms beneath were lighted only by very narrow loops, or small slits in the wall: and even the chief room on the first story, only by a window, near its top, three feet square, far unlike any Norman windows;—whilst, in each of the deep gable ends of the old roof, was a window only one foot broad. . . . To all these observations, (from the peculiar representations in the drawings, sent to me by Dr. Sharp,) it may be added, that it seems as if there originally was an antient entrance to this Castle (keep), up a flight of steps up the outside to a door where the large window now is on the south-west side.¹⁸⁰

The rebuilding of the outer wall of the castle towards the sea in the beginning of the century was followed by the conversion of the ruins of the Great Hall and Kitchen into buildings for the schools which were established under the direction of Dr. Bowyer, Archdeacon of Northumberland, in 1810.¹⁸¹ The strong westerly winds that prevailed in 1817 removed a great mass of sand and laid bare a burial-ground, the existence of which had been entirely forgotten, about three hundred yards to the south-east of the Great Gate.¹⁸² Before 1825 the chapel 'that crowned the south-east point of the castle's area, and which had long remained unfinished,' was taken down, and the wall that stretched from that point towards the keep, together with two flanking towers, were 'completely repaired.'¹⁸³ The Crewe Trustees had already procured plans for improving the mean appearance of the Great Gate, and for erecting a lodge in the most approved style of

¹⁸⁰ King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, 1804, iii. pp. 220-224. The large plan of Bamburgh there given, as supplied by Dr. Sharp, is now peculiarly valuable.

¹⁸¹ Mackenzie, *View of Northumberland*, 1825, i. p. 410.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p. 409n. 'The graves had been formed with flag stones set on edge.' Mackenzie gives the distance as 'about 200 yards.' The Ordnance Survey, with its usual sapience, has denominated this cemetery 'old Danish Burying Ground.' Was this the 'cimiterium' towards which the pious thief of St. Oswald's head went out afar in order to mount his horse? See above, p. 207.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* According to the traditions of Bamburgh, this comparatively modern chapel had been actually finished and services had at one time been held in it.

villa Gothic near the postern at Elmund's Well, when the idea of any further restoration of the castle appears to have been abruptly abandoned.

The earliest description of Bamburgh¹⁸⁴ continues to be, in a great measure, the most accurate. The surface of the rock rises in a south-easterly direction from about 100 feet to 150 feet above low water mark. The castle is nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and comprises within its walls 4·770 acres, divided into three wards.¹⁸⁵ The slopes of the west or lower ward, and of the east or middle ward, appear to have been covered with the buildings of the ancient city, at the highest point of which, as our old chronicler tells us, was the celebrated draw-well,¹⁸⁶ now enclosed in the keep. The plateau forming the inner, innermost, or upper ward still gradually rises some feet to the eastern extremity of the rock which was once occupied by the basilica of St. Peter.¹⁸⁷ The original entrance of the castle, scooped out of the rock and possessed of a flight of steps that excited no less wonder than the excavation of the draw-well, appears to have been at the north-west and lowest corner of the area.¹⁸⁸ Evident traces are left of the rock having been here worked away; but the postern itself has been refaced by Lord Crewe's Trustees, and the steps also are modern. A further flight of steps leads from this postern through a round-headed and very weather-worn doorway down into an outwork among the sandhills that has been surrounded by a strong wall of archaic masonry. In the north-west angle of this outwork stood the Tower

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 228n. 15.

¹⁸⁵ 'Quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ 'In summitate ipsius civitatis.'—*Ibid.* The church was on the highest point of the whole rock—'in summitate montis'; and the well to the west of it—'in occidente.'

¹⁸⁷ It is impossible not to believe that this 'ecclesia præpulchre facta' (see above, p. 228n. 15), this 'basilica,' through the holes and corners of which the guardian of St. Oswald's head kept following the suspicious stranger (see above, p. 227n. 14), this church whose 'aditus' and 'exitus' it took Winegot so long to explore (see above, p. 229n. 21), was not something very much superior to the little twelfth century chapel that has succeeded it.

¹⁸⁸ 'Unum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum' (see above, p. 228n. 15). Professor Freeman appears to have also adopted this most natural view of the position of the primeval entrance to the castle, since, after describing the steps in his *Reign of William Rufus*, ii. p. 49, l. 22, as being at the *south-western* corner of the castle, he has deliberately altered this in the errata, p. xxiii., to '*north-western*,' without, however, vouchsafing any reason for the change. This exercise of 'the wand of the enchanter' has been lost on Mr. G. T. Clark, who continues to describe the steps leading up from within the Great Gate as the ancient entry.

of Elmund's Well, repaired in 1250, at the same time as the Barbican before the Gate of St. Oswald,¹⁹⁰ by which possibly the whole of this outwork before the ancient gate of the castle was meant. Probably this outwork was the wall built in front of the castle that collapsed with such fatal consequences to the young men engaged in mocking the Scottish host in 1138.¹⁹⁰ The well, no doubt the same as the 'Gaitwell' at the postern of 1372,¹⁹¹ is approached by steep steps of no special interest, while the base of the tower above it is used as a powder magazine.

Towards the sea the curtain-wall of the castle has been for the most part rebuilt on the ancient foundations which are now buried in the sandhills. On the land side, the curtain of the west ward extending from the postern to the Clock Tower has been replaced by a rough rubble wall considerably in rear of the original, of which several huge fragments are left. The base of the Clock Tower itself, a half-round bastion, is genuine, but beyond it the great range of stables and granaries, seventy yards long with a dozen round-headed windows, which forms the curtain of the east ward, is, with a trifling exception, the work of Dr. Sharp or his successors. The monotonous appearance of this range, the first portion of the castle to meet the eye of a stranger approaching it from the village, is to a certain extent relieved by the warm colouring of the stone. It conveys, however, the impression of some Indian hill-fort rather than a castle on our northern Border, and may best be compared in Europe with the batteries of Ehrenbreitstein. The turrets in front of the keep are also impostures, the first being *ab ovo* a work of this century, and the other having been entirely reconstructed. The west wall of the Captain's Lodging, with two window openings, has mercifully escaped the indiscriminating renovation applied to most of the castle. This ruined wall probably represents Sir Ralph Grey's chamber through which the fourth Edward's brazen gun 'Dysion' smote oftentimes during the great siege of 1464. East of this is a fine base of a bastion similar in character to the Clock Tower. Beyond this again the King's Hall stretched nearly to a small rectangular tower the basement of which

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 240.

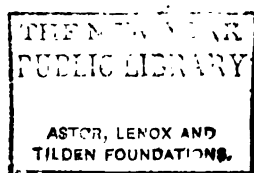
¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 235.

¹⁹¹ 'Unum posterne apud le Gaitwell,' see above, p. 249. This well, and not that in the keep, is the 'traditional' haunt of the toad into which the wicked queen is transformed in the 'Laidley Worm of Spindleston,' a spurious ballad composed in the last century.



101 PHOTO-ENGRAVING OF LT. 9. BAMBURGH CASTLE, N.

BAMBURGH CASTLE
from the South East, 1896.



is connected with the vaults between the hall and the kitchen. A larger rectangular tower, containing the Muniment Room on its second floor, caps the south-east corner of the Great Kitchen.¹⁹² A third semi-circular bastion, probably that known as the 'Davye Tower,'¹⁹³ remains in a truncated condition between the Muniment Tower and the Great Gate of the Castle on the south side.¹⁹⁴

The sixteenth-century plan of Bamburgh¹⁹⁵ represents the Great Gatehouse as a rectangle, with a wheel-stair on the left-hand side of the passage. The present gateway is flanked by two bald half-cylinder turrets, with very little sign of old work about them, though they figure in many drawings of the castle before its restoration; and their rubble-vaulted basements appear genuine. The foundations of the walls of the barbican, between which the drawbridge worked, were, until recently, visible in the roadway in front of the gate. The cutting in the rock to the west of the barbican was probably that excavated in 1237.¹⁹⁶ The gateway itself has been fatally 'Normanised,' but a portion of rubble vaulting, slightly pointed, remains above the passage, and looks like work of the end of the twelfth century. This possibly formed part of the improvements effected in the castle gates in 1197.¹⁹⁷ A flight of steps which ascends to the summit of the rock, immediately to the left after passing through the gateway, have been very generally mistaken for the original entrance of the castle. There is, however, no appearance of the rock ever having been excavated here, and the steps really form part of the curtain connecting the Great Gatehouse with the wall of the inner ward. The foundations of this wall near the gatehouse appear to be of the same age as the keep. This was probably the wall between 'Davvestour' and the west side of the castle gate that in 1372 Ralph Neville's executors proved they had repaired;¹⁹⁸ and it was only through a breach in this wall that

¹⁹² These two rectangular towers may have been the 'turrella,' one of which was to be built and the other finished by Hugh de Bolebec in 1237, see above, p. 239.

¹⁹³ See above, pp. 245, 249.

¹⁹⁴ 'Magna porta versus australe' see above, p. 240n. 81.

¹⁹⁵ *Cotton MS. Aug. II. 1. 2*, Brit. Mus. Judging from the five consecutive crosses shown on the altar of the chapel, this plan must have been made before the reign of Elizabeth. The scale is given as 'xx fete in the inch,' but there can have been small intention of adhering to it, except with reference to the keep and the buildings to the west of the King's Hall.

¹⁹⁶ 'Et in rupe juxta Barbicanam concavanda,' see above, p. 240n. 76.

¹⁹⁷ See above, p. 236n. 56.

¹⁹⁸ See above, p. 249.

the castle could be entered 'on the fore part' in Queen Elizabeth's time after the drawbridge and gates had gone to ruin.¹⁹⁹ The entry by this breach continued till the restoration of the gatehouse, and has not been forgotten by old Bamburgh people.

The roadway proceeds, covered on the left by the steep crag surmounted by the buttressed wall of the inner ward, for another fifty yards to a second gateway, under what seems to have been the Vale Tipping Tower.²⁰⁰ As in the Great Gate, the original vaulting of the passage of this second gate is in rubble, and slightly pointed; but we have here a plain chamfered Norman string-course. On the seaward side of the passage is a porter's lodge with a similar string-course and high pointed vault. This interesting lodge is known as the 'Barracks,' from having been occupied by soldiery at the time of the threatened descent of Napoleon on the English coast. It is about 20 feet long by 9 feet 6 inches wide, and 14 feet in height to the centre of the steep pointed vault. Plain chamfered string-courses run along the north and south sides. An original fire-place seems to have been broken away at the west end of this lodge,²⁰¹ and a large opening to have been made in the wall towards the sea, probably as a casemate for a gun. At the east end of the north wall is a fine straight buttress. The road continues for another eighty or ninety yards along the *enceinte* towards the sea, while on the left it is commanded by two turrets connected with the north wall of the inner ward. This wall formerly terminated in the Tower Gate²⁰² attached to the keep, which serves to separate the east and inner ward. An iron gate $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards high and $8\frac{1}{2}$ yards broad was recommended to be made for this gate by the commissioners of 1588.

The east and west wards are divided by a cross wall running on the top of a low basaltic cliff from the Clock Tower to the gateway between the two wards, which was probably that known as the Smith Gate.²⁰³ Half way between the tower and gate a small half round turret with prolonged sides is thrown out from the cross wall. This

¹⁹⁹ See above, p. 263.

²⁰⁰ See above, pp. 246, 249, 250, 253.

²⁰¹ It will be remembered that Thomas de Heddon was bound, as porter, to maintain the 'Porterhouse' near the Vale Typping.—See above, p. 250.

²⁰² Pembridge had suffered a 'bordour' over the 'Tourgate' to be in decay in 1372.—See above, p. 251. Elmedon repaired the north wall 'juxta portam Turreis' soon after 1419.—See above, p. 253.

²⁰³ See above, pp. 245, 249.

turret, one of the few characteristic pieces of masonry left at Bamburgh, has unfortunately been restored internally. There are grounds for apprehending that this turret and the Clock Tower were the tower and turret at 'Waldehavewell' mentioned in 1372.²⁰⁴ From the time of Henry I. a family of smiths held half a carucate of land in the borough of Bamburgh by the serjeantry of making the iron-work for the castle carts.²⁰⁵ The porter of Bamburgh was by his tenure obliged to provide a watchman on the Smith Gate every night both in peace and war.²⁰⁶ A considerable portion of old walling is left in the corner between the Smith Gate and the north curtain, and, judging from marks on the grass, a large rectangular building once stood there.

Unless the drawings presented to King by Dr. Sharp can be some day discovered,²⁰⁷ the task of describing the Great Tower or keep of Bamburgh in a manner that shall serve any good purpose in architectural history, must necessarily remain one of most considerable difficulty, since King bears witness that the result of Dr. Sharp's operations was to remove or conceal many vestiges of its antiquity. We are here concerned with the donjon of our first Plantagenet and not with the furnished apartments of Lord Crewe's Trustees.²⁰⁸ As it is, the only representation we have of the keep before it was remodelled appears to be that shown in the highly imaginative Prospect of the castle drawn by S. and N. Buck in 1728.²⁰⁹

The base of the keep has a noble plinth projecting about 4 feet, the mouldings being more Roman than Norman in their character.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ See above, p. 249. There is a tradition among the old workpeople at the castle that there was a third well in the corner of the east ward near the Clock Tower. This well was quite distinct from the water-tank now there.

²⁰⁵ 'Galfridus Faber tenet dimidiam carucate terre in capite de domino Rege in burgo de Bamburghie per servicium serjantie scilicet fabricare ferramenta de carucis castelli de Bamburghie et omnes antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servicium de antiquo feoffamento.'—*Testa de Neville*; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 236.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 250.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 269.

²⁰⁸ Detailed particulars of the present arrangement of the interior of the keep are given by Mr. G. T. Clark in his 'Bamburgh Castle,' *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. pp. 107-113.

²⁰⁹ As the Bucks' Views in Northumberland and Durham were reprinted in 1883 by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, it has not been thought necessary to insert them in the present work. The Prospect of Bamburgh shows a window with two cusped lights in the north wall of the first floor of the inner gatehouse. With that artistic licence they so constantly indulged in, the Bucks have shifted the bastion near the west end of the King's Hall to the west side of the keep.

²¹⁰ Mr. G. T. Clark suggests that the mouldings were re-cut when the building was restored.—*Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 107.

Above the plinth the tower measures 69 feet 1 inch north and south, by 61 feet 7 inches east and west. It does not stand true to the points of the compass, but it seems more natural to describe a wall fronting W.N.W. as the west rather than as the north face.²¹¹ The angles are covered by pairs of pilasters 12 feet broad, which are continued vertically above the parapet as the outer walls of four square turrets. The north and south walls have single pilasters near their centres; the east and west walls two pilasters; all rising in set-offs till they die away in the respective faces. Near the north end of the east wall is a further projection with the entrance in the base, and two loops formerly over it. Like the plinth, the pairs of detached shafts that support the double Norman arch of the doorway belong to a rather uncertain style of architecture.²¹² Immediately on the left on entering the keep a mural stair ascends in the thickness of the east wall. This stair has been known all through this century as 'the new stair'; but probably this appellation refers merely to an enlargement of the original stair which is shown on the sixteenth century plan of the castle, just as the small window that lights it represents the original loop in the Bucks' Prospect. The entrance passage led to a large hall about 51 feet in length by 23 feet in width, the vaulting being supported on a series of arches springing at right angles from two absolutely plain rectangular piers. In the south-west of the six bays thus formed is the celebrated draw-well.²¹³ There were two round-headed loops in each of the three external walls, and of these those in the north and south walls have been left more or less in their original condition. Facing the entrance was a door in a four feet cross wall giving access to a compartment of two bays with a groined roof, measuring about 16 feet by 32 feet. In the north-west corner of this

²¹¹ Mr. Clark is of the contrary opinion, and further confuses the subject by the statement that 'the north face fronts about E.N.E.'—*Ibid.*

²¹² The astragal rings seem to be unusually far down. There is a tradition of an old man having declared that he made these shafts 'just out of his own head' at the time of the restoration of the keep. The perishing nature of much of the stone and the way in which it is affected by the high winds are elements of great uncertainty in the architectural history of Bamburgh.

²¹³ This 'fons miro cavatus opere, dulcis ad potandum et purissimus ad videndum' of the old chronicler (see above, p. 228n. 1 s.) was choked and polluted during the time that Richard de Pembrigg was constable, in the reign of Edward III. (see above, p. 249). It is mentioned as being 'of a marvellus grett dypnes' in 1538 (see above, p. 261), and again in 1575 (see above, p. 264). Nevertheless its existence was absolutely forgotten till it was accidentally found in 1770 (see above, p. 269).

vault a narrow wheel-stair rises to the top of the keep, while in the opposite angle is a door communicating with a vault about 16 feet square that occupies the south-west corner of the basement. On the first floor there appears to have been originally four rooms. The largest of these, about 32 feet by 23 feet, is approached directly from the entrance by the mural stair in the south wall. This, the present Court Room, was supposed by Grose to have been a guard-room, the fire of which was in the middle of the floor, where some of the stones had been burnt red. The smoke, he thought, had escaped through a window three feet square near the top of the room.²¹⁴ This window, by far the largest in the whole building, was probably in the upper part of the enormous plate-glass window that now looks out upon the sea. From the recess over the entrance that contained a pair of loops, a further mural stair ascends to the second floor in the thickness of the east wall.

The south side of the first floor is now occupied by one long room called the Armoury. There is reason to suppose that the western end of this originally formed a separate room like that in the basement beneath it. It has a groined vault and angle shafts. The eastern end of the room, divided by a cross arch into two barrel-vaulted bays, has a sort of apsidal termination, and may possibly, though not very probably, have been a chapel.²¹⁵ A large window in the south wall was, according to King, formerly an outer door; but perhaps it merely communicated with a block of buildings that appears built in here between the keep and the curtain on the sixteenth-century plan. In the opposite wall is a door into the Court Room. Two other doors connect the Court Room and the western end of the Armoury with the present kitchen, a room 17 feet by 22 feet, from the northern loop-recess of which a short passage led to the wheel-stair in the north-west angle of the keep.

²¹⁴ See above, p. 268.

²¹⁵ Mr. Clark (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv. p. 110) says :—' Had not this chamber lain north and south it would certainly be taken for the chapel which, even as it is, one-half of it may have been. As at the Tower and at Colchester, it is the only vaulted chamber above the basement level.' As a matter of fact, however, this chamber does not lie north and south, but W.N.W. and E.S.E., and no argument against its having been a chapel can be founded on its orientation. A weightier objection lies in the ecclesiastical rule not to place an altar beneath any secular building, as it is not easy to see how this could have been got over in the present instance.

The stair coming up from the Court Room in the east wall of the keep ends in a landing from which a narrower stair is continued in the same direction round the south-east angle of the keep to a mural gallery in the south, west, and north walls, while on the left four steps lead up into a vaulted passage in the cross wall²¹⁶ between two small rooms over the Armoury on the south, and the larger rooms over the kitchen and Court Room respectively on the north side. The last of these is now the Library. It has been raised a few steps above the original level in order to give additional height to the Court Room below. It had one loop in the north and two in its east wall, from the ingoing of one of which a mural passage leads to the wall of a newel-stair in the north-east angle of the building. There is a similar passage from the northern window recess in the room over the kitchen to the newel-stair in the north-west angle. It is impossible to decide how much, if any, of the other mural passages and chambers on this floor are original. This second floor was, no doubt, the principal floor of the keep, and included what has now been made into a third floor, the low and narrow mural gallery running round the three outer walls like the triforium of a church;²¹⁷ but the subject is one of extreme

²¹⁶ Mr. Clark describes this arrangement as exceedingly rare in a Norman keep, being found elsewhere only at Dover.—*Arch. Journal*, vol. xlv. p. iii.

²¹⁷ In his *Medieval Military Architecture*, vol. i. p. 125, Mr. Clark, writing of the rectangular keeps of Norman castles, says:—'Usually, in the larger castles, the wall of the main floor is pierced, high up, by a sort of triforium gallery, into which the outer windows open, and which opens into the chamber by lofty and larger arches of 3 feet to 4 feet opening. Possibly these galleries and their windows were intended to give another line of defence; but they must have destroyed the privacy of the hall and made it very cold.' Again, in the same work, vol. ii. p. 19, in treating of the keep of Dover, which has a cross wall like that at Bamburgh, he tells us:—'The second floor is the main or state floor of the building. . . . As in the keeps of London, Rochester, and Hedingham, it had two tiers of windows, the upper passing through a mural gallery.' At Newcastle, too, in 1884 (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xli. p. 421), he reminded his audience in the keep that 'almost invariably, where there is a hall, the wall high up is perforated all round by a triforial gallery, from which windows open outwards, and corresponding arches inwards.' Yet, when it comes to Bamburgh, Mr. Clark has not one word of explanation as to why he should take for granted that the mural gallery there did not bear the same relation to the floor below as in the other keeps where mural galleries occur. It is, of course, open to any one to say that instead of being galleries these mural passages were in every case arcades round a floor at their own level. At Rochester, however, this is clearly impossible, and apparently at Dover there is no sign of any such upper floor. As to Newcastle, the joist-holes of what was probably at one time an upper floor over the hall, look very much like insertions; while this floor must have been 3 feet or so below the level of the mural passage, and there is no trace of any steps communicating between them. Dr. Bruce, it seems, was of the opinion that there was originally no upper floor over the hall, while Mr. Longstaffe, in *Arch. Atl.* N.S. vol. iv. p. 87, adopted the contrary view.

intricacy, made all the more obscure by the confused statements of Grose and King.²¹⁸ There is a third wheel-stair from the mural gallery to the roof in the south-west turret of the keep. The entire height from the basement line to the roof is only about 55 feet as compared with the 75 feet of the keep of Newcastle. It is instructive to compare the keeps of Bamburgh and Carlisle with the later ones of Newcastle and Dover. Each of the former has the entrance at the ground level with a straight mural stair just inside it, and a wheel-stair in the opposite corner of the building. Newcastle dating from 1172, and Dover from 1188, have, on the other hand, their main entrances in connection with elaborate forebuildings at the second floor level. Bamburgh, Newcastle, and Dover have various developments of mural galleries round their upper floors, while in Bamburgh and Dover the cross walls rise to the roof and are perforated, as already mentioned, by mural passages leading off the triforial galleries.

A Norman keep, relying principally on its passive strength, was intended to serve as a refuge in case the rest of the castle should be carried by storm, or the fidelity of the garrison be called in question. Dr. Sharp was probably the first person who thought of making the keep of Bamburgh a permanent abode. The domestic buildings of the castle were grouped along the southern and landward curtain of the inner ward. The buildings at the west end of this range shown on the ancient plan of the castle have now entirely disappeared, and the portion nearest the keep are the ruins of what was possibly Sir Ralph Grey's chamber at the time of the siege of 1464, and in all probability the Great Chamber that the commissioners of 1538 recommended to be used as a Hall,²¹⁹ and which the Survey of 1575 calls the Hall in the Captain's Lodging, giving its length as 11 and its width as 7 yards.²²⁰ On the north side of this was the 'fair chamber'

²¹⁸ King distinctly states that the original roof, to judge from the weather-mouldings on the north and south walls, was in the form of a single V, like that of Castleton (see above, pp. 269, 270), yet Mr. Clark, without any explanation, assures us that it was 'ridge and furrow,' or a double V like that of Porchester. — *Arch. Journal*, xlv. p. 112. Considering how purblind antiquaries were in the days of Grose and King, it may easily happen that they mistook comparatively modern weather-mouldings, like those on the west wall of the keep of Prudhoe, for the ancient roof-lines.

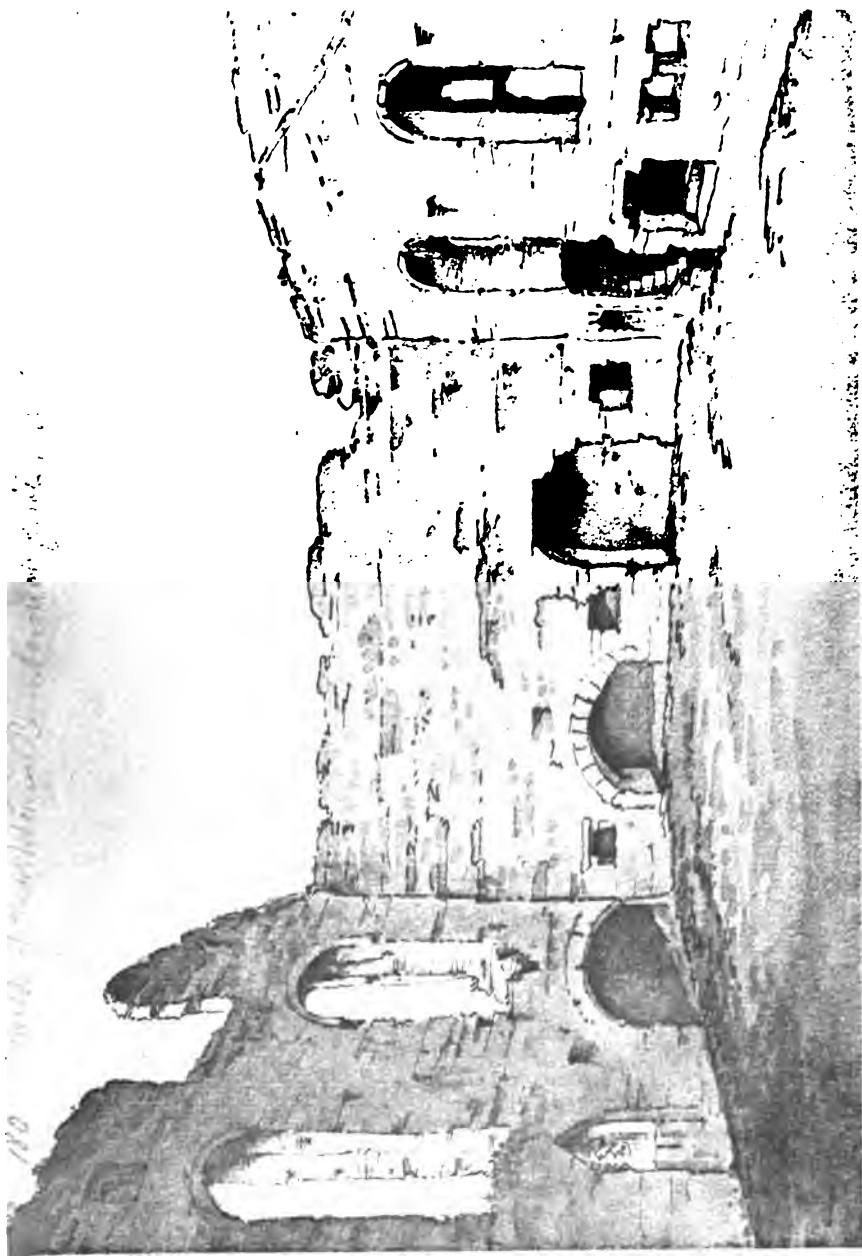
²¹⁹ See above, p. 259.

²²⁰ See above, p. 264.

of 1538, which became the Captain's Great Chamber, 10 yards long and 5 yards broad, of 1575. Under the Captain's Hall is a magnificent vault measuring about 82 feet by 18 feet, and 10 feet high to the crown, with ten massive chamfered ribs—quite the finest masonry left in the castle—but now divided, and partly used as a coal-hole. This with a small triangular vault on the east side of it, and the probably shortened vault under the Captain's Chamber, were the three vaults that Bellys and his comrades thought would do for a buttery, cellar, and storehouse. The kitchen and larders were to be at the east end of the Captain's Hall above a great vault, which, having no doubt formerly been the cellar attached to the King's Hall, was now to be turned into a stable for no less than twenty-four horses. On the east side of this vault was a narrow tower, apparently 9 feet broad, with two storeys, and at the south end a little tower springing probably from the semi-circular bastion there. The King's Hall itself was about 70 feet long by 30 feet broad, and was entered from the courtyard by a porch near the east end.²²¹ As was usually the case, there were three doorways at the lower end of the hall, the two side ones opening respectively into the pantry and the buttery, both vaulted, the middle doorway into a passage leading between two similar vaults, probably larders, to the Great Kitchen. This last, as stated by Grose, measures about 40 feet by 30 feet. It has three large fire-places like those in the kitchen of Warkworth donjon, and some original aumbries. Joined diagonally to its south-east corner is the rectangular Muniment Tower. The basement, not vaulted, is approached by a long narrow stair descending from a door in the east wall of the kitchen. Two doors in the south wall of the kitchen communicate with the first and second floors, both of which are vaulted, the latter, used as the Muniment Room, having a latrine chamber in its south-west corner. The third floor can only be entered from a very curious flight of steps that leads up from the ramparts on the ground level to the battlements of the kitchen roof.

Above the four vaults—the pantry, buttery, and two larders—at the east end of the King's Hall, were, in 1538, two fair chambers adjoining each other, but required balks 8 yards long. The eastern

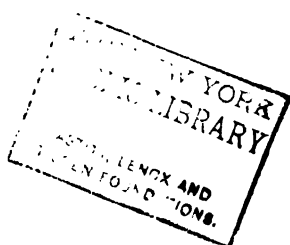
²²¹ The Hall is mentioned in 1223, see above p. 238 n 70. It is called the King's Hall in 1256, see above p. 240. John de Fenwyk was accused in 1372 of having carried off the principal table in the King's Hall, see above p. 260.



S. H. Grimm del. c. 1785.

KITCHEN OF BAMBURGH CASTLE.

R. M. Add. MS. 15543.



one, about 40 feet long by 20 feet broad, is now the Library, the western, together with the rectangular turret thrown out over the crag, being given up to the use of the school. The Library is approached by a straight stair in a projection that, adorned with the armorials of Lord Crewe and many of his trustees, carved in poor taste, forms the most prominent feature in the façade. There is a curious sort of mural passage across the south window of the Library, approached by a stair in the south-east corner. Preserved in this room are what look like two Norman piscinas and the fragment of a column, possibly of earlier date.

The buildings to the east of the kitchen, which now form the house and offices of the resident agent, were probably the bakehouse and brewery, but the walls have been refaced and the internal divisions greatly altered. North of these stood the little late Norman chapel of St. Oswald, with a long narrow nave and apsidal chancel. The present walls are for the most part modern, having been built on the foundations laid bare in 1770.

Along the north wall of the inner ward, between the chapel and the keep, the foundations of a range of buildings, about 100 feet long and 24 feet broad, and of excellent masonry, were excavated in 1889.

Considering the great historical associations of Bamburgh, the capital of the ravening Ethelfrid and the fair-handed Oswald, rejoicing in the proud title of *demina civitatum Britonensium*; the great mediæval fortress, successively defended by the three heroines, Matilda of Laigle, Philippa of Hainault, and Margaret of Anjou; the last stay of the Red Rose in the North, sanctified for more than a year by the solitary agony of Henry VI.: considering too, the interest of what is left of her ancient architecture and the munificence of the endowments that were intended to raise again her fallen dignity in the noblest of causes, it cannot honestly be said that the present state of the castle is satisfactory. There can, indeed, be no better illustration of the blighting results of a sophistical system of centralisation than the way in which this noble pile has been of late years degraded into a five-pound-a-year boarding school for thirty girls, with the keep let as a lodging-house at so much a week during the summer months. The school, the presence of which prevents many visitors from seeing the most interesting portion of the castle, would in every way be far

better situated near the village, while the array of smoke-cowls that ruin the sky-line of the keep, and the numerous sanitary contrivances that disfigure its walls show how ill-fitted it is for a residence, and how expensive must be its maintenance as such. A great improvement might be effected at a small cost by knocking off the paste-board battlements of the castle, especially those on the old wall dividing the east and west wards, and a very little excavation would be certain to lead to very valuable discoveries. The keep should be relieved of its modern fittings, and be preserved, like that of Newcastle, as a historical monument. The Great Hall and the buildings connected with it require on the other hand to be plainly restored; and the whole castle, instead of experiencing perhaps some worse fate in store for it, should be made use of for purposes in harmony with the wishes of Lord Crewe, and consonant with its being the pride and glory of the people of Northumberland.

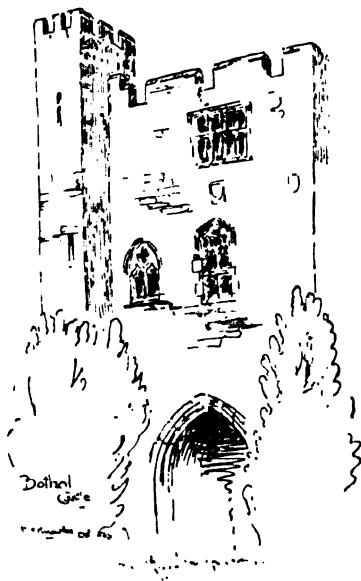
ADDENDA.

P. 229, n. 21.—According to Roger Hoveden, William de WALTERVILLE, abbot of Peterborough, was deposed in 1175, 'pro eo quod ipse violenta manu et armata claustrum suum infregerat, et reliquias Sanctorum una cum brachio S. Oswaldi, regis et martyris, asportare volebat.' The right hand of St. Oswald was exposed at Peterborough in the presence of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1487.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, i. p. 347n. Mr. J. V. Gregory exhibited a photograph of a silver reliquary, in the church of St. Ursus at Soleure, alleged to contain an arm-bone of St. Oswald, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 25th November, 1885, but said he could obtain no information as to its origin.—*Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, vol. ii. p. 125.

P. 255, n. 149.—'Eodem mense Aprili regina Margareta cum Edwardo filio suo venit per mare de Bamburgh in Flandriam ad Slusam, habueratque in societate sua ducem Exoniæ, Johannem Fortescu, Edmundum Montforde, E. Hamden, Henricum Roos, Thomam Ormonde, Robertum Whytyngnam milites; Johannem Morton, Robertum Makerel doctores; et multos alios, ad numerum cc. personarum.'—Willelmi Wyrcester, *Annales; Wars of the English in France, temp. Hen. VI.* (Rolls Series), vol. ii. part ii. p. [781].

BOTHAL CASTLE.

BOTHAL, or as the country-people used to call it *Bottle*, simply means a house or a village. The passage of the Old Testament where it is said 'Pharaoh went into his house,' was anciently rendered, 'Pharaoh went into his *bottel*.'¹ In Northumberland *bottle* is not an uncommon termination. We have Harbottle, Lorbottle, Walbottle, Shilbottle. 'Schiplingabottel,' the original form of this last, may



THE GATEHOUSE FROM THE COURTYARD.

show that the term was not applied exclusively to the house of an individual, but also to a village whose inhabitants rejoiced in a common patronymic. We have many instances of the use of the word in Germany, two of the most worthy of notice being Bransbittel

¹ See the excellent paper on Bothal by Mr. Longstaffe in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 1867.

and Tensbittel, near the mouth of the Elbe, in the very corner that was the old home of the Angles. Bothal's early importance in Northumberland may be argued from the fact that it did not require to be qualified by any prefix, but was '*the Bottel*,' *par excellence*.

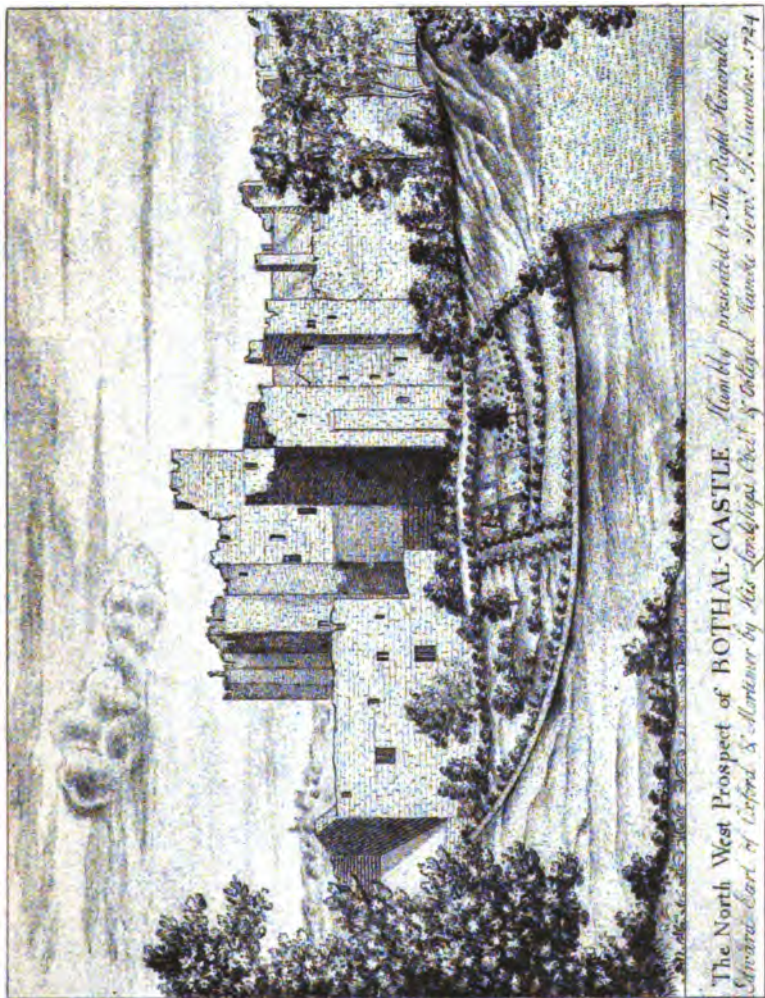
Bothal first appears in history in a grant of its tithes from Earl Robert de Mowbray to the monastery of Tynemouth. After Mowbray's rebellion it seems to have been given by Rufus to Guy de Baliol, and, together with Woodhorn, formed the northern *enclave* or detached territory of his barony of Bywell. As the marriage portion of Guy de Baliol's daughter it was probably constituted an independent fee held directly of the Crown, and as such we find it possessed in 1166 by Richard Bertram, the youngest brother of Roger Bertram of Mitford.²

Robert Bertram of Bothal joined in the Welsh expedition against Llewelyn in 1277, and was knight of the shire for Northumberland in 1290. His grandson, Robert Bertram, died in 1334, and left as his heir a son, Robert, born in 1322. This Robert Bertram, the fifth of his name at Bothal, built the castle in 1343, when although a young man of twenty-one, he was sheriff of the county. It seems singular that he had to obtain a license from the King for turning his manor-house into a castle, as the knoll at Bothal had no doubt been occupied from an early period.³ In all likelihood it was fenced in securely before the Norman conquest by its English lords, who may or may not—there are no means of determining—have borne the name, but certainly not the surname, of Gisulph.

Sir Robert Bertram, the builder of Bothal Castle, was one of the twelve northern knights who received the thanks of Edward III. for their bravery at Neville's Cross in 1346. One of the Scottish prisoners taken at the battle, Malcolm Fleming, Earl of Wigton, being too weak to be removed to London with the rest, was sent

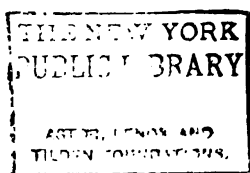
² The arms of the Bertrams of Bothal, *or, an orle azure*, appear to be merely a modification of the Baliol coat, *gules, an orle argent*, differenced by change of tinctures.

³ 'De manso Kernellando. Rex omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto Bertram quod ipse mansum suum de Bothale in Comitatu Northumbrie muro de petra et calce firmare et Kernellare et mansum illud sic firmatum et Kernellatum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostrum vel heredum nostrorum, vicecomitum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. In cujus etc. T.R. apud Westm. xv die Maii.'—*Patent Roll*, 17 Ed. III. pt. I. m. 23, P.R.O.



"THE NORTH" BRASS 6 1/2 10000

Reduced from a drawing in the collection of the Society.



down to Bothal in the custody of an esquire named Robert Delaval, who traitorously allowed him to return to Scotland without exacting any ransom.⁴ Bertram died in 1362. His only child, Helen, had married Robert Ogle, and before his death he had the satisfaction of hearing of the birth of his grandson at Callerton. In true baronial style he gave the messenger who brought the intelligence to Bothal a husbandland at Stanton for life.⁵

Robert de Ogle, the first husband of Helen Bertram, died in 1364; and it was not until the death of her fourth husband, David Holgrave, in 1405, that her son, Sir Robert Ogle, came into possession of the castle and manor of Bothal. He at once entailed Bothal on his second son, John, surnamed, after his grandmother, Bertram, on condition of his bearing the arms of Ogle and Bertram quarterly, with remainder to his elder son, Robert Ogle. On the 31st October, 1409, Sir Robert died,⁶ and by virtue of the entail, John Bertram succeeded to Bothal, when the very next day, at midnight, Sir Robert Ogle appeared before the castle with two hundred archers and men-at-arms arrayed in form of war. Some of these were soldiers and others Scots, avowed enemies of the king. They brought with them scaling ladders, pavises, hurdis, and other ordnance of war, and lurked round the castle all that night in the hope either of surprising or carrying it by assault. The next morning two of Bertram's servants, Thomas Wodall and Thomas Coward, came out of the castle to treat with Sir Robert, who had pledged his honour that they should be allowed to return unmolested. Notwithstanding this, he had them seized and imprisoned. He then continued the siege for four days more, in spite of the protestations of Sir John Widdrington and Sampson Harding, two

⁴ 'Unus autem . . . captivorum, scilicet dominus Malcolmus Flemyng, comes de Wyghtoun, (propter) infirmitatem Londonias cum aliis captis nullatenus transmissus, sed apud Bothale, pro dolor! dimissus, prodicione ejusdam armigeri custodis sui, dicti Roberti de la Vale, in Scotiam sine redemptione aliqua est reversus.'—*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 351.

⁵ The child was baptised at Ponteland on the Feast of the Conception, 8th Dec. 27 Ed. III.—Proof of Age, 85, *4th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App. p. 137; *Arch. Æliana*, vol. IV. p. 327. The chronology of the Bertram family is perplexing: Robert Bertram, for instance, was born in 1322, yet we are asked to believe that his wife, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Constance, wife of William de Felton, died in 1329, and that his grandson was born in 1353.

⁶ The inscription on his tombstone in the priory-church of Hexham runs, 'Hic jacet Robertus Ogle filius Elene Bertram filie Roberti bertram militis qui obiit in vigilia omnium sanctorum Anno domini MCCCCx° cuius anime propicietur deus amen.' See *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. xv. p. 77; also plate. The *Inq.* p.m. 11 Hen. IV. 81. taken at Newcastle, 21. Apr. 1410, on a writ dated 9 Nov. 1409, clearly shows that the year is incorrect, and that it should have been 'MCCCCix°.'

justices of the peace, who bade him desist in the king's name. At last the garrison was compelled to surrender. The damage caused by the houses in the castle being burnt and the corn in the granaries destroyed was estimated at two hundred pounds.⁷ John Bertram promptly presented a petition relating these facts to the 'most wise the commons' of England, and they, on the 13th of February, 1410, considering that the castle and manor of Bothal lay so near to the east marches of Scotland that sufficient remedy could not be obtained by him at common law, commended his petition to the consideration of the king and his council. Accordingly the sheriff of Northumberland was directed to make a proclamation at the gates of Bothal Castle, that Sir Robert Ogle, and all the other people abiding therein, should be put out without delay, upon pain of forfeiture of life and members. The sheriff was to keep the castle in his own hands till the octave of Trinity, when the whole matter in dispute would be decided by the king's council, who received the authority of parliament to do so.⁸

Sir John Bertram, of Bothal, died in 1449. His eldest son, Sir William, appears with his cousins, the Ogles, to have followed the fortunes of the White Rose. The direct male line of Bertram ended in Sir William's grandson, Robert, at any rate before 1517, when Robert, 4th Lord Ogle, styles himself 'lord of Ogle and Bottell,'⁹ though

⁷ 'Un Robert de Ogle, Chivaler, fitz le dit Robert, ore tarde en le fest de Toutz-seintz darrein passe, a mye noet, ove deux centz hommes d'armes et archiers arraeiz a faire de guerre, desquelles hommes d'armes et archiers ascuns feurent soudiours & ascuns gentz d'Escoce & pleines enemys a notre Seigneur le Roy et a son Roialme, venoient ove escales pavises, hurdises, & autres ordinaances de guerre et la dit chastell assegeront; gisant tout le dit noet illoques privement pur avoir emble ou escale le dit chastell. Et au matyn ensuant, le dit Robert assura les servantz le dit suppliant sur le foie et loialtie de son corps, esteantz dedeins le dit chastell, pur savement venir et parler ove luy hors du dit chastell, et savement retourner sanz estre endamagez ou grevez. Sur quoi le dit Robert. Thomas Wodall, & Thomas Coward, servantz le dit suppliant, qant ils feurent venuz a luy hors du dit chastell sur la dite assurance, prist, retenoit, et emprisona les loialx lieges notre dit tres souveraine Seigneur le Roy, et celle assege issint continuer. . . nt pur quatre jours et pluiz, tan que le dit chastell, par force et assaut et doute de morte ovesque biens et chateaux le dit suppliant dedeins esteantz a la value de cc li, feust renduz, et ses maisons illoques debruseront et arderont, et ses blees en graungez et autres choses a la value de cc li. illoques trovez degasteront.—*Rot. Parl.* iii. 629.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Hodgson, *Hist. of Northd.* II. ii. pp. 170, 171.

⁹ Sir John Bertram's second son Edward appears to have been sheriff of Newcastle in 1431 and M.P. in 1441, whose only son Edward Bertram died twenty-four days after the battle of Towton in 1460, of wounds received on that evil Palm Sunday, leaving an only daughter whose issue came to be represented by Thomas Bates of Prudhoe, M.P. for Morpeth in the reign of Mary.—*Dodsworth MS.* 61, fo. 50, 51, Bodl. Lib.

indeed Sir Robert, 1st Lord Ogle, and his son Owen, actually dated a grant at *their* castle of Bothal 20th October, 1465.¹⁰

Robert Ogle, created Lord Ogle by Edward IV. 16th March, 1461, had married Isabella, daughter and heir of Sir Alexander Kirkby of Kirkby Ireleth in Furness.¹¹ His direct descendant, Cuthbert, 7th Lord Ogle, died in 1601, when the Barony fell into abeyance between his two daughters. This abeyance was terminated in favour of the younger one, Catherine, in 1628, and her son Sir William Cavendish, the celebrated Duke of Newcastle (upon-Tyne), became 9th Lord Ogle, but on the second Duke's death in 1691, the title once more fell into abeyance between his three daughters, Margaret, Countess of Clare, Catherine, Countess of Thanet, and Arabella, Countess of Sunderland. Bothal became the property of the eldest, and has so descended to her representative the present Duke of Portland.

As at Dunstanburgh, the architectural interest of Bothal centres in the Gatehouse. So far as we can judge, this must have always been the most important building. The change of style that took place in the thirty years between the foundation of Dunstanburgh and that of Bothal is very marked. An ecclesiastical architect might call Dunstanburgh Early English, Bothal pronounced Decorated. In civil buildings the successive styles appear more fused and blended.

The main body of the Gatehouse covers about 40 feet by 30 feet. On either side a semi-octagonal turret projects about 15 feet further to the field. These turrets, which also extend two or three feet east and west beyond the lines of the Gatehouse, are not a true pair, the west semi-octagon being somewhat the larger.

Above the noble entrance arch is a very characteristic window of two lights, with a quatrefoil in the head between them. It is of about the same dimensions as the slightly later flamboyant windows on the second floor at Langley. In the upper story is a plain mullioned window of Elizabethan date.

A series of shields of extreme interest is carved on the battlements

¹⁰ *Lansd. MS.* 326, Ogle deeds, No. 91; Hodgson, *Hist. of Northd.* II. i. p. 392n. 12, *b*.

¹¹ A stone with the arms of OGLE and BERTRAM quarterly, quartering KIRKBY, taken from the New Chapel of Our Lady, three-quarters of a mile up the Wansbeck, has been built into the courtyard face of the Gatehouse. It is probably of the time of the 2nd Lord Ogle.

and the wall immediately beneath them. These shields were not put up in a spirit of family pride. They did not represent phantom ancestors, but living individuals—mailed warriors who would consider any attack on a castle protected by their shields a direct challenge to themselves. Some of them were perhaps related to the Bertrams: many may have been their connections; but others again only friends and patrons. No doubt each knight in his turn would be pleased to see his shield suspended on a castle like Bothal.¹²

Arranged in order, these shields appear to be:—

(1) THE BLACK PRINCE. (2) EDWARD III. (3) WAKE OF LYDEL.

(4) ATON.	(5) GREYSTOCK.	(6) PERCY.	(7) BETRAM.	(8) DART.	(9) CONYERS.	(10) FELTON.
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1. This is, it is believed, a unique blazon of Edward the Black Prince, as Duke of Cornwall, so created in 1337. The arms of Cornwall were, *sable, ten bezants, four, three, two, one*. Richard, King of the Romans, younger son of King John, had, as Earl of Cornwall, borne *arg. a lion rampant gu., crowned or*, the arms of Poitou, *within a bordure of Cornwall, i.e., sa. bezanty*: a shield also borne by his son, the second earl. The Black Prince adopts the black bordure with the gold bezants, but naturally alters the charge of the shield to the three lions of England.

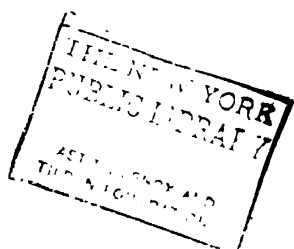
2. On the central merlon of the three over the archway the shield of Edward III., with the three lions of *England* in the 1st and 4th quarters, the fleurs-de-lys of *France ancient* in the 2nd and 3rd, an arrangement that gave great umbrage to the French, as insinuating that England was the superior kingdom. 'The French king,' Stow tells us, 'said unto certain Englishmen sent unto him, 'Our cousin doth wrongfully bear the quartered arms of England and France: which matter notwithstanding doth not much displease us for that he is descended from the weaker side of our kin and therefore as being a

¹² In stained glass down to the 17th century we often find the arms of the great statesmen of the day intermingled with those commemorating the alliances of the owner's family.—See an account of the *Armorial Glass at Montacute House*, by C. J. Bates, in *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, xxxii. p. 90. Opinion has now so much changed that no one would think of using for decorative purposes the arms of his nearest and dearest neighbour if not related to him, still less those of Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone.



J. P. Gibson, Photo.

BATTEMENTS OF THE GATEHOUSE, BOTHAL CASTLE.



bachelor we would be content to grant him license to bear part of our arms of France: but whereas in his seals and letters patent, he nameth himself as well King of England as of France and doth set the first quarter of his arms with leopards before the quarter of lilies, it doth grieve us very much, making apparent to the beholders that the little island of England is to be preferred before the great kingdom of France.' To which Sir John of Shoreditch, knight, made answer 'that it was the custom of men in those days to set the title and arms of their progenitors before the arms and title of the right descending of their mother: and thus of duty and reason doth my lord, the King of England, prefer his arms.'¹³ This marshalling was subsequently altered, though it appears again on King Edward's tomb, and was occasionally used by Richard II. The chest of Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, who died in 1345, provides another instance in the North.¹⁴

3. Somewhat unaccountably this shield on the left of the royal arms has proved a riddle to archæologists. They have tried to make it out Grey, Carnaby, and what not, without reflecting that the northern knights and barons whose arms appear on the series below would never have tolerated the elevation of one of their own degree into such close fellowship with the king and prince. Blazoned *or, two bars gules, in chief three torteaux*, it is that of Thomas Lord Wake of Lydel. His ancestors had obtained the barony of Lydel in Cumberland by marrying an heiress of the Stutevilles, one of whom so bravely defended Wark Castle against William the Lion. Thomas Lord Wake had married Blanche Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, Earl of Leicester, and sister of Mary, wife of Henry Percy III., of Alnwick. His sister Margaret, countess of Kent, was the widow of Edmund of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward I. He served in the Scotch Wars in 1336 and 1338, and as he died, the last of his race, in 1349, this shield must have been put up before that year. On this showing the armorial series at Bothal is a little earlier than that on the octagon towers at Alnwick, which for a similar reason cannot have been carved before 1350. Lord Wake's niece and eventual heiress, Joan Plantagenet, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, married the

¹³ Longstaffe, 'Bothal,' in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 1867.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Black Prince in 1361, an alliance that may almost be said to have been foreshadowed by these shields associated on the battlements of Bothal.

4. *Or, a cross sable* for Gilbert de Aton, the legitimate heir of the Vescis, lords of Alnwick, who died in 1344.¹⁵

5. A well-known coat—*barry of six or and azure, three chaplets gules*, that of William the Good, baron of Greystock and lord of Morpeth, 'the most valiant noble and courteous knight of his time and country,' who died in 1359.

6. *Or, a lion rampant azure*, borne by Henry Percy II. of Alnwick, who died in 1353.

7. Immediately beneath the royal shield, the centre of the seven smaller ones, *or, an orle azure*, the coat of Robert Bertram, the builder of the castle.

8. *Azure, semy of crosses croset and three cinquefoils argent*, for John Darcy, who married a co-heiress of the Herons of Hadston, and died in 1357.

9. The Conyers coat—*azure, a maunch or*.¹⁶

10. *Gules, two lions passant within a double tressure argent*, the shield of William de Felton, lord of Edlingham, who died in 1359.

On the west turret are four more shields:—

(1) DELAVAL. (2) SCARGILL. (3) HORSLEY. (4) OGLE.

1. *Ermine, two bars vert*, possibly a reminiscence of Robert Delaval, the faithless squire who afterwards let go the Earl of Wigton in 1346.¹⁷

2. *Ermine, a saltire purpure* borne, *temp.* Edw. III., by the Scargills of Scargill, near Rokeby.

3. *Gules, three horses' heads argent, bridled or*, the arms of Roger de Horsley of Scrانwood, who died 1359, probably the same Roger de Horsley who was seneschal of Dunstanburgh in 1322. The reins are in this instance pulled so tight that the horses' heads seem charging like battering rams.

¹⁵ This shield could not be that of Sir John de Coupland, *arg. a cross sa.*, as he differenced this with a *mullet of the field*. Besides which, he only became famous after the battle of Neville's Cross.

¹⁶ The Hastings family, who bore a similar coat, *or a maunch gu.*, seem to have had no connection with Northumberland till Sir Edmund Hastings of Roxby, co. York, married a daughter of Sir John de Felton of Edlingham in about 1400.

¹⁷ The Mauduits of Eshet, who bore *erm. two bars gu.*, seem to have been under forfeiture at this time, and did not have their lands restored to them till 1358.—*Patent Roll*, 32 Ed. III. m. 9; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 374.

4. *Argent, semy of crosses croiset, three crescents gules*, as on the seal of John de Ogle, youngest brother of Robert de Ogle, builder of Ogle Castle, who was living in 1351.

On the east turret there is one escutcheon, but no trace of any bearings having been on it.

On the merlon above the royal arms is perched a rough stone figure holding a horn or some such musical instrument. A similar figure on the western turret seems to have been petrified in the act of heaving a stone on the heads of besiegers. The gargoyles are curious.

The roof-line of a pent-house built up between the turrets when the ruin was occupied by an old woman who rented the gardens is still visible. This pent-house is shown in some good sketches of Bothal made in about 1790.¹⁸ The flanking turrets have been refaced to a very considerable extent: neither of the doorways, now built up, as if they had once led directly into them are genuine. In the jambs of the entrance arch is a half-round portcullis groove, and a little within are the iron hinges of the gate. The passage, about 33 feet long and 12 feet wide, is vaulted over in stone. This vault is considerably higher than the arches at either end, the inner arch not even being in the true centre. It is supported on eight pointed ribs, between which in the roof are three *meurtrières* or openings, through which to assail enemies already in possession of the archway. In the south-east corner close to the side wall there appears to have been another opening of the same kind. Naturally, during peace, these holes would be used for hauling up stores of all sorts as a preferable alternative to the awkward spiral stair.

The Survey of Bothal Barony in 1576 mentions both the porter's lodge and the prison as being in the Gatehouse.¹⁹ In the east wall of the passage is a shoulder-head door leading into a chamber measuring about 18 feet by 7 feet 6 inches with segmental-ribbed vaulting. Originally this chamber had three loops to the east: but in one of these a doorway evidently taken from some other part of the building has been inserted. At the same time a false wooden ceiling was run across to convert it into a cottage. A wide passage communicates with an

¹⁸ Exhibited through the kindness of Canon Greenwell at a meeting of the Soc. of Ant. N.C. held at Bothal, 16th Oct., 1885.

¹⁹ *The Booke of Bothool Baronrye*, published in *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p. 423; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 169n.

inner chamber measuring 10 feet by 7 feet in the base of the eastern flanking turret. This chamber appears from the loops in it to have also been divided by a floor though probably at an early period; the vaulting, if it is vaulted, is hidden by modern boards.

On the west side of the passage at the court-yard end, is a shoulder-headed doorway under a relieving arch, that leads straight to a wheel-stair in the south-west angle of the Gatehouse. It is perplexing to understand how access was obtained to this door when the half of the inner gate, the hinges of which yet remain, stood open back against it. Terrible too must have been the complication of doors and bars in the draughty cross-passage at the foot of the newel. On the left is a small slit that does not look as if it occupied the place of any more convenient entrance; on the right a doorway with a bar-hole on the *inside* opens into a shouldered passage through a three-foot wall that terminates in a vaulted chamber of similar dimensions to the first one on the east side of the gateway passage. The chamber is lit from this passage by two characteristic loops. Four segmental arches support the vault, which is composed of especially fine long stones. At the further end of this chamber is a door into the room in the base of the western flanking turret. At present this room is devoid of character, and has a boarded roof. Which of these four vaults was the prison it is now difficult to determine: as far as can be seen all had bolts and bars on the *inside*, facilities for keeping their gaolers out with which prisoners are not usually provided.

A dozen steps of the wheel-stair bring us to the present entrance to it, broken from the modern house through the west wall: eighteen more, to the original doorway, now built up, of a passage lit from the west that opened into the south-west corner of the Great Chamber above the archway. A partition now divides this chamber into an ante-room and dining-room. In its entirety it measured 25 feet from east to west by 19 feet 6 inches from north to south. In the north-west corner was a very narrow door into the turret: this has now been pulled out to make room for a more convenient staircase to the upper floor. In the ante-room is a recess, robbed of its ribs and benches, but still containing a Decorated window, which was originally the only one on the south side of the chamber. A couple of feet further east was the entrance into latrines in the thickness of the south wall,

which were lit by two external loops. The place of the western loop is occupied by a remarkably fine Perpendicular window in a three-ribbed recess removed here *en bloc* from Cockle Park Tower when the Gatehouse was done up as a residence for the Duke of Portland's agent forty or fifty years ago. A fire-place of late character, consisting of a broad roll-band surmounted by a sort of embattled mantel, came also from Cockle Park to replace on the east side of the chamber the original fire-place, which we are told was of 'very spacious range.'²⁰ To the left of this in the east wall is an original Decorated window set in a recess with a rather flat vault relieved by two ribs. The stone window seats are preserved though encased in wood. In the north-east corner of the chamber is a door into the other small turret room. Exactly in the middle of the north wall and over the centre of the gateway is the third original window precisely similar in its details to the last. The portcullis when raised must have come up through the floor in front of this window. This together with the fact of there being the four openings in the floor down through the archway vaulting, covered as they were with large stones, must have precluded this chamber from being used originally for any except purely military purposes.

Again mounting the wheel-stair we meet with a very characteristic slit with an unusual number of different mason-marks. The mason-marks at Bothal are many of them so similar to those on the barbican of Prudhoe that there can be little doubt that the same hands contributed to their construction. The arrangements of the second floor of the Gatehouse were very similar to those of the first: but the large chamber must have been made very bright and airy with its three Elizabethan windows. It has now been cut up into modern bedrooms that exhibit no features of antiquarian interest.

The wheel-stair finishes in one of those umbrella vaults of which we have examples at Alnwick, Warkworth, Dunstanburgh, Belsay, and Haughton. The Bothal umbrella has six large ribs with six smaller ones branching out at a higher level between them so as to form a hexagon of pointed arches round the drum. The curious thing is that the newel—the umbrella stick—does not appear, as is usual, to have run up to the keystone of the vault, but to have stopped short at the top of a low stone parapet, remains of which may be

²⁰ Hutchinson, *View of Northumberland*, ii. p. 307.

noticed behind the door leading on to the roof. There is a hook, possibly for a lamp, in the keystone of the vault.

Out on the roof, a closer acquaintance can be made with the figures of the piper and stone-thrower. Traces of the base of a third figure are left on the merlon above the centre of the inner archway. The battlements seem to retain their ancient outlines, the merlons, for the most part, being about double the length of the embrasures. On the sides of the merlons are still to be seen the round holes in which the swing-shutters worked, though the only perfect pair are at the north end of the west flanking turret. Archers could throw up one of these shutters and take a shot at the enemy, and before the fire could be returned the shutter fell to again. A shutter of this description is still preserved at Alnwick, and pivot-holes are particularly numerous on the battlements of Aydon. The chimneys at Bothal are all modern, but there is a good original chimney-base on the west side. A straight external stair leads to the roof of the turret above the newel, on which the flag-staff is planted. The gargoyles projecting from the angles of this turret must when perfect have had a very striking effect.

The courtyard of the castle extends for about 60 yards south of the Gatehouse in the direction of the Wansbeck. It varies in width from about 100 feet near the centre to about 45 feet at the south end, the curtain-wall adapting itself to the contour of the knoll. Round this courtyard were grouped the domestic buildings—the great chamber, the parlour, seven bed-chambers, a gallery, buttery, pantry, larder, kitchen, bake-house, stable, ‘gardine,’ nursery, chapel, and ‘pastrie.’²¹ Judging from a drawing made by Saunders in 1722, the Great Chamber and parlour probably stood along the west curtain, where we find a flat-arched fire-place, like those at Langley, at the ground level. Above are traces of another fire-place, and a little to the south a row of nine double corbels, of the 14th century type, packed very close together and more or less mutilated. Below them is a row of put-holes for beams. Near the south-west corner of the enclosure is a massive fragment of the west curtain about 15 feet high. The outer face exhibits a loop, while on the inner are two corbels near each other but at different levels. A view of Bothal in Grose’s *Antiquities*, taken from the south-east in 1773, shows what

²¹ *Booke of Bothool Baronrye*, 1576; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 170n.

looks very much like a Norman arch near the centre of the east curtain. This may have been the chapel of St. John.²² At the north-west corner of the castle-yard stood a great tower called 'Ogle's Tower,' and about five yards south of it a small tower, the base of which is still visible. The best preserved piece of the curtain, which in places has been entirely rebuilt as a mere garden wall, is at the south-west angle, which is capped by two adjacent buttresses.

The castle was no doubt subjected to a restoring process some fifty years ago which may have somewhat impaired its interest, but when we see so many historic buildings throughout the country utterly abandoned to instant ruin, we must overlook even the appropriation of the spoils of Cockle Park, and be grateful for the evident care now bestowed on the preservation of Bothal. Outside also every effort is evidently made to maintain the ancient reputation of Bothal, as mentioned in the Survey of 1576, for its 'fair gardinges and orchetts, wherein growes all kind of hearbes and floures, and fine applies, plumbes of all kynde, peers, damsellis, nuttes, wardens, cherries to the black and reede, wallnutes, and also licores verie fine.'

In the ancient church of St. Andrew which stands near the castle, we may notice the rose and rays, a badge of the Ogle family, in the stained glass of the north aisle, while in the first window from the east of the south aisle, the arms of DAVID HOLGRAVE († 1405), the fourth husband of HELEN BERTRAM, are still left in the uppermost light: *erm.*, an *inescutcheon gu.* for HOLGRAVE, impaling *or*, an *orle az.* for BERTRAM.

But the chief glory of the church is the alabaster monument within the iron rails between this window and the chancel arch, which with the exception of that to Sir Ralph Grey at Chillingham, is the finest tomb in Northumberland. The recumbent figures are those of Ralph, 3rd Lord Ogle, who died March, 1513, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir William Gascoyne of Galthrop, co. York. On the west side of the tomb are a series of statuettes, and an armorial shield supported by a lion (? a dog) collared and chained, and a monkey chained round the waist. Only the principal charges which were

²² 'David Holgrave et Elene uxori ejus pro quodam capellano cantarie in ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Bothale.'—*Cal. Inq. p. m.* 20 Ric. II. num. 123; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 261. 'David Holgrave pro cantarie in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ de Bothale.'—*Cal. Inq. p. m.* 22 Ric. II. num. 69; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 262. The parish church is dedicated to St. Andrew.—*Arch. Æl. N.S.* XIII. p. 336.

carved in relief are now discernible : the accessories shown merely in colour have long since disappeared. There is little doubt of the blazon originally having been Ogle impaling Gascoyne, as follows:—

Quarterly:—1st Grand Quarter—1 and 4, *arg.*, a fesse between three crescents *gu.*, for OGLE ; 2 and 3, *or*, an orle *az.*, for BERTRAM. 2nd and 3rd Grand Quarters—*arg.*, two bars, *gu.*, on a canton of the second a cross moline *or*, for KIRKBY. 4th Grand Quarter—1 and 4, *erm.*, an inescutcheon within a bordure engrailed *gu.*, for HEPPLÉ ; 2 and 3, *per chevron*, *gu.* and *arg.*, three crosses bottonny counterchanged, for CHARTNEY ; impaling Quarterly—1, *arg.*, on a pale *sa.* the head of a conger eel *or*, for GASCOYNE ; 2, *gu.*, a lion rampant *arg.* within a bordure engrailed *compony arg. and vert*, for MOWBRAY ; 3, *gu.*, a fesse counter-compony *arg.* and *sa.* between six crosses patty fitchy, for BOTELER ; 4, *gu.*, a saltire *arg.* a hawk's bell for difference, for NEVILLE OF OUSELEY.²³

The removal of the pews during the careful reparation of the church in 1887 has disclosed five little knights of different heights on the north side of the tomb, and on the south side four figures, probably daughters of Lord Ogle. At the foot is a stone bracket intended probably for an image, and bearing the Bertram orle.

On the bosses of the timber roof are several old shields of arms held by angels. Those in the nave appear to be:—*Arg.* (? *or*) an orle *az.*, BERTRAM, occupying the most central position ; *arg.* a bend *sa.* ; *gu.* a lion *arg.* within a bordure engrailed, GREY ; *gu.* a cinquefoil within an orle of crosses croset or, UMFREVILLE ; *gu.* three balks and a hammer ; quarterly *arg.* and *gu.* a bend *sa.*, WIDDRINGTON ; *arg.* three martlets and a chief *gu.* FENWICK (?) ; *sa.* a fesse *arg.* ; *arg.* three covered cups *sa.* STRIVELYN (?). On bosses in the north aisles are:—*Gu.* three water bougets *arg.* ROS OF WARK (?) ; and *gu.* three shells *arg.*, DAORE. In the south aisle the only shield left bears *arg.* a cross moline *gu.*

²³ It is curious to read of this connection of the Ogles with the Gascoynes in the old ballad on Flodden Field:—

‘The Moore that day did shine full bright,
And the Luce-head that day was full bent,
The Red Crescent did blinde the Scots' sight.’

Allusions which the minstrel, who had mistaken the conger eel of the Gascoynes for a luce or pike, goes on to explain by the sequel:—

‘Sir William Percy and Lord Ogle both came,
And Sir William Gascoyne theyr cosyn here was hee.’

—Longstaffe, *Percy Heraldry* in *Arch. Æl.* N.S. IV. p. 178.

CHILLINGHAM CASTLE.

ON the 27th of January, 1344, King Edward III., 'of his especial grace,' granted a licence to his beloved and faithful Thomas de Heton to fortify his manor-house of 'Chevelyngham' with a wall of lime and stone, to crenellate it, and to make it into a castle or fortalice.¹ The castle must have been completed by 1348, in which year Sir Thomas de Heton gave to whoever should be vicar of Chillingham a chamber above the gate of his castle of Chillingham with one stable for two horses in the west hall of the castle.²

- A curious picture of a day at Chillingham in the last years of the 14th century has been preserved in the *Proof of Age* of Margaret the youngest daughter of Sir Henry de Heton. This Margaret was born in Chillingham Castle on the 14th of January, 1395, and was baptized in Chillingham Church, her god-father being John Bolton, canon of Alnwick Abbey, and her godmothers Margaret Fox and Margaret Scryven. On the very same day as her christening, Nicholas Heron was married in the church; John Serjeant took Alice de Wyndegates to wife; Sir Henry de Heton bought a white horse from William Cramlington, and despatched Wyland Mauduit to Newcastle to buy wine; John Belsise rode to Alnwick with a letter to the Earl of Northumberland; William Cotys slew a doe in the field of Chillingham; and John Horsley had the misfortune to be carried off by the Scots, but his capture was evenly balanced by John Wytton, who laid hands on

¹ 'Pro Thoma de Hetone. Rex omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto et fideli nostro Thome de Hetone quod ipse mansum suum de Chevelyngham muro de petra et calce firmare et Kernellare et castrum seu fortalitium inde facere et mansum illud sic firmatum Kernellatum et castrum seu fortalitium inde factum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis sine occasione vel impedimento nostrum vel heredum nostrorum vicecomitum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. In cujus &c. T. R. apud Westm. xxvij die Januarii. Per breve de privato sigillo.—*Patent Roll*, 18 Ed. III. pt. 1 m. 46, P.R.O.

² 'Dominus Thomas de Heton dedit vicario de Chyllingham qui pro tempore fuerit unam cameram super portam castri de Chyllingham cum uno stabulo in dicto castro pro duobus equis in occidentali aula anno domini 1348 coram testibus Johanne Heton, Alano Heton et Johanne Terme (?) Willelmo domino de Heton.'—*Registr. Ecoles. Dunelm.*, III. p. 4; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 119. This same document gravely recounts the foundation and endowment of the church of Chillingham by Julius Cæsar.

Thomas Turnbull, a Scot, and lodged him in Chillingham Castle. The Scots, however, were not the only dangerous neighbours to whom the inhabitants of Chillingham were exposed: that same day Robert Horne was seized by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton and carried to Norham Castle against his will.³

William de Heton, the last of his race at Chillingham, died on 23rd September, 1400, and his estates passed to Margaret and her two elder sisters, Jane, wife of Robert Rutherford, and Elizabeth, wife of William Johnson.⁴ It does not appear to be known when or how the Grays of Heton first became possessed of Chillingham. Heton they probably acquired by a marriage with an heiress of the Hetons, whose arms they quartered, *vert, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent*; but the earlier alliances in the Gray genealogy seem to have been tampered with by the heralds in the usual way.⁵ Sir Ralph Gray, who died in 1448, appears to have been the first of his family who owned Chillingham. The splendid altar tomb of this Sir Ralph and his widow Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Lord Fitzhugh of Ravensworth, in Richmondshire, stands in a chapel, now the family pew of Lord Tankerville, on the south side of the chancel of the small parish church. It is without compeer in the northern counties of England, the tomb of the Nevilles at Staindrop—at any rate since it was bundled out of the chancel there—being confessedly inferior. The recumbent effigies are characteristic of the middle of the 15th century, the armour of the knight resembling, with its many straps and buckles, that of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's Church there. At the head of the tomb against the west wall of the chapel a full-length figure in white supports a helmet with the crest of Gray of Heton, *a ram's head argent, attired or*; while on each side of this beneath the same helmet and crest are representations of angels bearing heavenwards the souls of Sir Ralph and his lady. On the verge of the

³ *Inq. p.m.* 12 Hen. IV. num. 47; *Archæologia Eliana*, IV. p. 329.

⁴ *Inq. p.m.* 5 Hen. IV. num. 18. Their mother Isabel Monboucher subsequently married Robert Harbottle. At her death, 23 Oct. 1426, Chillingham was still held by her three daughters, Jane wife of Thomas Lilburn, Elizabeth wife of John Park, and Margaret wife of Thomas Middleton. *Inq. p.m.* 5 Hen. VI. num. 40. For the Gray pedigree see Raine, *North Durham*, p. 326.

⁵ The Grays of Horton bore *barry of six arg. and az.* the ancient arms of Henry de Grai at Caerlaveroc, differenced by *a bezant on a bend gu.* The arms of the Grays of Heton and Chillingham would appear to be an adaptation of the Heton coat; indeed, according to Jenyn's Collections, *Hartl. MS.* 6589, the Grays seem in the first instance to have adopted it pure and simple.

slab at each side are fixed the arms of Gray of Heton, *gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent*, supported by angels, and at the foot of the tomb is a shield with these impaling Fitzhugh, *azure, three chevrons braced a chief or*, quartering Marmion, *vair, a fess gules*. Scattered along the verge are pairs of ladders and cloaks, the ancient *badges* of the Gray family; modern heralds have ignorantly assigned to it the ladder as a *crest*. The ladder (*scala, échelle*), possibly originally a play on the name, *gré* meaning in Old French a flight of steps, gave the title to the celebrated *Scalacronica* composed by Sir Thomas Gray during his captivity in Edinburgh Castle in 1355; the cloak seems to be 'ly chape du Cordeler,' the *Grayfriar's* cloak alluded to in the heraldic enigma prefixed to that work.⁶ Sir John Gray had not only been first and foremost in establishing the Franciscans at Berwick in the 13th century, but was believed to have appeared after death to his younger son Thomas 'Hugtoun,' in the dress of their Order for the purpose of denouncing the wickedness of the burgesses of Berwick in reducing their contributions in support of the friars.⁷

Niches filled with statuettes of saints alternate on the three sides of the tomb with angels supporting blank shields. As far as can be made out, the statuettes are—at the S.W. corner of the tomb—(1) a figure broken in two; along the south side—(2) *St. Paul*, a spear in the right hand, a book and maniple in the left, (3) a woman crowned, in the right hand a staff, in the left a lump (?) with a flat upper surface, (4) *St. Cuthbert* in mitre, *St. Oswald's* head in his left hand, (5) *St. Dorothea* (?), in her right roses and a rosary, in her left a board with four keys fastened on it; at the S.E. corner (6) *St. Peter*, a key in the right; along the east side—(7) a bishop in mitre, the right raised in the act of benediction, a staff in the left, (8) *St. Ninian* (?) in mitre, the right raised in benediction, behind it a chain, and at his left side a chain and lock; at the N.E. corner—(9) *St. Catherine*, a sword in her right, a wheel in her left; on the north side—(10) *St. John Baptist*, an *Agnus Dei* in his left, (11) *St. Theodosia* (?) with long hair, a lump (?) in her right, a packet (?) in her left, (12) *St. John*, in the left a chalice which has held the serpent now broken away, (13) *St. Margaret*, standing on a dragon, her hands clasped, a

⁶ *Scalacronica*, Prologue, p. 1.

⁷ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, A.D. 1296, p. 185.

sword or staff to her left ; at the N.E. corner—(14) *St. Roch* in a hat with broad brim, a staff in his right, a book in his left, a pilgrim's scrip on the left side.

The whole tomb has been ornamented with colour, and the abundant remains of this on the effigies make them still more valuable as studies in costume. The carving is in many places so fresh as to exhibit traces of a realistic, one may almost say renaissance, feeling that many would hardly expect at the period.

Sir Ralph Gray's son, of the same name, had the prudence to convey the castle of Chillingham in trust to William 'Hepson,' vicar of Wooler, and Edmund Burrell; so that, though he was beheaded at Doncaster on 10th July, 1464, for rebelling against Edward IV., his widow Jacquetta continued to enjoy it till her death in 1469.⁸ In 1509 Chillingham was in the keeping of the Bishop of Durham as guardian of Thomas Gray, a minor. Sir Edward Gray, the boy's great-uncle and eventual heir, was the actual occupant of the castle, which was capable of accommodating a garrison of a hundred horse.⁹ After the Pilgrimage of Grace several of the king's party took refuge in the castle, and Sir Ingram Percy sent for great ordnance from Berwick to besiege it.¹⁰ In 1541 the castle was in a fair state of repair, having been 'of late newly reparell'd' by Sir Robert Ellerker, who had the custody and governance of it during the minority of his stepson Ralph Gray.¹¹

The Grays remained lords of Chillingham till, on the death of Ford Gray, Earl of Tankerville, in 1701, it became the property of his only daughter and heiress, Lady Ossulston, whose husband was subsequently created Earl of Tankerville. The 'county of Tanquerville' in Normandy granted to Sir John de Gray, a brother of the ancestor of the Grays of Chillingham, as a reward for his services by Henry V. on 31st January, 1419, to be held by homage and annual delivery of a bassinet (or helmet) at the castle of Rouen on the feast of St. George, was lost by his son Henry Gray in October, 1449.

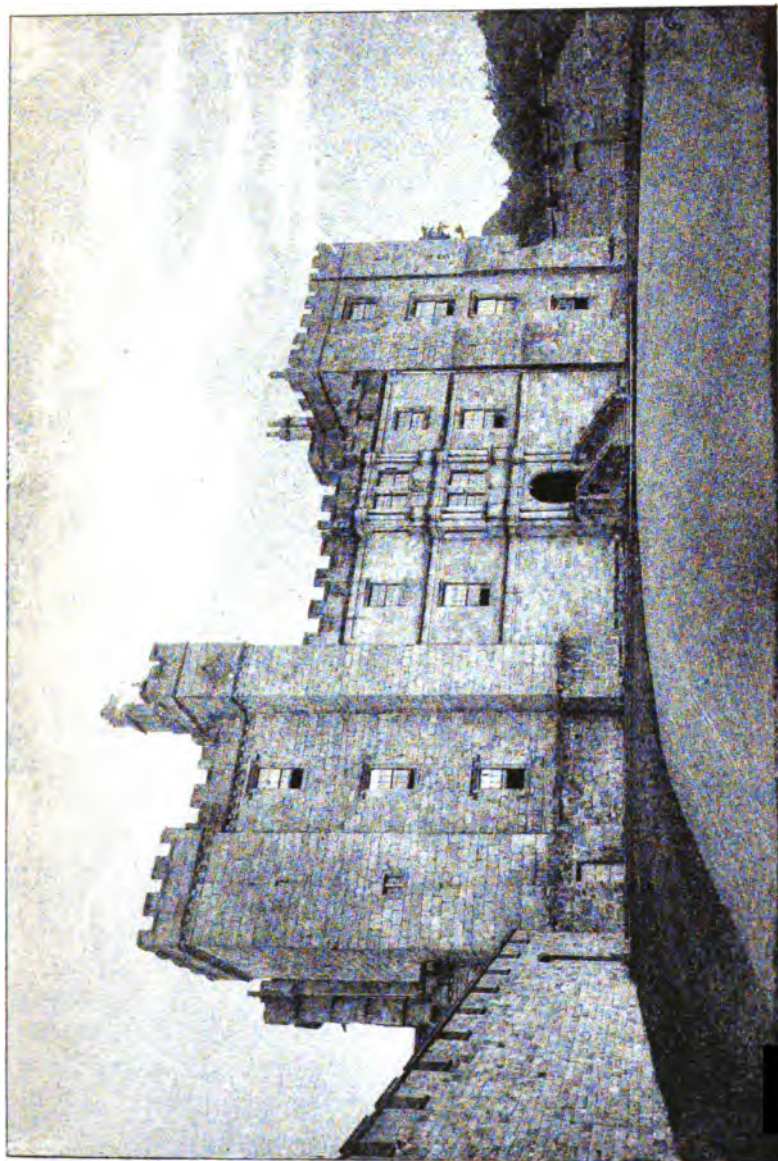
A small Decorated window in the upper part of the south-east tower of the castle, to be seen from the flower-garden, the right-hand portion of the south-west tower, and the dungeon in the north-west

⁸ *Inq. p.m.* 9 & 10 Ed. IV. num. 11.

⁹ See above, p. 23.

¹⁰ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* vol. xii. 1090, 90

¹¹ See above, pp. 41, 42.



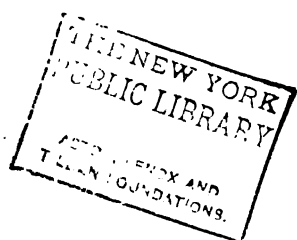
"THE EAST" ENTRANCE & C. 1890

J. P. GIBSON PHOTO.

CHILLINGHAM CASTLE, FROM THE N.

1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF TANKERVILLE.



tower, are thoroughly characteristic of the architecture of the middle of the 14th century; and it may be safely inferred that the north-east tower likewise dates originally from the time of Sir Thomas de Heton. The buildings that now connect these towers, and so form a courtyard measuring about 20 yards by 17 yards, are apparently of much later construction. At the inner corner of each tower is a stair with a square newel and landings. On a stone shield above the main entrance are the arms:—1 and 4 *a lion rampant within a bordure*, GRAY of Heton; 2, *barry of six, on a bend a roundle*, GRAY of Horton; 3, *three chevrons braced, a chief*, FITZHUGH, quartering *vair, a fess*, MARMION. Several of the charges are repeated on smaller shields on a line below the battlements, with the additional coat of *three garbs*, probably *or, three garbs gu.*, PRESFEN.

On the east side of the courtyard inside the castle is an arcade, attributed to Inigo Jones, with a projecting stone stair in the centre that leads up to the dining room. On either side of this stair are arranged on brackets along the wall stone figures of seven of the Nine Worthies in classical habiliments. The whole series embraced three Jews—Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus; three pagans—Hector, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar; and three Christians—Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon. Some of them may be identified by the devices on their oval shields. Those to the north appear to be (1) a double-headed eagle—Charlemagne, (2) a cross between four crosses—Godfrey de Bouillon, (3) a crown within an orle of fleurs-de-lys—Arthur (?); to the south, (4) a lion rampant holding a halbert—Hector of Troy,¹² (5) a crown above an eagle, (6) weather worn. In the centre of the balustrade above is (7) a double-headed eagle—Julius Cæsar. These figures appear to belong to the very beginning of the 17th century. Similar statues of the Nine Worthies may be seen at Montacute in Somersetshire, and on other houses of that date.

A passage in the account book of William Taylor, steward of Chillingham in 1692—‘Beasts in ye Parke, my Lord’s—16 white wilde beasts, 2 black steeres and a quy, 12 white read and black eard, 5 blacke oxen and browne one, 2 oxen from Wark June last,’¹³ seems to draw a distinction between pure white wild cattle and those with red and black ears.

¹² Hierome de Bara, *Le Blason des Armoires*, 1581, p. 172.

¹³ Mackenzie, *View of Northumberland*, i. p. 390 n.

HEBBURN BASTLE.

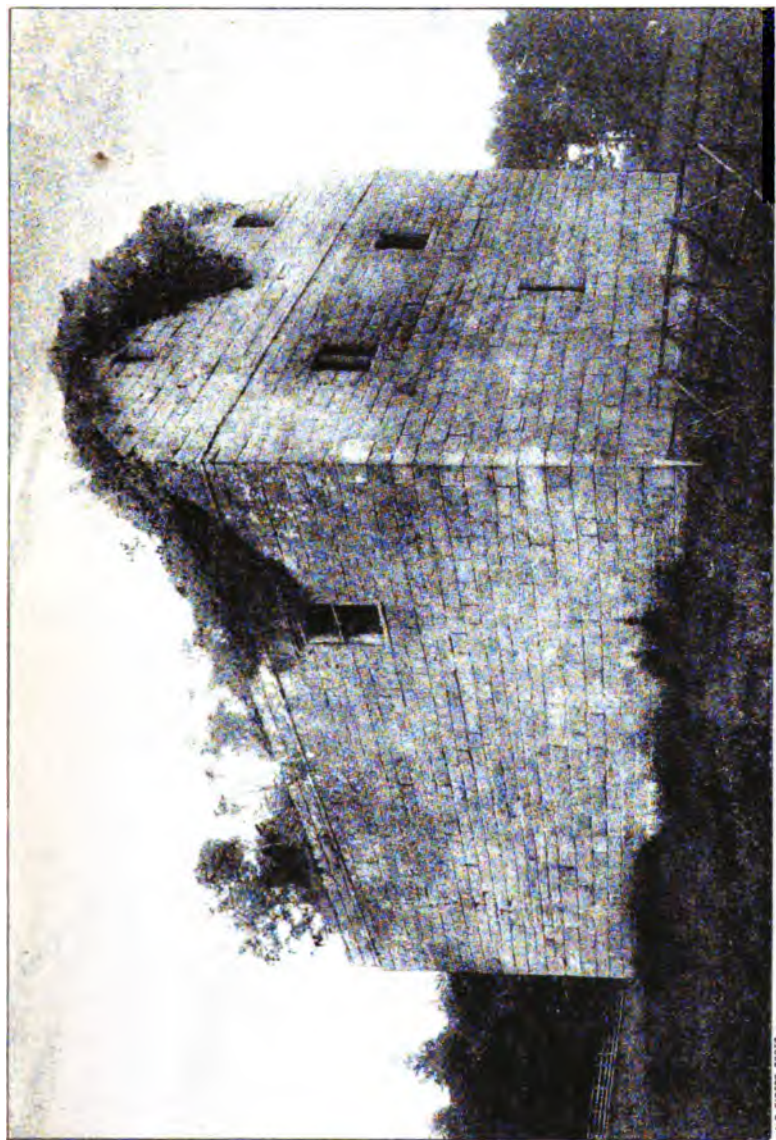
IN the south-east corner of Chillingham Park stands the ruinous bastle-house of the ancient family of Hebburn, who seem to have been in possession of the estate from which they derived their surname at any rate from the time of Nicholas de Hebburn, who in 1271 gave the vicar of Chillingham certain lands in Hebburn, together with the offerings of the village in honey and wax, on condition of his providing every year for the celebration of divine service in the chapel of St. Mary of Hebburn on the three principal feasts of Our Lady.¹ Hebburn appears to have passed by marriage into the hands of the Wendouts and then to have come back to the Hebburns in the beginning of the 15th century, or possibly the Wendouts took the name of Hebburn. The Hebburns bore for their arms *Argent, three cressets sable, flaming proper*, said to have reference to the fact of their living just under the great beacon on Ros Castle.² The first we hear of their hold here is in 1509, when it was owned and inhabited by Thomas Hebburn and was supposed to be capable of accommodating a garrison of twenty horsemen.³ It is again mentioned in 1541 as 'a little tower of the inheritance of Thomas Hebburn in reasonably good reparations.'⁴ There is a difficulty in conceiving how the present absolutely typical bastle-house could ever be called a little tower in a technical survey of the Border fortresses, and a heap of stones near the park wall has been pointed out as the site of the tower. On the other hand the bastle looks more like work of the reign of Henry VII. than of that of Elizabeth, and Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker were certain to have mentioned this strong house if it were in existence, even near the tower, in their time. By the will of Thomas Hebburn of Hebburn, nigh Chillingham, esquire, dated the 18th of April, 1574, Michael Hebburn, his son and heir, was to be charged with his younger brothers

¹ *Registr. Eccles. Dunelm*, III. p. 4; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 120.

² Burke, *General Armoury*. The cressets are also blazoned as uncovered cups, beacons, lamps or pots.—Papworth, *Ordinary*, pp. 676, 677.

³ See above, p. 23. It should be noted that as in the cases of Gisburn or Guisborough, Sochasburg or Sockburn, Brincaburch or Brinkburn, the termination 'burn' is often the same as 'burh,' while in Old English 'hebburh' means simply a fortress—see Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 5, 416.

⁴ See above, p. 42.



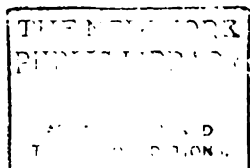
THE BASTLE-HOUSE, HEBBURN (IN CHILLINGHAM PARK), FROM THE N.W.

1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF TAMERVILLE.

THE PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER & CO. LONDON

J. P. GIBSON. PRINTS.



Ralph and Robert 'for meat drink and lodging in my Mansion-house of Hebburn or elsewhere,' from the time of his decease till they should reach the age of eighteen.⁵

No account of Hebburn would be at all complete without the following extraordinary agreement for appeasing one of those blood feuds that are as characteristic of Northumberland as of Corsica :—

'Where there was a deadly Feude alledged by the Storyes against the Hebburns for the slaughter of one John Story, late of Hebborne. It is fully agreed by the consent of all the Storyes, especially by Andrew Story and Jeffry Story, brethren unto the said John Story deceased, to stand to the award, arbytrament and judgement of Edmond Crawster of Crawster in the County of Northumberland, esq., and Luke Ogle of Eglingham in the said County, Gentleman.

'Therefore we, the said Arbitratours, by good and sufficient proof to us had and made, Fynde that the said Slaughter of the said Story was fully and wholly agreed for of a long time since, by Martyn Story called Red Martyn, late of Hebborne aforesaid, father of the said John Story, and received such certaine sommes of money for the said agreement with the said Hebbornes, as the Storyes of that time was fully contented and agreed with.

'Wherefore, We award and judge by the full consent of the said Storyes and Hebbornes, in the consideration aforesaid : That this shall stand and be a full agreement between the said Storyes and Hebbornes for the said Slaughter, and from all other accions of dyspleasure, from the Beginning of the World to this Day ; and that hereafter they, the said Storyes and Hebburns shall be Lovers and Friends as they ought to be.'

'Given the xxix of August, 1588, Anno Reg. Elizabeth xxx.'

The estate continued in the possession of the Hebburns till, towards the end of last century, their heiress married a clerical adventurer of the name of Brudnell, when it was purchased in about 1770 by the Earl of Tankerville.

The entrance is by a passage, vaulted by two stones meeting in the middle, in the thickness—9 feet 4 inches—of the south wall. The outer doorway seems to have been rebuilt ; a circular-headed doorway on the east side communicated with the wheel-stair at the south-east

⁵ *Wills and Inventories*, I. (Surtees Soc. Publ. 2) p. 401.

⁶ *Annals of House of Percy*, ii. p. 385 ; Collins, *Peerage*, 5th ed. ii. p. 421, from Craster MSS.

angle of the bastle. The basement contains a vault about 34 feet long, 17 feet 7 inches wide, and 12 feet 4 inches high to the crown of its flat roof of long-shaped stones. There is a loop in the centre of the west, and another at the north end of the east wall. Near the latter a fire-place has been inserted in the north wall, so roughly that the smoke from it was allowed to escape in the fire-place immediately over it on the first floor. On the east side of this vault, and approached by a door at the south end of the east wall, is a smaller vault measuring about 13 feet from north to south and 4 feet 9 inches from east to west. This vault, which is 10 feet 8 inches high, was probably a prison. At the south end of it is the mouth of a dungeon, now 8 feet 8 inches deep, a sort of worse fate held in reserve for recalcitrant captives. The square mouth of the dungeon, which had fallen away, has recently been rebuilt and a slit cut in the east wall of the upper prison, previously pitch-dark, in order to prevent strangers falling into it.

The wheel-stair, now so entirely broken away as to render the ascent to the first floor very dangerous, was continued to the gabled second floor, and probably, therefore, terminated in a sort of turret.

The first floor, the outer walls of which are a little over 6 feet thick, was divided into three rooms. The eastern room, into which a door opened off the stair, is about 10 feet wide to the door-jamb of the central room still left in the south wall. There are two square-headed windows with transoms and mullions in the east wall. The southern of these retains some cusping. The fire-place, with a head formed of two converging stones, is in the north wall. The central room, 17 feet 6 inches wide, has a transomed window to the south, and a fire-place 8 feet broad, the head gone, at its north end. The west and innermost room is about 11 feet wide. There is a small mullioned window on either side of the fire-place with a huge stone 6 feet long and 21 inches high over it; and a window, with transom and mullions, in the north wall. On the right of the latter is a small mural closet.

The second story, which was almost wholly in the roof, had pairs of small square windows in both the east and west gables.

Altogether the bastle of Hebburn, covered in the early summer with a profusion of berberry blossom, is a most interesting example of a class of house that must at one time have been very prevalent in Northumberland.

FORD CASTLE.

THE Castle of Ford was originally built by Sir William Heron, who obtained a licence to fortify his manor house there from Edward III. at Ipswich on 16th July, 1338, just before the king set sail for Antwerp.¹ In 1385 the Scots, under the Earls of Fife, March, and Douglas, took and dismantled this castle, as well as those of Wark and Cornhill.² A truce was concluded at Billymire in the following summer;³ but in spite of this, a band of Scots entered the lands of William Heron of Ford in time of truce, killing his men and carrying off £600 worth of cattle. In consequence Heron's men carried a foray after them into Scotland, from the spoils of which the Earl of Northumberland compelled him to restore 320 oxen, 1,600 sheep, and £100 in money, promising him compensation for the injuries he had suffered from the Scottish incursion. In connection with this affair, Heron was imprisoned in Newcastle, while Henry Lilburn, Thomas Roddam, and others came in warlike array to his castle of Ford, and assaulting it took by force of arms booty of great value against the peace of the king.⁴ In 1509 the castle of Ford, though it belonged to William Heron, was inhabited by William Selby. It was then supposed to be capable of keeping a garrison of 40 horsemen within its walls.⁵ Shortly before the battle of Flodden in 1513, it was taken by James IV. of Scotland. William Heron was then a prisoner in Scotland, but his wife Elizabeth and her daughter were in the castle at the time of its surrender. The lady of Ford besought King James to preserve it from demolition, spoiling, or burning, and he consented to do so on

¹ 'De manso manerii Kernellando. Rex omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto nostro Willelmo Heyrun quod ipse mansum suum apud manerium suum de Forde in comitatu Northumbrie muro de petra et calce firmare et Kernellare et mansum illud sic firmatum et Kernellatum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis sine occasione vel impedimento nostrum vel heredum nostrorum, Justiciariorum, Escaetorum, Vicecomitum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. In cujus &c. Teste Edwardo duce Cornubie et comite Cestrie filio nostro carissimo custode Anglie, apud Gippewicum xvj die Julii. Per ipsum Regem.'—*Patent Roll*, 12 Ed. III. pt. 2, m. 10, P.R.O.

² Ridpath, *Border History*, 1810, p. 355, on authority of Buchanan, l. 9, p. 170.

³ *Ibid.* p. 356; Rymer, *Fœdera*, viii. p. 526.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*

⁵ See above, p. 24.

condition of her bringing and delivering to him on the morning of the 5th of September the laird of Johnstoun and Alexander Hume, at that time prisoners in England. She appears to have proceeded to Alnwick, where she met the Earl of Surrey advancing with his array. Surrey immediately agreed to restore the prisoners in question upon receiving letters of protection for the castle under the king's seal, and further promised to restore Sir George Hume and William Carr, if the king would release William Heron. To these proposals King James replied by his Islay herald that he thereto would make no answer, and proceeded to burn down the castle. This is, it seems, all that history knows respecting the connection of Ford Castle with the campaign before Flodden.⁶

Sir William Heron died in 1535, leaving as his heir-general his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Heron, then only six years old. The Border Survey of 1541 reports that the castle of Ford was burnt by the last King of Scots a little before he was slain at Flodden Field. Some part of it had been repaired again since that time, but the great buildings and necessary houses had remained ever since waste and in decay. If it was repaired, the Commissioners estimated that it could receive and lodge a hundred horsemen or more.⁷

In 1549 the Scots entered England under the French general D'Essé, bringing with them four field-pieces. They attacked the castle of Ford, and again burnt the greater part of it, but were obliged to retire, leaving un-reduced one of the towers, which was defended by Thomas Carr, a younger son of the Captain of Wark.⁸ The bravery Carr displayed on this occasion seems to have led the heiress of Ford to bestow her hand upon him. The Herons, however, maintained that Ford should by right have passed to the heirs male of Sir William Heron; and on Saturday, 27th of March, 1557, John Dixon one of the constables of Berwick, together with about twenty of the garrison, took possession of Ford Castle in the name of George Heron of Chip-chase, and expelled Robert Carr, a brother of the owner, with four other men and three women who were in it at the time. The next morning as Ralph Gray of Chillingham, a justice for the county and

⁶ Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 486n; Hall, *Chron. Hen. VIII.* p. 39.

⁷ See above, p. 39.

⁸ Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 567; Beaugé, *Hist. des Campagnes 1548, 1549*, pp. 84, 95.

deputy warden, Giles Heron, treasurer of Berwick and brother of Heron of Chipchase, and Robert Barrow, mayor of the town, were approaching the castle with a band of thirty men, they were set upon by Robert Carr, with from eleven to sixteen followers. Heron and Barrow, who are said by their party to have been 'rydinge in peacable maner (what so ever was otherwise done),' were both slain, 'the maior after his stroke never spake worde, the treasurer had xv blodye wounds upon him.' One or two more of the company were 'somewhat hurt and wounded.' That same afternoon a great number of Gray's following came 'in forcible and warlike arraye of armour and weapons to the comfortye and assistance' of the Heron garrison. On the Monday Sir Robert Ellerker, the sheriff, John Bednell, and Robert Horsley themselves witnessed the arrival of a further reinforcement composed of fourteen of George Heron's tenants who 'in like warlike sort . . . did . repair to the said house of Ford to the great terror of all good quiet subjects of this country and piteous affrays of the civil peace of the same, and ever sure where toward in these parts of this country almost no person rideth unarmed, but as surely upon his guard as if he rode against the Enemy of Scotland.'⁹ In the end the Carrs regained possession of Ford Castle, and in 1584 it is described as belonging to William Carr, esq., and as 'decayed by want of reparation of a long continuance.' It was recommended that it should be repaired, the cost being estimated at £300.¹⁰ The male line of the Carrs of Ford came to an end in about 1685, and the castle was carried by successive heiresses through the families of Blake and Delaval into that of the Marquis of Waterford in 1822.

An old ground plan of the castle, entitled 'The True Draught or plat-form of the Castle, Courts, and Gardens of Ford, particularly carefully measured all with his own hand,' by John Purdy, on the 5th of August, 1716, together with three elevations of the castle at that time, has fortunately been preserved. From this we see that the castle originally consisted of four towers joined together by walls so as to form an inner court, something in the same way as Chillingham,

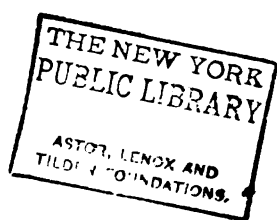
⁹ *Talbot Papers* in the College of Arms. The précis of this in Raine, *North Durham*, introd. p. xxx. has been corrected by a transcript of the original, kindly lent by Col. Carr of Dunston Hill. Raine had wrongly given the date as 'Saturday the 28th of April'—the 28th of April, 1557, was a Wednesday—and Carr's following in the skirmish as only six or seven men.

¹⁰ See above, p. 73.

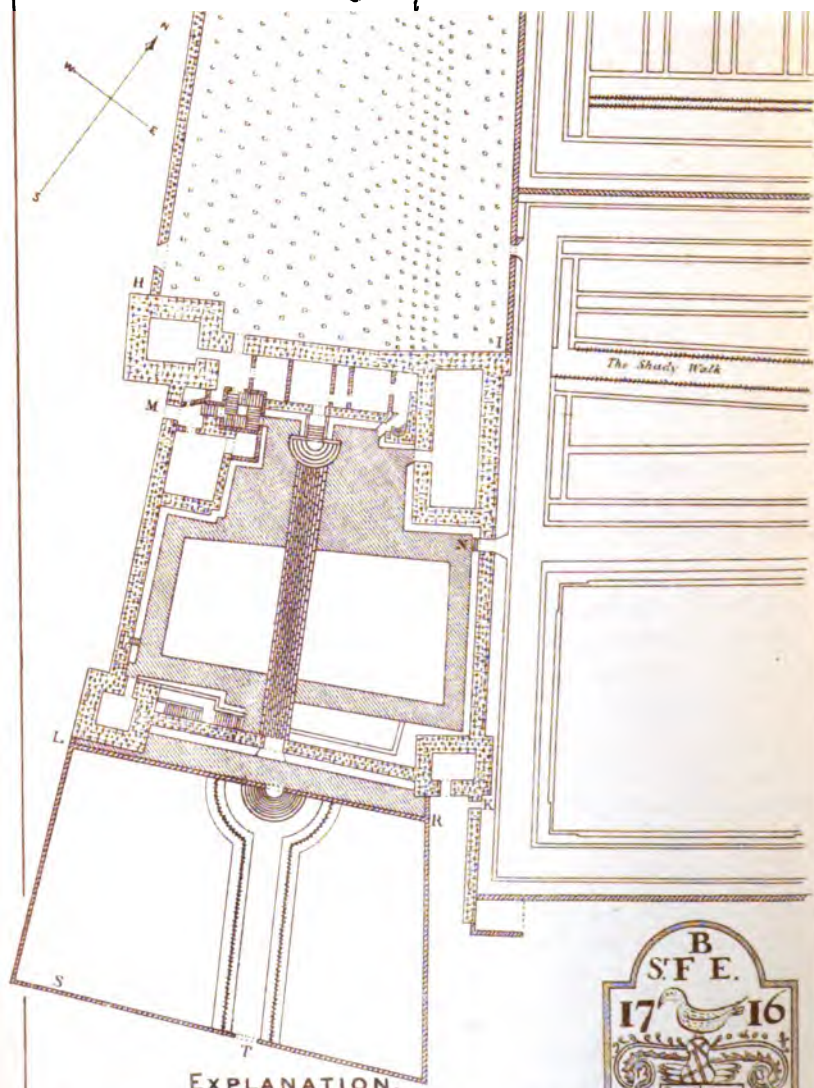
though with less regularity. At the N.W. corner the tower now called *King James's Tower*, about 35 feet square outside, projected considerably beyond the line of the curtain-wall, and formed the strongest portion of the pile. Immediately under it to the south was the 'Western Gate or Common Passage into the Castle,' for it must not be forgotten that a considerable portion of the village then stood on the west side of the fortress. From the N.E. corner a long building with very thick walls stretched along the east curtain. This apparently contained the Hall, as a Decorated window with a transom was still left at the southern end; if so, the Hall was about 55 feet long by 20 feet wide inside. The tower at the S.W. corner, now called the *Cow Tower*, and that at the S.E., which has now entirely disappeared, were then both surmounted by turrets built up with thin walls on the inner face of the thick tower walls. Between King James's Tower and the Hall a good house, with Elizabethan windows and two stair-turrets, stretched along the north curtain; and there was also a building with a corbie-stepped gable on the east side of the courtyard.

Sir John Hussey Delaval destroyed the most interesting features of the castle in 1761 by converting the main portion into a mansion, designed in the atrocious style which was then supposed to be Gothic. Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, the present owner, has almost entirely removed the unsightly work of last century, and made Ford one of the most beautiful houses in the North of England.



King James's Tower retains its ancient vaulted basement, with many 14th century mason-marks. A ray of light is let into this vault by an original slit in the north wall. 'The West Profil' of the castle, drawn by John Purdy in 1716 shows that there were then no windows in the west wall of this tower. In the room occupying the uppermost floor a large west window was inserted during the alterations of 1761, and from the lovely view then obtained from this in the direction of Flodden, the room became so much associated with the name of King James that at last he was said to have slept in it on the night before the battle. Till 1761 the upper portion of this tower seems to have been unconnected with the main residence, and access to the room in question could only be had by a narrow stair in the thickness of the wall; when, however, Sir John Hussey Delaval incorporated the tower in his mansion, he seems to have broken a new door into this room



*The True Draught or plat-form
of the Castle Courts & Gardens of Ford
Particularly & Carefully measured by John Rudy 5 Aug. 1716.*

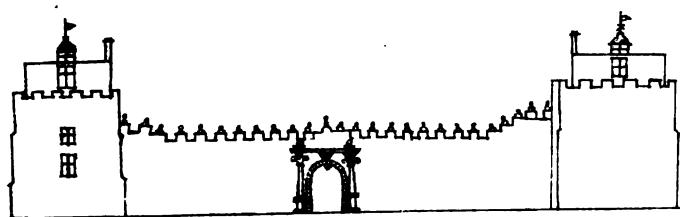


EXPLANATION.

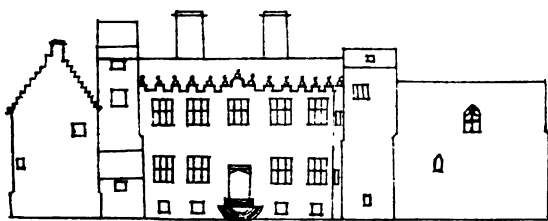
The Castle consists of Four Towers with walls joining them together and enclosing the inner Court these old thick walls are marked thus  all the other walls thus . HIKL the Castle. M the Western Gate or Common Passage into the Castle. N the Door opening from the inner Court into the Gardens. RLS the outer Court. T the outer Court Gate facing South toward the Church. FGHI called the Newark where some trees are planted.



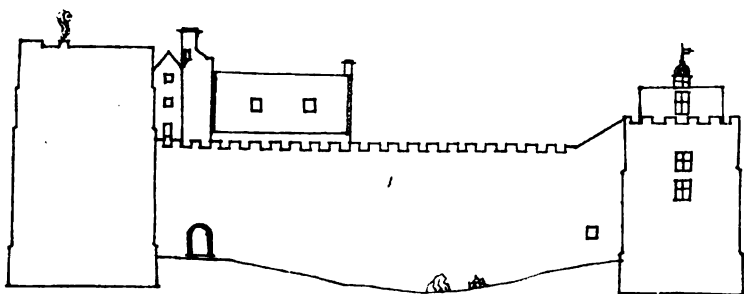
Scale
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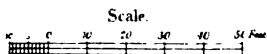
The Southern Prospect of Ford Castle, without.

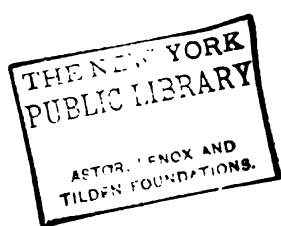


The South Prospect within the inner Court.



The West Profile without.





through the east wall, and to have walled up the old stair as useless. Similar stairs closed in this way still remain in Featherstone, Halton, Craster, and other towers. During subsequent alterations the forgotten stair at Ford was again discovered, and opened out. It was soon pronounced to have been a secret stair, and has been connected in the broadest fashion with the legendary intrigue of King James and Dame Heron—a legend rendered in the highest degree improbable by the known facts of history, and invented most probably by the patriotic imagination of the Scots for the purpose of explaining away the crushing defeat their host sustained.

During the troubles connected with the Pilgrimage of Grace in the autumn of 1536, John Heron of Chipchase kept the castle of Ford by ‘strong hande’ in defiance of the king’s authority.¹¹

¹¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* vol. xii. 1090, 35.

COLDMARTIN TOWER.

AN enquiry into the decays of the East Marches made on the 24th of September, 1584, led to the presentment of a tower of stone and lime at Coldmartin as being utterly decayed. This tower was then the property of Roger Fowberry of Fowberry, gent., and it should have been in good repair since there was land attached to it capable of supporting two men and horses fit for service.¹ A fragment of the south-west wall of this tower, which has been 6 feet thick, is still standing about 9 feet high, in an exposed situation overlooking Wooler Water and facing the Cheviots. The tower seems to have been only about 27 feet square, outside measurement.

¹ See above, p. 80.

BEWICK TOWER.

MENTION of the tower of Bewick, over the foundations of which the road from Chillingham to Eglington now passes, appears first to be made in 1509. The tower was then owned by the prior of Tynemouth and occupied by Gilbert Collingwood. Forty horsemen, it was calculated, might be quartered in it.¹ By the suppression of the monastery of Tynemouth, it came to the Crown. In 1539 Robert Collingwood, the bailiff at Bewick, renders no account 'for any profit accruing from the farm of a stone tower there, because it is kept entirely for the defence of the inhabitants of the Lordship in time of war.'² Two years later we find that part of the tower had recently been covered with lead, the remainder was neither well covered nor in good repair, which was matter of regret as it stood in a fit place for the defence of the country.³ The Commissioners of 1584 reported that it stood three miles to the south-east of Wooler and seven from the Scottish frontier; it was the Queen's property and had gone to ruin either in consequence of rough usage in war-time or of continued neglect; it would take £20 to restore it to its former state, but it was much to be desired that a new barmekin thirty yards square, enclosed by a stone wall, should be attached to it, together with stabling for fifty horses, and this would increase the cost to £200.⁴ 'Ther is yet standinge,' says the survey of Bewick in 1608, 'a faire stronge tower, with a garth and a dovecoate of hewen stone, which hath beene wholly covered with leade but most parte of the leade is now decayed or purloyned away wherby it is not inhabitable but in one corner that is vaulted over. This tower hath commonly beene a refuge for the Tenants ther in time of danger.'⁵

¹ See above, p. 23.

² Gibson, *Monastery of Tynemouth*, i. p. 228. In an account of people fit to serve the King, living on the Border in about 1536, we meet with 'Robert Collingwood of Bewicke, six miles from Scotland, may dispend vi. yerely, and may serve the King under the Prior of Tynemouth, by the office of Bailship of the same, with xx horsemen, and is a true sharpe borderer.'—*Ibid.* ii. clxxxii.

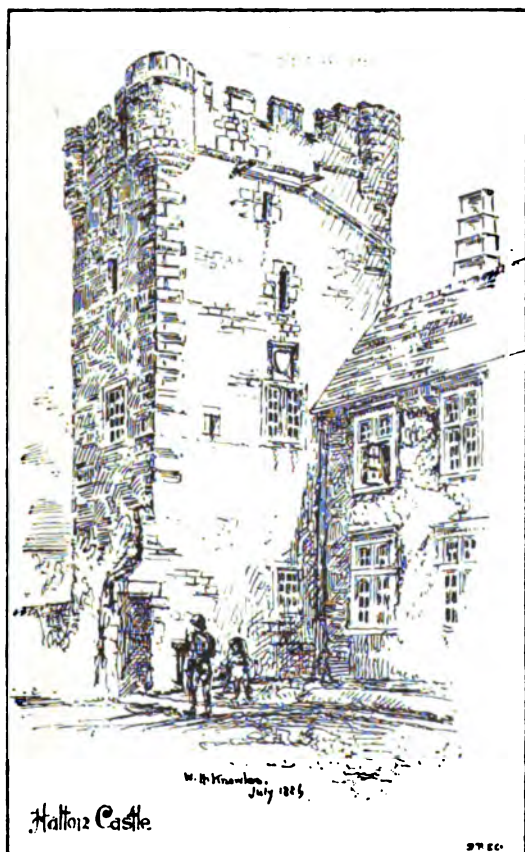
³ See above, p. 42.

⁴ See above, p. 74.

⁵ MS. in Land Revenue Record Office, Whitehall.

HALTON TOWER.

A LITTLE to the south of the station of HUNNUM on the Roman Wall stands Halton Tower, or, as it is popularly called, Halton Castle, in what for a Border hold is an exceptionally pleasant situation. The



HALTON TOWER FROM THE EAST.

view, well wooded in the foreground, extends far and wide over the valley of the Tyne; the pastures around, in which once grazed the celebrated shorthorns, 'Duchess' and 'Ketton,' are among the richest

in Northumberland; the tower itself is set in a quaint garden of old-fashioned flowers; and at a short distance to the east of it is the curious little chapel with an early round chancel arch, that possibly marks the spot where Alfwold, king of Northumberland, was assassinated in 788.¹

'Hawelton' with Whittington and Claverworth, now corrupted into Clarewood, formed one of the eight or nine estates in Northumberland that either escaped confiscation at the Norman Conquest, or were soon after regranted to Englishmen, to be held in *theinagio* from the king himself instead of being made dependent on any Norman barony. In 1161, about as far back as we can get with much certainty in a land beyond the limits of the Domesday Book, these three manors were in the possession of a thane bearing the famous old Northumbrian name of Waltheof—'Waldief de Haulton.' His son, 'William de Haleweton' pays three marks for theinage in 1203.² A dispute having arisen between him and Simon de Roucester concerning certain lands in Halton and Clarewood, and a rent-charge in Whittington, recourse was had to wager of battle. On the 16th of October, 1212, William de Matham, who appeared as the champion of Roucester, was successfully encountered by Jordan de Eplingden in defence of the interests of Halton.⁴

In 1212 it is clearly stated that William de Halton holds three villis in theinage by the service of paying 40s. a year, giving merchet and aids, and performing all customs appertaining to theinage.⁵ The tenure is said, probably by mistake, to be drengage and to be subject

¹ *Arch. Æl.* N.S. XIII. p. 329n.

² *Pipe Roll*, 7 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 5.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 5 John; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 84.

⁴ *Placita*, Joh. 14 ro. 11; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 341.

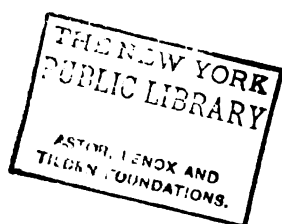
⁵ 'Willelmus de Hawelton tenet tres villas in thenagio de domino Rege per servitium xl s. per annum et dabit merchetet auxilia et faciet omnes consuetudines spectantes ad thenagium. Omnes vero antecessores fecerunt predictum servitium.'—*Testa de Nevill*, Inquisicio facta de tenementis et feodis; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 237. In the *English Historical Review*, vol. V. p. 625 (Oct. 1890), is a well-written article by Professor Maitland on *Northumbrian Tenures*. This is not the place to examine Professor Maitland's arguments and conclusions on the subject of these intricate tenures, but it has been thought desirable to aid their critical study by giving in full such notices of them as occur in documents relating to Halton. Professor Maitland, p. 629, has confused the accounts given of the tenure of William de Halton in 1212 and of John de Halton in 1240, and has forgotten that the *truncage* of Bamburgh was 'ad faciendum *rogum Regis*,' see above, p. 230n. It seems, too, possible that *cornage* may, after all, be a corruption of 'coronagium.'



J. P. Gibson, Photo.

HALTON TOWER, FROM THE WEST.

(This plate presented by Sir Edward Blackett, Bart.)



to tallage, heriot, and merchet, in the great return of feudal estates made in 1240, by which time John de Halton had succeeded to the three manors in question.⁶ Seven years later, for the consideration of twenty marks,⁷ John de Halton obtained a charter from King Henry III. granting him and his heirs the three manors at double the old rent of three marks which had been paid by his ancestors, with the condition that they should continue to do the king's forinsec service of cornage and suit of the county.⁸ In 1266 Sir John de Halton was sheriff of Northumberland, but this does not appear to have restrained him from doing a little cattle-lifting in good old Border style. Anyhow, he stood accused of having come in that year with Thomas de Thirlwall and others of his household to Wark, in Tyne-dale, and driven thence the cattle and sheep of Thomas Fairbairn by force of arms to his manor-house at Sewingshields. Not till thirteen years afterwards, however, was Sir John called to account for this outrage before the Justices Itinerant of Alexander III. of Scotland at Wark, when he bought himself off by agreeing to pay Fairbairn ten marks in silver.⁹ On his death, in 1287, we find his house at Halton described as a capital messuage with two paddocks and a garden enclosed with a wall, the whole worth half a mark yearly beyond the charge of keeping up the houses.¹⁰ He had in hand there 337 acres under the plough—of which 210 acres were worth 8d.; 50 acres, 4d.; and 77 acres, 2d. The fact that the 24 acres of meadow in his occupation were assessed at 18d. an acre shows that the fame of the rich grass of Halton was established as far back as the 13th century. For the three manors of Halton, Clarewood, and Whittington Sir John had been accustomed to pay annually to the king the four pounds of silver stipulated in his father's charter, together with 2s. 4d. for cornage, and at the end of every 3½ years the further sum of 20s. for fine of court and suit of the

⁶ *Testa de Nevill*, Veredictum hominum de Northumbrie et de Elandesire; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 223.

⁷ *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. iiij.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 214.

⁸ 'Forinsecum servicium nostrum cornagii et sectam comitatus sicut ipse et antecessores sui facere [so]lebant pro omni servicio consuetudine servitute et demanda.'—*Charter Roll*, 31 Hen. iiij. m. 6, P.R.O.

⁹ *Iter of Wark*, 31 Alex. iiij m. 5 dors; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. xxxiii.

¹⁰ 'Capitale messuagium cum ij. pasturis et gardino muro incluso.'—*Inq. p.m.* 15 Ed. j. 21, P.R.O.

county of Northumberland every six weeks.¹¹ It seems possible that the buildings at Halton, which were no doubt of wood, were burnt by the Scots during the incursion of Wallace in 1297, as on the death of Sir John de Halton's son and successor, Sir William, in the spring of 1299, the capital message at Halton, with the garden, is returned as being worth 40d. a year, half its value twelve years before, 'and this on account of the conflagration.'¹² The tenure of the three manors is now given as 'cornage and doing suit to the county of Northumberland from court-day to court-day, and by the service of four pounds sterling, paid yearly to the king through the sheriff of Northumberland.'¹³ Sir John de Halton, the last of his race, died on the 31st of March, 1345.¹⁴ Halton passed through his daughters Eleanor and Margaret to the Lowthers who remained in possession nearly forty years.¹⁵

Robert de Lowther died on the 3rd of May, 1388, seized of the two manors of Halton and Clarewood at the rent of four pounds with 14d. for cornage. His own heir was Eleanor, wife of William Ferour, but as soon as he was dead William de Carnaby took possession of Halton and its appurtenances, and continued to enjoy it without any apparent question as to his title for the next five years.¹⁶

There is a village of Carnaby in Yorkshire, not far from Bridlington. William de Carnaby seals the gift he made to the priory of Hexham in 1387 of lands at Yakesley and Hughesfield with a *bend*

¹¹ 'Et reddendo Domino Regi quolibet anno imperpetuum ad Festum Sancti Cuthberti in Septembri ij *sol.* et quatuor *den.* de cornagio et reddendo Domino Regi in perpetuum ad finem trium annorum et dimidii anni xx. *sol.* de fine Curie et sequendo comitatum Northumbrie de vj septimanis in vj septimanas.'—*Ibid.* See *English Historical Review*, v. p. 631, referring to *Coram Rege Roll*, Pasch. 6 Edw. j. 37m. 14d.; 38m. 7, and correcting *Plac. Abbrev.* p. 194, to which Hodgson refers, *Northd.* II. i. p. 332n.

¹² 'Et hoc propter combustionem.'—*Inq. p.m.* 27 Ed. j. 22, P.R.O.

¹³ '... agium et sectam faciendo ad C . . . Northumbrie de comitatu in comitatu et per servicium quatuor librarum sterlingarum vicecomiti Nort . . . domini Regis etc.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁴ The *Inq. p.m.* 19 Ed. III. 60, taken on the death of Sir John de Halton is almost illegible.

¹⁵ 'Preceptum est Willelmo de Nessefeld esc. Regis in com. Northumbrie quod capta fidelitate Roberti de Louthre consanguinei et heredis Margarete filie Johannis de Haulton militis defuncti de medietate maneriorum de Haulton et Claverworth etc. per servicium triginta et quatuor solidorum in dringagio et septem *den.* ad cornagium.'—*Originalia*, 36 Ed. III. ro. 8; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 328. This was after the death of Margaret, widow of Sir John de Halton in 1362, who had held this mediety in dower.—*Inq. p.m.* 36 Ed. iij. 91.

¹⁶ *Inq. p.m.* 10 Ric. ij. 24, P.R.O.

*flory impaling two bars, in chief three roundles.*¹⁷ This latter coat, which appears on a stone shield in a panel in the east wall of the tower, was no doubt that of HALTON, blazoned *Argent, two bars azure, in chief three hurts.*¹⁸ Preferred to their paternal coat as the more honourable by the next generation of Carnabys at Halton, in accordance with the usage of heraldry while it was still a living and practical science, its origin came to be so entirely forgotten that, during the rage for complicated bearings in the 16th century, the venal heralds of Crouchback's foundation actually quartered it as that of CARNABY with *Per pale gules and azure, a lion rampant guardant* or for HALTON, though this was borne by the Haltons, not of Northumberland, but of Cheshire.¹⁹

On the 24th of March, 1391, a son and heir was born at Halton.²⁰ The witnesses called to prove the age of this young William Carnaby more than twenty-one years afterwards confirmed their testimony by recalling various incidents that took place on the occasion of his being baptized in Halton Church:—John de Hole bought a horse that day of the child's father; John Strother, while hunting a hare, met the woman carrying the child to church; Richard Craster's horse came down under him as he was returning to Dilston after the christening; and Nicholas Turpyn in riding home saw, or thought he saw, a fox breaking out of a wood with the huntsmen after him.²¹ William Carnaby the father died on Wednesday, the 18th of May, 1407, seised of Halton and its appurtenances, which are stated to be held of the king by military service and by the annual payment of four pounds to the sheriff as castle-ward to Newcastle, and 2s. 4d. for coronage.²²

¹⁷ MS. Copy of *Visitation of Northumberland*, in the Library of Soc. of Ant. N.C.

¹⁸ These are given as the arms of Robert de Halton (probably the same person as Robert de Lowther) in Jenyn's Ordinary, *Harl. MS. 6589*.—Papworth, *Ordinary*, p. 28.

¹⁹ In the same way the Riddleys of Ridley, Northumberland, were given the arms of the Riddleys of Ridley Hall in Cheshire, and a pedigree to suit this was manufactured in Flowers's *Visitation*, 1575. It is a pity that Hodgson printed this ridiculous rubbish in his *Northd.* II. iii. p. 339.

²⁰ The *Inq. p.m.* 9 Hen. IV. 14 would seem to give the date as 24th March, 1389, but the *Proof of Age* and the *Inq. p.m.* 13 Hen. IV. 2, which, taken on 11th Feb. 1412, states William Carnaby to be then 20 years and 45 weeks old, are conclusive.

²¹ *Inq. p.m.* 13 Hen. IV. 52; *Archæologia Eliana*, IV. p. 330.

²² 'Per servicium militare Reddendo domino Regi per annum pro warda Castri ad Castrum Domini Regis de Novo Castro super Tynam per manus vicecomitis iij li. et pro coronagio ijs. iijjd.'—*Inq. p.m.* 9 Hen. IV. 14, P.R.O.

William Carnaby, the child christened in 1391, died, at the age of 62, on Wednesday, the 16th of March, 1453. There was at that time in the manor and town of Halton a site with a hall and chamber, a kitchen, and other houses built over them, which together with the garden are returned as of no annual value beyond the cost of repairs and maintenance.²³ The perplexities in which the tenure of Halton is involved culminate in the statements contained in the inquisition held after the death of Sir John Carnaby on the 9th of August, 1479, that Halton was held in soccage at the annual rent of 40s. and owed tallage, relief, and merchet, and that Clarewood and Whittington were held in burgage, and owed relief, counsel, and service.²⁴

Two or three weeks after the stout refusal of the canons of Hexham to surrender their priory to the commissioners of Henry VIII., John Heron of Chipchase rode up to Halton Tower at about ten o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 15th of October, 1536. The canons, persuaded by the Archbishop of York, were already beginning to lose heart and to think of submitting. This did not suit John Heron, who as a follower of Sir Thomas Percy was anxious that the opposition to the royal authority should take the form of a regular rising, and especially that they should have an opportunity of revenging on the Carnaby family the wrongs Sir Thomas had suffered through Sir Raynold Carnaby's influence. On dismounting at Halton, John Heron persuaded William Carnaby, Sir Raynold's father, that he was really anxious for the pacification of the country, and in the end was sent by him to Hexham, in order to treat with the canons. He then treacherously advised the canons that their only chance lay in continued resistance, and that they should summon the men of Tynedale to their aid under promise of certain annuities. The canons were loth to ally themselves with the Tynedale freebooters if they could save their lives in any other way, and asked Heron in the first instance to take a message to William Carnaby begging him to use his influence with Sir Raynold, who had brought down the king's letters, to obtain a pardon for them from the king on condition of their surrendering the priory. Heron returned to Halton for the night, but instead of

²³ 'Est in eisdem manerio et villa quidam situs cum aula cameris coquina et aliis domibus super edificatis et gardino que nichil valent per annum ultra reprias et sustentacionem eorundem.'—*Inq. p.m.* 31 Hen. VI. 41, P.R.O.

²⁴ *Inq. p.m.* 20 Ed. IV. 34, P.R.O.

delivering this message to Carnaby, sent secret instructions to raise the men of Tynedale. The next morning he betook himself again to Hexham, and declared to the canons that all he had to tell them was that Sir Raynold had resolved to send up four of their heads to the king, with four from the town and shire. All idea of submission on their part was now naturally at an end. With the utmost complacency, Heron rode back to dinner at Halton, merely remarking as he took his seat, 'It is a good sight to see a man eat when he is hungry.' During dinner one Archie Robson of Tynedale came in and whispered to John Robson, his cousin, that the Tynedale men were all in arms. Heron perceiving that it was no use concealing matters any longer, called Carnaby to another chamber, and told him that he might expect the canons and their wild allies there at any moment with the worst intentions regarding him. Carnaby naturally complained that his friend need not have waited till dinner was half over to give him this information. In order to compromise Carnaby's loyalty, and leave Halton defenceless, Heron advised him to ride off with him to his own tower at Chipchase, and to this in his fright Carnaby consented. A servant of Sir Raynold had, however, fallen in with the Tynedale bands at St. John Lee, and on learning their intentions at once dashed off to Halton in order to protect his master's plate and money which had been deposited in the tower. Meeting Heron and William Carnaby on their road to Chipchase, he contrived to whisper in Carnaby's ear, 'That traitor thief that rideth with you hath betrayed you, and it will cost you your life yet if ye follow his counsel, I shall warrant you.' By his advice Carnaby then persuaded Heron to keep in the rear to turn back any pursuers, and putting spurs to his horse galloped safely off towards Langley Castle. Heron, baulked of his prey, turned back to Halton, with a false message from Carnaby to his son Thomas, commanding him 'of his blyssing that he should not tary in the hous.' Thomas Carnaby was actually enticed out by Heron's fair words; still Heron could not get his own way, as there were always some men left in the tower who bore him no favour. At last he extorted from William Carnaby's wife a casket containing the money Sir Raynold had left behind him. To complete his discomfiture, however, Arthur Errington, a kinsman of Sir Raynold, with seven Tynedale men, snatched the casket from his clutches, and

although 'putting a kercher as a pensell upon his spear point' he strove to rally the plunderers after them, it was to no purpose, and he had to return thoroughly disappointed to Chipchase. On the Tuesday he tried again to get possession of Sir Raynold's goods at Halton, but he found the tower protected by the presence of Lewis Ogle, Lord Ogle's brother, and although he assured him that if he knew as much as he did, he would not remain there till night-fall, even for the sake of ten thousand pounds, his threats were wasted, and he was obliged finally to abandon his enterprise.²⁵

During the armistice that succeeded the Pilgrimage of Grace, Sir Thomas Percy, it is said, sent his priest to take possession of the dwelling of Sir Raynold Carnaby's grandfather at Halton, as Sir Raynold had fled and was against the Commons.²⁶

A curious inventory of the goods of Lancelot Carnaby of Halton, who died on the 11th of July, 1624, is preserved in the Probate Registry at Durham :—

'In the Hall. Thre tables, five formes short and long, one old 'Carpet, one Cubbert cloath, one clock, two chaires, five old cushins, 'one leverye cubbert,²⁷ 20^s. One iron Chimneye vi^s 8^d.

'In the parlor. Two tables and a square cubbert, two formes, vj^s. 'One presse 13^s 4^d. One bedsteade with curtins and vallance of a 'blew coller and one covering of the same, one fether bed, one mat, 'two bouldsters, one pillow, two blankets, and two coverlets, 26^s 8^d. 'One fether bed, one mattresse, two blanketts, two coverletts, one read 'covering, one boulder, and a pillow, 16^s 8^d. Two lowe stooles and 'two chaires, 3^s 4^d. Thre bars of iron in the chimney, with a poor²⁸ 'and an old shovell and tongs, 2^s.

'In Mr. Carnabye's Chamber. One low bed with a cannibye, one 'mattresse and a fether bed, a paire of blanketts, one coverlett, one 'greene rug and a Courting belonging to the cannibye, two bouldsters, '30^s. One cubbert, a long saddle bed vj^s 8^d.

²⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* vol. xii. 1090, 35; Raine, *Hexham Priory* (Surt. Soc. Publ.) i. App. p. cxl.; Charlton, *North Tynedale and its Four Graynes*, p. 59.

²⁶ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. xii. 1090, 9.

²⁷ 'An open cupboard with shelves, in which the liveries intended for distribution were placed.'—Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*.

²⁸ A poker.—*Ibid.*

'*In the closett.* Thre bedsteads and there furniture, 20^s. One presse, 3^s 4^d.

'*In the great chamber.* One long table with a frame 40^s. Thre leverye cubberts with a pare of virginals²⁹ 40^s. A dosen and a halfe of buffet stooles,³⁰ 24^s. Halfe a score of cushins with thre long cushins for the windowes, 30^s. A long carpet cloath with two cubbert cloaths, 20^s. A cubbert cloath of wrought nedle worke with two low stooles, 13^s 4^d. One blacke chayer 3^s 4^d. One turkye cubbert cloath, 13^s 4^d.

'*In the low tower.*³¹ One bedsteade, mattresse, one fether bed, one boulster, two pillowes, a pare of blankets, a greene rug with an oversea covering, curttings and vallance, a pare of tongs and a shoole, vj^{li}. A trundle bed,³² one mattresse, one fether bed, two bouldsters and one pillow, thre coverlets and a pare of blankets, 24^s. One leverye cubbert with a cloath on it, 13^s 4^d. One greene chaire with two low stooles, 13^s 4^d. Six hangings with peces, 10^{li}.³³

'*In the middle tower.*³⁴ One ciprus³⁵ bed, one mattresse, one fether bed, a pare of blankets, two coverlets with an oversea covering, one boulster with two pillowes, a paire of curtins and vallance, 3^{li}. One low bed with a mattresse, a paire of blankets, thre coverlets, a boulster and a pillow, 13^s 4^d. One leverye cubbert with a cloath on it, 13^s 4^d. A chaire with a stoole 2^s vj^d. A paire of tongs, a shoole, and a pore, 2^s.

'*In the high tower.*³⁶ One bedsteade, a fether bed, a paire of blankets, tow coverlets and an oversea covering, a paire of courttings and vallance and a trundle bed under it, 40^s. One cubbert with a cloath vj^s 8^d. One chaire, two shorte formes, 7^s.

'*In the loft above Mr. Carnaby's chamber.* A flanders chest 13^s 4^d; another chest v^s; thre trunkes, 20^s; a counter 10^s; another trunk 3^s.

²⁹ Oblong spinnets.—*Ibid.*

³⁰ Small stools variously described. The term was at an early period applied to those having three legs. There is a saying in Suffolk, "a dead ass and a new buffet stool are two things that nobody ever saw."—*Ibid.*

³¹ *I.e.*, the first floor of the tower.

³² 'A low bed on small wheels or castors, trundled under another in the day time, and drawn out at night for a servant or some inferior person to sleep on.—Halliwell.

³³ *I.e.*, views, just as we still say battle-pieces, sea-pieces, etc.

³⁴ *I.e.*, the second floor of the tower.

³⁵ 'A fine curled linnen.'—Minshew in Nares, *Glossary*.

³⁶ *I.e.*, the third and uppermost floor of the tower.

'In the high chamber. One bedsteade, one fether bed, a mattresse, 'two blankets, two coverlets, a covering with courtings and vallance, 'one boulder and a pillow, 40^s. One liverye cubbert with a cloath, 'thre chares, v^s.

'In the chamber adjoining. One bedsteade, a mattresse, aaffe 'bed,³⁷ thre coverletts, a boulder and tow pillowes, tow blankets and 'a trundle bed, 16^s. A paire of tongs, a shoule, 2^s.

'In the butler's chambers. A bedstead, a mattresse, two blankets, 'two coverlets, one boulder, 10^s. A bedsteade and a table, 2^s.

*'In the kitchen chamber.'*³⁸ Thre bedsteads with a fether bed, one 'boulder and a pillow, a paire of blankets, two coverlets, and a covering 'with courtings, 16^s. Thre other bedsteads; the one, paire of blankets 'and two coverlets, two boulders; the other bed, a mattresse, two 'blankets, a boulder, and two coverlets and courtings; and a table, '20^s. A bedsteade, a mattresse, two blankets, a boulder, two cover- 'lets, vj^s 8^d.³⁹

Sir William Carnaby of Halton Tower was chosen to represent Morpeth in Parliament in 1628 and 1640. On the 26th of August, 1642, the House of Commons passed the following: 'Resolved that Sir William Carnaby shall be disabled to sit any longer a member of this house during this parliament, for refusing to attend the service of the house upon summons, and for raising arms against the parliament.' Sir William fought at Marston Moor in the Northumberland regiment commanded by the Marquess of Newcastle; his lands were confiscated by the Commonwealth, and he fled the country. The Carnabys seem never to have recovered from this reverse. To the south of Halton Chapel is a flat tomb with the arms of Carnaby and the inscription 'William Carnaby, Esq.: who was buried the 18th of August, 1698.' He was probably the last of his race here. Halton was purchased in 1706 by Mr. John Douglas, a Newcastle lawyer. The arms of Douglas are to be found on a curious sun-dial on the garden wall. Oley Douglas, esq., of Halton, was M.P. for Morpeth in

³⁷ 'Caff' in the North is the same as chaff; 'Caffa' is a rich stuff like taffeta.

³⁸ *I.e.*, the room over the kitchen.

³⁹ *Original Inventory*, in Durham Probate Office. The inventory proceeds to give the particulars of Lancelot Carnaby's 'buttery ware,' 'kitchen stuff,' and 'wane geare,' together with the contents of the milk-house loft and the 'guile-house,' or brewery.

1713; his daughter and heiress married Sir Edward Blackett, Bart., and Halton is now the property of Sir Edward W. Blackett, their descendant.

The 'castle' is of three different dates; you have the tower, first mentioned in 1415,⁴⁰ but possibly older; the manor-house that at no long period after was appended to the north side of the tower; and lastly a 17th century mansion, something in the style of Capheaton, that, fronting the south, fortunately leaves most of the east face of the tower unencumbered.

Passing through this wing, which contains the principal suite of rooms, we enter a large chamber in the basement of the manor-house, having a low ceiling with old oak beams. Here in the south-west corner is the original outer doorway of the tower, a rough pointed-arched one, bearing on its jambs the marks of strong bolts and bars. Three feet inside this, another door of similar character opens into the great vault with a cylindrical stone roof that, as usual, occupied the base of the tower: to the left, between these two doors, a straight stair probably led to the first floor, but in order now to arrive there we have to cross the large chamber by which we entered; and leaving it by a wide door with a shouldered head, ascend the broad newel-stair that protrudes in its north-west corner.

The first-floor room of the tower is called *par excellence* the Tower Room, since the two upper stories were left in a ruined state open to the sky till about fifteen years ago. The entrance is at the north-east corner exactly where the original stair would have landed us. The Tower Room was probably roofed in and renovated after the Restoration when larger windows were inserted to the south and east: the wooden mantel-piece and dado resemble those of the Green Room at Bitchfield. There are two very curious trefoil-headed recesses, one in the west wall to the right of the fire-place only two feet from the floor, the other, considerably larger, higher up in the centre of the north wall. The stone-work is unfortunately concealed by a modern wall-paper. Another peculiarity of this room are the small chambers or closets at each of the remaining angles. The door into the north-west one has been built up, but its narrow slit can be seen outside on the west face of the tower.

⁴⁰ 'Turris de Halton, Willelmi Carnaby.'—See above, p. 18.

Communication with the second and third floors which have been thrown into one room is cut off except through the manor-house. The wall which has been pierced to give access to them in this way is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. The interior of the tower is here 23 feet from north to south by 14 feet from east to west. In the south and east walls are the original windows of both storeys. There is a little closet in the north-west corner similar no doubt to that walled up on the floor below. An extremely narrow newel-stair leads in the north-east corner up to the roof. Ascending, we notice several mason-marks on the newel and pass the flat-arched doorway, now bricked up, that opened into the uppermost room.

The battlements are of a most excellent and genuine description. At each angle is a turret that is corbelled out beyond the adjacent faces of the wall so as to present a circular appearance. These turrets—the stair comes up in the north-east one—have always been roofed in as is made evident by the stone spouts high up in their battlements; but the beauty of their sky-line has been much impaired by the embrasures being built up. The same fate has befallen the central embrasure of the battlements on the west side in which a chimney has been inserted, the tower apparently having been built without one.

Externally Halton Tower measures at the base about 30 feet from north to south by $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet from east to west. On the east face above the modern window of the Tower Room, there is, as has been mentioned, an ancient stone shield, protected on three sides by a weather moulding, and charged with *two bars, and in chief three roundles*.

ADDENDUM.

P. 314, n. 14. This Inquisition taken at Corbridge, 30 April, 1345, shows that Sir John de Halton enfeofed John de Lowther in the manors of Halton and Claverworth, two messuages, sixteen cottages, 60 acres of land and 21 of meadow in Halton excepted; and that Lowther afterwards temp. Ed. II. reconveyed them to Halton by fine, for his own life with remainders to Robert de Lowther and Eleanor his wife, and Thomas de Lowther and Margaret his wife. Thomas died before Halton, and his widow married William 'de Kernetby,' but on her death, her moiety reverted by the entail to her brother-in-law Robert de Lowther, and it was only on his death without issue that her son William Carnaby obtained possession. Halton left a third daughter Agnes, wife of William Cottelar, who probably received the excepted lands as her portion.

THIRLWALL CASTLE.

So thoroughly are we accustomed to call the fortified lines stretching from Bowness to Wallsend the Roman Wall, that it is hard to bring ourselves to believe that this is comparatively a very modern phrase. Till quite recently our Wall always appeared on the maps as the Picts' Wall, the *Vallum sive Murus Picticus* of Camden, a designation borne not on account of its having served as a defence against the Picts (as the Saxon shore may have been so termed from its liability to the incur-



THIRLWALL CASTLE.

sions of piratical Saxons), but because it was popularly held to have been the uncanny work of that mysterious race. Sir Christopher Ridley, writing in about 1572 what in many respects is a very excellent account of the stations *per lineam Valli*, gravely informs Mr. William Claxton that 'sure theyr is one wall builded betwyxt the Brittons and Pightes (which we call the *Kepe Wall*) builded by the Pightes.'¹ Even in this century the tradition survived that the Wall was erected by supernatural agencies in a single night.

At the close of the 13th century the Wall seems to be referred to, in a lawsuit between the prior of Tynemouth and Richard Turpin of Houghton, under the name of the 'Thwertonerdyk,' which Hodgson was ready to think meant the '*Thwarting-dyke*.'² But the usual name

¹ *Harl. MS.* 374; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 273n.

² *Placita de Banco*, Pasch. 18 Ed. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 282n.

for the Wall in the Middle Ages was apparently the 'Thirlwall.' Fordun, in his *Scotichronicon*, written about 1385, in fixing the site of the battle of Heavenfield, mentions the Thirlwall, which the Romans drew across Britain from sea to sea in order to keep back the attacks of the Scots, and goes on to explain this name to mean the *Thirlit-wall* or *Murus Perforatus*, giving as the reason that after the departure of the Romans, the common people dwelling in the districts near the Wall *thirled* or pierced it in *many different* places so that they might always be able to pass to and fro through it.³ It says much for Fordun's powers of observation, however fanciful and false this piece of etymology may be, that he should have been struck by the numerous gateways and openings in the Wall, an aspect of its character that was till quite lately again lost sight of. Wyntoun, prior of St. Serf's on Loch Lomond in the beginning of the 15th century, in his rhyming chronicle, also says of the Romans building the Wall :

'It off comon cost thai maid,
And yhit men callys it Th[r]ylwal.'⁴

The implied derivation that it was made at the cost of the *thralls* or common people is different, the name is the same. Indeed Hodgson was so positive that the 'Thirlwall' was the true title of the Wall that he has not only prefixed it to his admirable description of the fortified lines of Hadrian, but has also repeated it at the head of every page. 'Thirlwall,' he says, 'was, I think, a general name at one time for this barrier.'⁵ Nevertheless the sense of the passage in Fordun has been so stupidly distorted, that he has been supposed to have applied a name common to the entire barrier from sea to sea to only one particular locality upon it, and a whole tribe of copyists have continued to asseverate that the castle of Thirlwall derives its name from the circumstance that it was here that the Caledonians first *thirled* or broke through the Wall.

Till 1297 Thirlwall was practically in Scotland, though Blenkinsop, hardly a mile east of it, formed an isolated patch of England.

It was long the possession of a family bearing the local name, the representatives of which seem to have styled themselves barons of Thirlwall. At the Assize of Wark in 1279, the 31st year of

³ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. II. cap. vii.; III. cap. x. Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 149n.

⁴ Wyntoun, *Cronykil of Scotland*, bk. v. ll. 3250-1; Hodgson, *Ibid.*

⁵ Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 436.

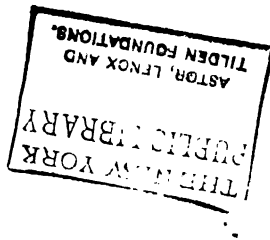


J. P. GIBSON, PHOTO.

THIRLWALL CASTLE FROM THE S.S.E.

1890.

(THIS PLATE PRESENTED BY THE EARL OF CARLISLE).



Alexander III. of Scotland, William, 'le Barun de Thirlwalle,' brought an action against the prioress of Lambley on South Tyne for illegal pasturing on his lands. The prioress, determined to resolutely uphold the rights of the church of St. Patrick of Lambley, challenged the baron to battle in the presence of her champion, Robert de Burgh. The baron in accepting the challenge appointed Robert de Thirlwall to fight in his stead. The day of the duel was fixed, the sureties were taken for the appearance of the champions, when an amicable arrangement was effected by the prioress paying the baron ten pounds in silver. This redoubtable nun had, it was proved, counselled and abetted Michael the shepherd of Fergleu in burning down a house the baron had built in Thirlwall, a charge that it took twenty shillings to settle.⁶

The Thirlwalls had their full share in the Scottish and French wars. One of the earliest exploits of Wallace was his surprising the peel of Gargunnoch on the Forth, the English garrison of which was commanded by a Thirlwall :—

'On Gargownoo was byggyt a small peill,
That warnat was with men and wittail weill,
Within a dyk bathe closs, chawmer and hall ;
Captayne tharoff to nayme he hect Thirlwall.'⁷

Wallace is said to have himself laid this Thirlwall low with a staff of steel he reft from the watchman. A Thirlwall, as we shall see, took part in Wallace's discomfiture at Falkirk. 'Johan de Thirlwalle,' who had been taken prisoner and had to mortgage his lands in England to obtain his ransom, came to Edward I. at Newbrough in Tindale on the 24th of August, 1306, and prayed the King to grant him the lands of 'Eustache de Retteref,' an enemy in Scotland.⁸ His petition would seem to have been granted, as letters of protection were issued by Edward III. in 1365 for 'John Thirlwalle, senior, and his tenants at Grenhowe and Rydale in Liddisdale.'⁹ Edward I. was himself at Thirlwall on the 20th of September, 1306;¹⁰ but the first mention of a 'castrum de Thirlwall' occurs in 1369,¹¹ and it is probable

⁶ *Iter of Wark; Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. xxiii.

⁷ Thomas the Rhymer, *Wallace*, Book IV. v. 213.

⁸ *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, i. p. 310.

⁹ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. p. 896 b.

Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 1025.

¹¹ 'Noverint universi per presentes me Johannem Thirlwall juniorem constituisse et in loco meo possuisse Philippum Thirlwall ad liberandum nomine meo Johanni Thirlwall seniori domino castri et manerii de Thirlwall, etc., 1669.'—Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 147n.; *Lansdowne MS.* 1441, fo. 55.

that the castle had it been in existence would have been mentioned in connection with the king's sojourn, while there is nothing *primâ facie* in the architecture to make it probable that it was built before the first half of the 14th century. Some curious evidence was given on the 9th of October, 1386, by John de Thirlwall in the great heraldic trial of Scrope and Grosvenor respecting the right to bear the coat *Azure, a bend or*. It runs: "Johan Thirlewalle" of the age of liiij years, armed xxxij years and more, being sworn and asked whether the arms *Azure, a bend or* (*dazure ove un bende or*) belonged to Sir Richard Lescrope; said, Certainly, and that he would prove by evidence, for the grandfather of the said Sir Richard, by name William Lescrope, was made knight at Falkirk in Scotland under the banner of good King Edward Longshanks (*desouz la banniere de bon Roy Edward ove lez longues jaumbes*), as his father told and showed him before his death; for his father was through old age bedridden, and could not walk; and whilst he so lay he heard say that some people said that the father of Sir Richard was no gentleman because he was the King's Justice; and his father called his sons before him (and the said John was the youngest of all his brethren), and said, "My sons I hear that some say that Sir Henry Lescrope is no great gentleman because he is a man of the law (*nest point graunde gentîl homme pour cause quil est un homme de la ley*); but I tell you certainly that his father was made a knight at Falkirk (1298) in these arms, *Azure, a bend or*, and that they come of great gentlemen and of nobles. And if anyone say otherwise, do ye bear witness that I have said so of truth upon faith and loyalty; and if I were young I would hold and maintain my saying to the death." And his father was when he died of the age of four score years and five (*del age de iij^{xx} ans et v*),¹² and was when he died the oldest esquire of all the north and had been armed in his time lxiij years, and it is forty-four years (*des ans quarant et iij*) since he died.' John de Thirlwall's further evidence implies that he himself was present at Ballingham

¹² The original MS. has 'del age de vij^{xx} ans et v,' which is a manifest error, for not even a court of chivalry in the fourteenth century would have believed a witness who said he was born when his father was 135 years old. It was usual to write 'eighty' (*quatrevingt*) as 'iv^{xx}' in old documents, but 'vij^{xx}' would be unique. Correcting this clerical error, we find that John Thirlwall the father was born in 1267, and armed, at the age of sixteen, in 1272, and that he died in 1342, while his youngest son, born in his extreme old age in 1332, was armed before 1354. It is strange that Sir H. Nicholas should have overlooked this very natural explanation.

Hill (outside Calais), in the Pays de Caux, in the expedition of Edward III. to the gates of Paris (1360), in Gascony with the Black Prince, and in Brittany with the duke of Lancaster (1378).

The arms of the Thirlwall family *Sable, a chevron argent between three boars' heads or* (to be seen carved on the fine sepulchral slabs in Haltwhistle Church) resemble those anciently borne by the Swinburnes; and may have been adopted after the marriage of John de Thirlwall, senior, with a daughter of Sir William de Swinburne. Two griffins appear as supporters on the seal of John Thirlwall, Junior, in 1369.

From the list of castles drawn up in 1415, we learn that of Thirlwall then belonged to 'Roland de Thirlwall.'¹³ In the Survey of the Marches in 1542 we read:—'At Thyrlwall ys a toure of thinherytance of Robert Thyrlwall, of the same, in measurable good reparacions.'¹⁴ The castle was garrisoned for the Parliament by the Scots in 1645; but after the Restoration, John Thirlwall, the head of the family, betook himself to a more cheerful home at Newbiggin near Hexham. Matthew Swinburne, the husband of his grand-daughter Eleanor Thirlwall, sold the old place to the fourth Earl of Carlisle, and it still belongs to the Howards of Naworth.¹⁵

Thirlwall Castle is not only situated close to the Thirlwall, but is actually almost entirely built of stones robbed from it. In consequence of this free use of Roman materials, there is little or nothing in the general character of the masonry to afford a clue to the date of its erection. Nor can any better conjecture be based on the nature of the extremely narrow slits that do duty for windows, and give the castle, to use Hutchinson's words, 'the appearance of a horrid gloomy dungeon.'¹⁶ The ground plan consists of a main building (measuring inside about 46 feet 2 inches from north to south by 18 feet 9 inches from east to west) which is joined on the east side by a tower (15 feet 3 inches internally east to west by 13 feet 8 inches north to south) in an unbroken line with the south wall, so that viewed from the south the castle looks considerably larger than it really is. The wall between the main structure and the tower is 6 feet thick; the outer walls are nearer 9 feet. The entrance was in the east wall near the north-east

¹³ See above, p. 15.

¹⁴ See above, p. 48.

¹⁵ Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 148; *Journal of House of Commons*, iv. p. 305; *Acts of Scotland*, vi. p. 224.

¹⁶ Hutchinson, *View of Northumberland*, i. p. 42.

angle of the castle. Wallis, in about 1767, still saw the remains of the iron gate;¹⁷ and so late as 1884 the hole for the unusually massive bar (about 6 feet 6 inches long by 8 to 9 inches square) was intact with a few dressed stones on the south splay of the doorway. Immediately inside the door a stair (averaging 3 feet 8 inches in width) turned off to the right, and ascended in the thickness of the north wall in irregular steps (lighted by a diminutive window with a spout fixed in its side), landing in the first floor of a turret at the north-west corner of the castle. This turret, which projects slightly to the north, has some curious features; the basement may *really* have been a dungeon, as a hole in the east jamb of the doorway, now nearly buried, proves it to have had a strong bolt on the *outside*. This dark den (6 feet 5 inches by 5 feet) has a peculiar pyramidal vault, formed by each course of the four walls coming in about 6 inches till they meet at the top; the vault above the stair-head has fallen in, but above it on the second floor is a yet better example of similar construction. This turret and a corresponding one at the north-east corner are shown in Hutchinson's view of the castle, taken in about 1776, rising as high above the main hall of the castle as its eastern tower. The east wall of the tower (Hodgson calls it the south; to be scrupulously accurate, it is the east-south-east) fell over the Tipalt in 1831.¹⁸ The jamb of a door, that probably led into a latrine, is still left at its south-east corner, which stands sadly in need of support to prevent its sharing the fate of the east wall. In the upper floor of the tower, to the north and south, are two fairly wide shoulder-arched window recesses, which, however, merely contain small pointed slits. Neither the tower nor the main hall seems to have been vaulted on the groundfloor; the few remaining corbels are much worn and broken.

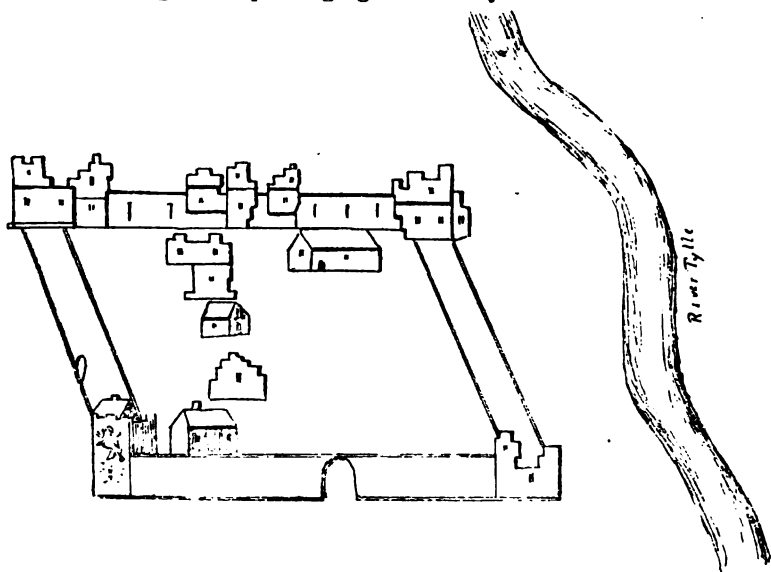
A wider celebrity has been given to the name of Thirlwall by the pen of the bishop of St. David's in the 19th century, than can have been won for it by the swords of the knights and squires who dwelt in its grim fortalice. Well may Northumberland be proud that two writers who, in antagonistic lights have done so much to bring back to our view the classic days of Greece, bore her ancient Border names of Thirlwall and Mitford.

¹⁷ Wallis, *Antiquities of Northumberland*, ii. p. 3.

¹⁸ Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. p. 148.

HETON CASTLE.

THE manor of Heton passed, probably by marriage, soon after the middle of the thirteenth century, from a family bearing the local name to the Grays, who here acquired their principal, if not also their earliest, settlement on the Border. In 1415 the castle was in the possession of Sir Thomas Gray, who was executed that year at Southampton on the 8th of August for plotting against Henry V.¹ It was 'rasen and

HETON CASTLE IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.²

casten down' by James IV. of Scotland when he invaded Northumberland in 1496, in support of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. A great part of the vaults and walls were still standing, without any roofs or floors, when Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker surveyed the Borders in 1541. They estimated the cost of repairing it at about two hundred marks.³ The Survey Book of Norham and Islandshire

¹ See above, pp. 13, 14.

² *Collections relating to Camps and Castles*, by Sir David Smith, Alnwick Castle MSS. There is unfortunately no note to say where the original is to be found. It appears neither to be at the P.R.O. nor at Chillingham.

³ See above, p. 29. Raine, *North Durham*, p. 337, and others, have entirely mistaken the meaning of this passage in supposing it to agree with Leland's erroneous statement as to Heton that 'the scotts at floden fld bet it sore' (see above, p. 27).

in 1561 mentions it as 'the site of a fayre castle decayed, which was 'destroyed by the Scotts in tyme of Kinge Henry the Seaventh, and 'neuer syne repaired, so that there remayneth no buildings save y^e 'vauts of y^e same, and a dwelling house for y^e fermor, and a barnekin.'⁴ The Border Commission of 1584 considered it 'a verye fit and convenient place to defend the country and annoye the enemye.' It would take in their opinion £560 to restore it to its former state or £300 to make it capable of receiving a garrison of three hundred horsemen.⁵

A Survey of uncertain date, but said to have been made in the reign of Elizabeth, informs us:—'This Castill of Heton haithe bene a 'pleasaunt and beawtifull Buildinge, in manner square, with goodlie 'Towers and Turrettes, as is yett remaininge, the Lyons tower on the 'west side thairof the sowth coyne or Corner, and on the northe syde 'or pairte one mention⁶ of an Vawte that a hundreth horse may stande 'in, and a number of shelles and walles that haithe been glorious 'buildings and howsinge, now rewinous and all in decaie.'⁷ A sketch of the castle made at the same time shows that it was a quadrangle with four corner towers like Ford and Chillingham. Carved in stone on the south-west of these was a colossal representation of the lion rampant of the Hetons and the Grays. The entrance, apparently unprotected by any gatehouse, was in the centre of the south curtain, and in the east curtain was a small postern. The domestic buildings appear to have stretched along the north curtain.

Heton Castle stands on high ground about 100 yards west of the Till, and is further protected on the south by a burn that here enters the river. The site is now occupied by farm buildings, the principal vestige of the castle being the large vaulted stable, of which Raine gives the dimensions as 70 feet by 17 feet.⁸ A hideous boiler, used as a water-tank, has been set on the good fourteenth-century base of one of the projecting turrets. The cradle of the house of Grey might be dealt with in a spirit of greater reverence. Fragments of stone carving have been found in the ruins.⁹ Heton, like Brussels, has its *Manneken*.

⁴ See above, p. 53.

⁵ See above, p. 71.

⁶ Probably meaning 'mansion.'

⁷ *Collections relating to Camps and Castles*, by Sir David Smith, Alnwick Castle MSS. This passage appears with several misreadings in Mackenzie's *View of Northumberland*, i. p. 341.

⁸ Raine, *North Durham*, p. 387.

⁹ 'In digging for stones, two wells were discovered by the workmen, in which were found four pewter plates, with part of the arms of the *Greys* engraved upon them; also one bow made of yew. They came into the possession of Mr. *Gregon* of *Wark upon Tweed*.'—Wallis, *Antiquities of Northumberland*, ii. p. 458.

WARK CASTLE.

No castle along the whole line of the Border plays so active a part in the last four centuries of that bloody roll of open wars and treacherous raids as does Wark-upon-Tweed; of no such castle have more detailed descriptions been handed down to us, and yet none has left so few visible evidences of historical importance and architectural grandeur.

The Honour of Carham was bestowed by Henry I. on Walter Espec, one of the leading men of his day in the North of England, whose principal residence was at Helmsley, in Yorkshire.¹ The manor of Carham, situated in the extreme north-west corner of Northumberland, is itself bounded on two sides by Scotland; and here, a little more than two miles below the spot where the Tweed begins to form the boundary between the two kingdoms, Walter Espec founded a castle on a steep ridge or *kaim* about sixty feet above the river. To this Norman castle the English in the neighbourhood gave the name of Werch or Wark, probably from its being the great Work at which they were obliged to assist.² The castle appears to have fallen an easy prey to David of Scotland when he invaded England in 1136.³ On his renewing the attempt during the campaign of 1138, the result was very different. William the son of Duncan, once king of Scots, was sent to surprise the fortress by a *coup de main* before it was light⁴ on the morning of the 10th of January;⁵ but Jordan de Bussei, who had been entrusted with the command by his uncle Walter Espec was prepared to ward off the attack.⁶ A larger force was then brought up by the king himself and his son Henry. For three weeks they prosecuted

¹ Mr. Hartshorne has given some particulars of the manorial history of Wark in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. pp. 31-36.

² 'Carrum, quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur.'—Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani; Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II., Richard I.*, Rolls Series, iii. p. 145. As this immediately follows 'Lugubalia, quod Anglice Carlel dicitur,' it may after all happen that 'Carrum' was a Celtic name. We meet with 'weorce' in the sense of *corvée* in the account of the building of London Bridge and Westminster Hall in 1097.—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 234, 452.

³ Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. p. 145.

⁴ 'Antelucanis insidiis inuasit.'—*Ibid.* p. 151.

⁵ 'MCXXXVIII. iv idus Januarii.'—*Ibid.*

⁶ 'Jurdanus de Bussei, nepos Walteri Espec, magister militum oppidanorum, invicta constantia animorum militarium omnes conatus regis sprexit et contrivit.'—Joh. Hagustald, *Historia Ecclesiæ, XXV. Annorum*, § 4; Rolls ed. (Symeon of Durham, ii.) p. 289.

the siege with the aid of *balistæ* and other engines. The defence was equally spirited. The king's standard-bearer was slain in his sight with many of his men, and many more were wounded. At last, perceiving matters growing daily worse instead of better, David broke up his camp and betook himself to ravaging Northumberland. In February, King Stephen himself arrived at Wark, and made a hurried raid over the Border. The following May, while David was besieging Norham, the garrison of Wark cut off his supplies by frequent sallies, and on one occasion wounded and took prisoners several of his son's escort.⁷ Enraged at this he again invested their castle, but found himself baffled a second time, after many of his men had been killed or wounded. In August he sent two of his thanes⁸ to resume the blockade of the castle, and in his retreat from the Battle of the Standard returned to direct the siege in person, accompanied by his son Henry and as many of his followers as he could rally round him. He made use of various engines and other new instruments of war, but the besieged also availed themselves of similar appliances in order to destroy them.⁹ Only one knight of the garrison was killed, and that was in consequence of his own want of consideration in issuing out alone to disable one of the Scottish engines.¹⁰ At last provisions ran short, and about Martinmas the garrison received, through William abbot of Rievaulx, a message from Walter Espec directing them to capitulate, which they were not loath to do, since one horse alive and another one salted was all there was left to eat in the fortress.¹¹ David presented them with twenty-four horses, and allowed them to march out with the honours of war. He then razed the castle to the ground.¹²

⁷ 'Milites de Werch egressi ministros et vehicula cum victualibus regis rapuerunt intra oppidum retrudentes. Sed et in filium regis Henricum impetum facientes et in socios ejus, quosdam occiderunt, quosdam vulneraverunt sive ad redemptionem exposuerunt.'—*Ibid.* § 5, p. 391.

⁸ 'Duobus baronibus suis ad obsidendum Werch cum multitudine . . . dimissis.'—*Ibid.* p. 292.

⁹ 'Oppidum Carrum machinis, ac novis instrumentis, et pluribus modis capere temptavit. At oppidani machinas machinis frangentes,' etc.—Ric. Hagustald; Rolls ed. p. 166.

¹⁰ 'Quippe de castello exiens, et in sua probitate nimium confidens, et ideo temerarie audax, dum incautus circa fractionem cujusdam machine moraretur, a multitudine Scottorum oppressus et extinctus est.'—*Ibid.*

¹¹ 'Residuum ad esum nihil repertum est, nisi unus caballus vivus et alter in sale.'—Joh. Hagustald, § 5, p. 292. John of Hexham's account does not sufficiently bring out the fact that the Battle of the Standard took place during this siege of Wark.

¹² 'Eos rex xliiii caballis donatos cum armis suis dimisit liberos, oppidum funditus evertens.'—*Ibid.*

One of the first objects of Henry II., after his resumption of the northern counties, was to rebuild Wark. As in the case of Harbottle, he seems to have claimed the right of erecting and maintaining a royal castle upon what was private property. The work was begun in 1158, and in that and the three following years William de Vesci, the sheriff of Northumberland, laid out no less than £367 8s. 8d. on the castle.¹³

On the outbreak of the rebellion against Henry II. in 1173, William the Lion, king of Scots, gathered a great host at Caldenlea in Selkirkshire, and proceeding to Wark in about August, demanded of Roger de Stuteville, the sheriff of Northumberland, who was in charge of the castle, whether he would capitulate or stand a siege. Stuteville, a man of undoubted loyalty who, we are told, 'never liked treason nor serving the devil,'¹⁴ saw he had no chance of assistance either in the north or from his king, who was far away in Normandy. Going, therefore, to the camp of William, he entreated him to spare him the disgrace of surrendering the castle, and to grant him a truce of forty days that he might cross the Channel to receive King Henry's instructions or effect the same purpose by means of sealed letters. Strange as it may seem, his request was granted.¹⁵ He went himself to collect reinforcements in England, and when the appointed time came told the Scottish king that he might assault the castle, as he was ready for him.

Owing to William's campaign in Cumberland and the subsequent truces, it was not until after Easter, 1174, that he was able to take Stuteville at his word. He resolved to carry Wark by storm. One Monday morning his Flemish auxiliaries received orders to commence the attack. They rushed bravely to the trenches and tried to break

¹³ *Pipe Rolls*, 5, 6, 7 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. pp. 2-5. 'Anno 1159. Iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcipiente rege Angliæ.'—*Chron. de Mailros*.

¹⁴ 'Rogier d'Estuteville en fud le cunestable,
Ki unkes n' ama traïsun ne servir al diable.'

—Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique*, ll. 483-4; Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph., Hen. II., Ric. I.* iii.) p. 244.

¹⁵ Two days after arranging this truce with Stuteville (*ibid.* l. 548), William received a messenger from the Bishop of Durham stating that he wished to be at peace with the Scots, and promising not to attack them.—*Ibid.* ll. 534-7. Mr. Howlett, the editor, has chosen to add in the margin, 'Truce with the Bishop of Durham (13 Jan. 1174)'—a piece of entirely false chronology. William on leaving Wark, Matthew Paris tells us, 'per fines episcopi Dunelmensis securum habuit transitum' (Surt. Soc. Publ. *Jordan Fantosme*, App. p. 193); then, after Lucy and Bohun had burnt Berwick, according to Benedict of Peterborough, he agreed to an armistice till the feast of St. Hilary, 13th Jan. 1174 (*ibid.* App. p. 165), and it was a prolongation of this armistice that the Bishop of Durham obtained at 'Revedale' (*ibid.* p. 167).

through the portcullis,¹⁶ but were beaten back, many of them being put out of the possibility of ever again raising their battle-cry of 'Arras, Arras !'¹⁷ The sheriff cautioned his men not to waste their arrows, but to reserve their strength for real emergencies. 'Bring up your stone-hurling machine at once,' roared the Lion-king to his knights in his rage at seeing his men falling on all sides ; 'it will soon break through the gate, unless the engineer is a liar, and we shall gain the bailey without more delay.'¹⁸ The machine was brought up, but instead of battering the castle, the first stone cast from it brought one of the Scottish knights to the ground, and would undoubtedly have finished him, if it had not been for his shield and armour. At this King William swore in a frenzy that he would rather be taken alive before Toulouse than witness such a discomfiture.¹⁹ Not knowing what next to do, he gave orders to try and set the castle on fire. A sudden change of wind prevented the execution of this design. So fearful was the king of the effect a sally of the garrison might have on his disheartened host, that he caused them to keep watch all the night long. At dawn he assembled his earls and barons, and, confessing that they could make nothing of the siege, advised a retreat to Roxburgh. The pavilions were taken down, the tents folded, the huts burnt, and so King William and his army departed. It was then that Roger de Stuteville showed the moderation of a true knight, ordering his men not to rail at the discomfited Scots, but rather to render praise to God for their own deliverance. They might give expression to their feelings of joy, each in his own way, and he himself did not intend keeping silence. The castle of Wark, therefore, soon resounded with trumpet and horn, but there was no abuse or rough language, only songs and ballads and farewell ditties. There was, indeed, good cause for rejoicing, since not a man in the castle had been killed, nor would a single denier have to be paid

¹⁶ 'Assaillir le herigon.'—Fantosme, l. 1210. The Rolls edition translates this : 'The cheval-de-frise assaulted'; but it is generally safer to follow the Surtees Society's version.

¹⁷ This being the name of one of the principal towns of Flanders.

¹⁸ 'Faites vostre periere venir hastivement ;
Jà pescera la porte, si l'engignur ne ment,
E prendrum la baillie senz nul delaïement.'

—Fantosme, ll. 1245-7.

¹⁹ 'Mielz volsisse estre pris tut vif devant Tuluse.'—*Ibid.* l. 1259. Alluding, no doubt, to some incident in the siege of Toulouse in 1159, at which William was present.

to a physician of Salerno for healing their wounds.²⁰ The irritation of the Lion-king can easily be imagined. Nearly swooning from rage, he swore by St. Andrew and St. James²¹ that he would never end the war in such disgrace, no, not if it should cost him his kingdom.

Roger de Stuteville had victualled the castle of Wark with 48 chalders of oatmeal, costing £19 4s. 0d., and 53 chalders of malt, costing £10 12s. 0d. For this, and for £41 spent on the maintenance of ten knights and forty squires in the castle, he was allowed to recoup himself as sheriff of Northumberland out of the farm of the county. Ralph Surtees was also allowed 100s. for the maintenance of the king's knights at Wark.²²

Walter Espec, the original founder of Wark, had died without issue in 1153, and in the division of his estates among co-heiresses the barony of Wark became vested in the Ros family. Robert de Ros, surnamed Fursan, who probably built the keep of Helmsley about 1200, is also said to have restored the castle of Wark. In about the year 1226 he granted to Robert, his second son, all his land of Wark with the castle and its appurtenances *prope et procul*, except what he had bestowed on his Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr at Bolton, to be held by him and his heirs by his lawful spouse, paying a 'soar-hawk' annually at Roxburgh fair.²³

There seems, as was natural, to have been a long dispute with the Crown as to the actual ownership of the castle, and when Henry III. wished to make it his residence for a week or two in the autumn of 1255, the Robert de Ros of the day stipulated that it was to be without prejudice to his claims. The king despatched Bartholomew le Bygod, the marshal of his household, to Wark, on the 28th of August, in order to make preparations for his reception,²⁴ and

²⁰ 'A mire de Salerne pur estre medcinez.'—*Ibid.* l. 1320. It does not seem certain whether this is a proverbial expression or whether there really was an Italian physician at Wark.

²¹ 'Saint Andreu e saint Jacme!'—*Ibid.* l. 1324.

²² 'Et in warnistura castri de Werche pro xlvij cheldris farine de avena xix li et iij s per breve Regis. Et pro liij cheldris brasii x li et xij s per idem breve. Et in custamento x militum et xl servientium residentium in castro de Werch xli li per breve Regis. . . . Randulfus de super Teise reddidit computum de C s. de relevio suo. In custamento militum regis de Werch C s per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll*, 20 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. pp. 21-22.

²³ This grant was confirmed by Henry III. 15 Aug. 1227. *Charter Roll*, 11 Hen. III. pt. 2 m. 5; *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 177.

²⁴ *Patent Roll*, 39 Hen. III. m. 3; *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 303.

arrived there himself with his queen on the 6th of September. On the day following Henry and Eleanor were visited by their daughter Margaret and her husband Alexander III. of Scotland. The latter returned on the same evening to Roxburgh, but left his queen behind in consequence of her mother's illness.²⁵ The Scots regarded this with some suspicion, and a fortnight later Henry actually gave a solemn bond that she should be restored to her husband as soon as her mother was sufficiently recovered to leave Wark.²⁶ A day or two afterwards he himself set out on his return to the south of England. Orders were given on the 12th of May, 1256, that the castle should be restored to Robert de Ros.²⁷ Its actual delivery probably took place a month later, as eight serjeants-on-foot were quartered at Wark by the king's command from Michaelmas, 1255, to the 12th of June, 1256, for which they received £17 1s. 4d. at the rate of 2d. a day each.²⁸ Two years afterwards, Henry III. again borrowed the castle from Robert de Ros on account of urgent matters of state that had lately arisen on the Scottish marches. This was not to prejudice the pending suit, and on the conclusion of the anticipated war the sheriff of Northumberland was to return the castle with its towers and *appendicia* to Robert de Ros or his attorney.²⁹ On the 5th of April, 1258, the king instructed the sheriff, Robert de Nevill, that if he had been given possession of the castle by Ros, he was to receive Walter de Moray, one of the king's Scottish partisans, into it, but was prudently to keep the inner bailey and the tower in his own hands.³⁰ Ultimately, on the 7th of November, 1259, Henry III. renounced all claims of the Crown upon Wark in the favour of Ros.³¹ After receiving the homage of John Baliol, to whom he had just adjudged the throne of Scotland, in the castle-hall of Norham, on Thursday the 20th day of November, 1292, Edward I. proceeded to Wark, where he spent the two following days. The expenses of his household while there were as follows:—Friday, 21st November—The pantry 51s; the buttery 48s 1½d; the kitchen 79s 3½d; the scullery 4s 5½d; the hall

²⁵ *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 181.

²⁶ Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. p. 565.

²⁷ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 398; *Patent Roll*, 40 Hen. III.

²⁸ *Ibid.* i. p. 392; *Pipe Roll*, 40 Hen. III.

²⁹ *Ibid.* i. p. 412; *Patent Roll*, 42 Hen. III. m. 11.

³⁰ *Ibid.* i. p. 413; *Close Roll*, 42 Hen. III. m. 10. dorso.

³¹ *Ibid.* i. p. 425; *Charter Roll*, 44 Hen. III. m. 6.

10s 4d; the chamber 13s 6d; the stable 6l. 1s 1½d; wages 71s 4½d; alms 4s—Total 21l. 4s 5d. Wine 66½ sesterces; wax 50lb. Saturday, 22nd November—Total 20l. 2s 8d. Wine 94½ sesterces; wax 56lb. He was again there for one day on the 12th of December.³² As he was preparing to march into Scotland in 1296, he received intelligence that the Robert de Ros who then held Wark had fallen so desperately in love with Christiane de Moubray, a Scottish lady, that he had abandoned his castle and gone over to the enemy,³³ after having vainly attempted to induce his brother William to accompany him.³⁴ William, who was left in the castle, urged the king to reinforce the garrison lest the Scots should seize it. A thousand men were immediately despatched by Edward for this purpose, but were nearly annihilated by the Scots under Robert de Ros in their night quarters in the small village of Presson.³⁵ Edward now advanced to Wark with his whole army, and kept Easter there previous to crossing the Tweed on the Wednesday following.

Three months later, Hugh le Despenser was sending home 966 oxen, cows, stirks, stots, and heifers that he had captured in Scotland, together with two chargers, all in the care of his own men, who were provided for the purpose with the king's safe-conduct issued by his seneschal Sir W. de Beauchamp. The sight of this herd quietly crossing the Border proved too strong an incitement to the predatory instincts of John Sampson and Robert le Eyr of Presson, and swooping down upon them at Presson on the 29th of June, they drove them all off to Wark Castle. In deference to a royal precept they released 800 head of cattle and the men and chargers on the 26th of July, but Despenser alleged that they still detained 166 of his beasts, that one of his chargers, worth £50, had died in consequence of its treatment at Wark, and that he had lost his men's services for three weeks. Summoned to answer this in

³² *Ibid.* ii. p. 153; *Eschequer Q.R. Miscellanea (Wardrobe)*, 17.

³³ 'Le roy Edward de Engleterre . . teint la fest de pasche a Wark, de quel chastel Robert de Ros qi enfust sires sen fuy del obeissance le dit roi Dengleterre dedens le tierce iour deuant la venu le roy et lessa le chastel voide et sentrey a Senewar, vn petit chastel qil auoit en Escoce, tout pur paramours qil ama Cristiane de Moubray, qe apres ne ly deigna auoir.'—*Scalacronica*, p. 121.

³⁴ William de Ros, brother of the late Sir Robert de Ros of Wark, on account of his having saved the castle when his brother joined the Scots, afterwards petitioned the king for a grant of his mother's 'petyt maner' of Bellester, but apparently without success.—*Ibid.* iv. p. 381; *Chancery Misc. Portfolios*, 175.

³⁵ Walteri de Hemingburgh, *Chronicon* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii. p. 93.

the camp at Berwick on the 28th of August, John Sampson declared that the 'hue and cry' was raised after the cattle, and that he merely detained them till the 'cry' was discussed in the king's court. He had, he said, delivered up all the animals except two, which Despenser's men declined to take with them, and no safe-conduct had ever been exhibited to him. Both sides demanded an investigation of the case, and the sheriff was instructed to impanel a jury of twelve, among whom were to be no tenants of Wark, on the following Monday.³⁶

Edward I. considered it necessary to borrow the castle of Wark in 1300. William de Ros, lord of 'Hamelak,' granted it to the king on the 8th of October till the following Michaelmas, together with its munitions, reserving to himself the ground sown with the crop, and stipulating for the residence of his own serjeant in the castle to protect his armour and other property.³⁷

Doubts having been expressed as to the legal title of William de Ros to Wark, which having fallen into the king's hands through the treason of Robert de Ros, had been given by him to William, as the escheat of the latter, without any writing, the king ordered at Linlithgow on the 2nd December, 1302, that his Council should in any case see that it was amply confirmed to William.³⁸

It was good policy for the crown itself to endeavour to acquire a castle that it was so constantly in the habit of borrowing, and on the 25th of September, 1317, William de Ros agreed to give Wark up to it in exchange for lands between the Thames and the Tees.³⁹ The very next year, however, the royal castle, not having been relieved by an appointed day, was compelled through famine to surrender to the Scots.⁴⁰ In 1333, Wark was granted by Edward III. to Sir William Montagu, with the consent of Parliament.

Sir William, who was created earl of Salisbury in 1337, was taken prisoner by the French at Lisle in 1340, and confined in the Chatelet at Paris. Froissart, in an account which, although its foundation in fact is extremely shaky, is too interesting as a picture

³⁶ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, ii. p. 192; *Chapter House (Scots Documents)*, Box 93, 15.

³⁷ *Ibid.* ii. p. 295; *Erchequer Q.R. Memoranda*, 29 Ed. I. m. 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ii. p. 343; *Privy Seals (Tower)*, 30 Ed. I. file 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.* iii. p. 111; *Close Roll*, 11 Ed. II. m. 20 verso.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 235.

of the manners of the fourteenth century to be passed over, tells us that the countess of Salisbury, Katherine de Grandison, one of the most beautiful women in England, happened to be in their Castle of Wark, when the army of David Bruce passed under the walls, laden with rich booty, on its return from an invasion of England. This was too much for Sir William Montagu, the account proceeds, who was the earl's nephew and captain of the castle. He sallied out with about forty horsemen, and tracking in silence the last division of the Scots, which consisted of pack-horses so burdened with spoil that they could hardly get on, fell upon them at the entrance of a small wood. Two hundred Scots were killed or wounded, and a hundred and twenty horses, with the treasure on them, were driven by Montagu towards the castle.

Sir William Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, which was already beyond the wood, hearing the shouts of the fugitives, turned back at full gallop with his men, but by the time they had ridden up the hill on which the castle stood, the barriers were closed, and the intercepted booty placed in safety behind them. Sir William Douglas commenced a violent attack on the castle; Sir William Montagu bravely defended it. At last the whole Scottish army, with the king himself, arrived on the scene.

David and his council when they saw so many of their men lying killed and wounded, with little or no effect on the castle, ordered a retreat to night quarters, wherever they could be found. The next morning the attack was resumed. The Scots advanced boldly up to the moats, bringing large trees and beams to fill them up in order to bring their engines of war as near the castle as possible. The garrison, cheered by the presence of the lovely countess, made a gallant defence, and in the evening the Scots were compelled to again fall back, leaving only sufficient of their number to protect their engines. All the same, the besieged saw that they were engaged in a hopeless task, if David persevered. They therefore determined to send a messenger to Edward III., who, as some of the prisoners they had taken informed them, had arrived at Berwick. No one was willing to leave the defence of the castle and the countess for this dangerous errand, until Sir William Montagu himself volunteered. Stealing out of the castle during the heavy rain that confined the Scots to their quarters that night, he passed through their army unnoticed. Soon after, as day was breaking,

he met, half a league on his road, two Scots driving two oxen and a cow towards their camp. Having wounded them and killed the cattle, in order to stop the supplies, he despatched the two men to David Bruce with a message to say that William Montagu had passed through his army and had gone to solicit assistance from the king of England at Berwick.

The arrival of this intelligence caused considerable alarm in the Scottish camp. The leaders of the army, dreading to be attacked by the English king before they could reduce the castle, went in a body to David, and declared that any further prosecution of the siege would confer neither profit nor honour upon him; their twelve days' campaign had done much damage in England, and if they could now carry home their rich plunder in safety, they would be ready on another occasion to return and do his bidding. Much against his will, David was forced to listen to their advice, and the next morning the Scots broke up their camp and retreated to the forest of Jedworth. About noon King Edward arrived after a forced march from Berwick, and was extremely disappointed to find the enemy flown.

Having ordered his army to take up their quarters on the site the Scots had abandoned, he disarmed, and accompanied by ten or twelve knights, went up to the castle to enquire for the countess and see what damage the attack of the Scots had done to the castle, and how the defence had been conducted.

On hearing of the king's approach the fair countess of Salisbury ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went out to meet him in her richest attire. Making a low reverence, she tendered her thanks for the relief of the castle, and then led the king into it, the two walking hand in hand. They entered first the hall and then the chamber, which was richly furnished, as belonging to so great a lady. The king was so much struck with the beauty of the countess that he could not keep his eyes off her till at last he retired to a window, and leaning on it fell into a long day-dream.

The countess in the meantime going to look after the knights and squires, ordered dinner to be prepared, the tables to be set, and the hall decorated. She then returned and tried to rouse the king from his reverie. His declaration of unquenchable love she answered in a very practical way by fetching his knights and saying, 'Come, sire, to the

hall, your knights are waiting for you to wash their hands, for they, as well as you, have fasted too long.'

The king left the chamber and came into the hall, where, after washing his hands, he sat down to dinner with his knights, as did also the countess. At daybreak King Edward set out in pursuit of the Scots, impressed no less with the virtue than with the beauty of the fair chatelaine of Wark.⁴¹

On the 12th of July, 1383, John, earl of Carrick, the eldest son of the king of Scots, as Commissioner of Scotland, agreed at Morehouslaw with John, duke of Lancaster, that the damages done by the Scots to the buildings and walls of Wark Castle should be assessed by twelve notable esquires, six of each country, with the advice of masons and carpenters, and that the amount should be paid in three months to the chamberlain of England at Roxburgh.⁴² The earl of Northumberland, to whom Lancaster entrusted the government of the marches in the following year, was empowered to place men in the castle of Wark at his discretion, though the command of the donjon was specially reserved to its lord, Sir William Montagu.⁴³ The Scots are said to have taken and dismantled Wark, with Ford and Cornhill, in 1385.⁴⁴ Sir John Montagu received a license to exchange the barony and castle, which he had inherited from his father, Sir William, with Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, for other lands in 1396.⁴⁵ They shortly afterwards became the property of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton.

While Sir Thomas Gray was in attendance on Henry IV., between the time of his landing in Yorkshire and his coronation in October, 1399, the Scots seized Wark Castle, burning the houses in it and beating down the walls. They carried off Gray's children and many of his tenants, together with property valued at 2,000 marks.⁴⁶ The king deemed it necessary to grant a pardon to Sir Thomas for the inefficiency of his garrison.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Froissart, *Chronicles*, translated by Johnes, London, 1805, i. pp. 286-296.

⁴² *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 70; *Exchequer Treasury of Receipt Misc. (Placita, &c.)* 48.

⁴³ Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 354; Rymer, *Fœdera*, vii. p. 425.

⁴⁴ Ridpath, p. 355; Buchanan, lib. ix. 49, has merely 'tribus arcibus dirutis.'

⁴⁵ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 36.

⁴⁶ Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.* i. p. 81; *Patent Roll*, 1, Hen. IV. 7, 28.

⁴⁷ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 114; *Privy Seals (Tower)*, 1, Hen. IV. file 12.

In 1419 the castle, then in the custody of Robert Ogle, was taken by William Haliburton, of Fast Castle, and all the garrison were put to the sword. Soon afterwards, however, some English soldiers, who were well acquainted with the place, crept up the large drain that led from the kitchen to the Tweed, and then broke down a piece of a decayed wall to let their confederates into the castle. The Scottish garrison, being thus surprised, was in its turn massacred.⁴⁸

After the death of James II. before Roxburgh in 1460, the Scots took advantage of the internal dissensions in England to seize and demolish Wark.⁴⁹

It was not until the earlier successes of the Scottish invasion, which ended so disastrously at Flodden, had shown the need for stronger fortresses on the Border that Wark was ordered to be restored by Henry VIII. On the 8th of June, 1519, Thomas, Lord Dacre, writes to Wolsey from Harbottle:—

‘Pleas it also your grace I wrote unto youe hertofore concernyng
‘the Castell of Warke and the estate therof, whiche by the meanes of
‘your grace, in labouring to the kinges highnes, is thus fer set for-
‘wardes for the suretie and weall of the est marches and to the
‘Conforte of the kinges subjectes inhabitante within the same, and to
‘the gretest displeasur and destruction for Scotland that cowlde have
‘bene devised. The kinges money is spent nigh hand a yere agoo. It
‘has stande to no more chargies to the kinges highenes out of his Coffres
‘but onely to the som of cccc iiij^{xx} li. and if I might have the som of
‘ccxxli. to make out the hole som of dccli. I suppose it shall thereby
‘finish it.

‘To make a shorte Declaracion to your grace the state therof shalbe
‘after this maner. The dongeon is clerely finished with all maner
‘of howses of offices as apperteignes till a Constable haveing xl persons
‘fotemen dayly wateing upon hym and the overmoste hows is made for
‘the kepeing of ordinaunce. The wacheman being in his wach hows
‘standeing upon the Top of the dongeon, whiche is now surely kept,
‘may se the Castell of Norham and all the boundes of Berwyk.

‘The said dongeon is made of foure howses hight, and in every
‘Stage, there is fyve grete murdour holes, shot (*sic*) with grete vountes
‘of Stone, except one stage which is with Tymbre, So that grete

⁴⁸ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*.

⁴⁹ Buchanan, *Historia*, lib. xi. 1.

‘bumbardes may be shot out at icheon of them. And there is a well
‘made with trap dores thorow the middest of every hows for the
‘heasing (*sic*) up of ordinaunce.

‘The said dongeon is and shalbe so divised and cast with close gates
‘going from it upon the Countremore, that in tyme of peas it shalbe
‘able to kepe all the grete Castell. The same Castell shalbe of thre
‘wardes. The dongeon is one. The ij^{de} warde that shalbe next the
‘dongeon, shalbe and have an overthwarte wall from the one side of
‘the Castell to the other and shalhave an irne yate in it with a voute
‘as fer as the yate goes, that an armed man may ride in at it, which
‘shalhave anoder wall set to it, for to set an hows upon of vij yerdes
‘widenes, which hows shalbe of Two Stagies hight, Stables to be under-
‘nethe and Chambres above, and the Stables and Chambres to be Di-
‘vided, xij horses in a Stable and vj men in a Chambre, whiche by
‘estimacion shalbe able to serve for vij^{xx} men and there horses and
‘shalhave hall, kitcheing, bakhows and all oder howses of office stande-
‘ing within the same warde with a draw well to serve the same garrison.
‘And besides that, within the same warde there shalbe Rowme left to
‘serve and kepe a flock of shepe and viij^{xx} hede of nowlte on the night
‘and in a Skirmish tyme.

‘In the iij^{de} warde is a yatehowse Towre of thre howses hight which
‘is nerehande finished and covered all redy. In the lowest hows are
‘ij grete voutes. The one is for the grete yate So that a lode of haye
‘may com in at the same yate. The other is for the porter lodge and
‘a Chambre within it, and two Stagies hight above the same. And at
‘the ende of the said Castell next the watter of Twede, is a litell Towre
‘of Thre Stagies hight. A litell Towre must be made at the weste
‘posterne, which, as yet, is not done, So that men may com from the
‘dongeon upon the Countremore to the same toure and to receyve in
‘to the dongeon whome they woll for there reskewe. And so that
‘outermoste warde shalbe for the Towne and Countrey to set there
‘howses upon the Countremore in the tyme of warre and shalbe able to
‘kepe one m^l hede of horses and nowlte within the same warde upon
‘the night or in a Skirmish tyme.

‘And when the said Castell shalbe finished, sicke meanes shalbe
‘founde that the landes belonging to the same and the fishinges
‘whiche lay waiste and no man had prouffit thereof, shall fynde the

'hows in tyme of peas, wherby the kinges highenes shall not be charged, but onely with the wages of foure gonners. And, seying that the same howse shall do more dammage to Scotland, then twise Berwyk shall, and to have but the iij^{de} parte there in garrison, I cannot se how the kinges highnes cowlde have spended his money better, for the suretie of his marchies, and in the tyme of warre to have suche a jewell of noysaunce to his enimies and to put his highnes to so litell Charges in the tyme of peas but onely the wagies of the same iiii gonners. And if it might stande with the pleasur of your grace to move the kinges highnes that som ordinaunce might be sent to Newcastle with the Cole shippes of the same that lieth in Temse, I shall cause it be caried from thens to Holyeland by watter and from thens to be caried by lande to the said Castell. So that, when as the lord Hamylton and the Treasower of Scotland, commes downe to the bordours they lye at the Nonnery of Ekkles which is but twoo miles from Wark and commes nigh hande the same Castell when as they comm to mete me upon the est marches at Caldstreame and Cornell, might somtyme here a nose which shuld be displeasaunte to theym, and to the Conforte of all the kinges subjectes hereing the same. And of your pleasur in the premisses I beseche your grace that I may be advertised if it so stande with your graceis pleasur. And the holy Trinite preserve your grace.'⁵⁰

Dacre's opinion as to the immense importance of the fortification of Wark through Wolsey's influence was afterwards strongly endorsed by Sir Anthony Ughtred, captain of Berwick, who assured the cardinal that nothing more beneficial had been done on the Border since the death of Henry V., and that in consequence children yet unborn would pray for him.⁵¹

A good picture of the wild state of the Border in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. is afforded by the account of the raid of 500 Scots of Teviotdale, who met at Hoselawlongh on the 14th of December, 1521, 'museld' so that they could not be known, and despatched John Davidson of Fowmerden, Wat Young of Lempitlaw, and others as 'skurers' to the 'suberbils' of the castle of Wark. These, while engaged in driving off cattle, struck down John Ewerd, a bailiff of the

⁵⁰ *State Papers, Scotland, Hen. VIII.* vol. i. No. 57, P.R.O.

⁵¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Hen. VIII.* iii. pt. 2, p. 1,296.

'suberbils,' and took away his horse. Lord Dacre's men in the castle gave chase to the Scots, and recovered all the cattle, but not the bailiff's horse. They drove together 200 cattle on the Scottish side, but only took six 'kye,' so they said, not worth so much as Ewerd's steed. In the middle of the night the whole host of Teviotdale came down the Tweed with banner unfurled, and burnt the village of Learmouth, half a mile from Wark. They drove off, so Dacre complained to the Duke of Albany, 400 head of 'kye' and oxen, 2,000 sheep, 4,000 'gate,' 30 geldings, and 20 prisoners, while 'ane honest woman' perished in the flames. Dacre's men would not leave the castle 'for fear of betreasing behind them,' because 'a skrymmage was upon the night before.' A thousand natives of Northumberland gathered, eager to pursue the Scots, but Dacre, preferring to seek satisfaction from the Scottish government, charged them to return home in the king's name.⁵²

On the approach of the great army of the Duke of Albany in September, 1522, William Ellerker deserted Wark Castle, and Dacre was obliged to allow the Greys of Northumberland to enter and keep it.⁵³

In June, 1523, Lord Leonard Grey reinforced the garrison of Wark. On the morning of the 23rd of that month Seton, the captain of the castle, hearing that a body of Scots were in the neighbourhood, made a sally, leaving Lord Leonard to guard the castle. He sent on in front fifty spearmen and twenty archers, and placed his other men in ambush. They eventually slew twenty-five Scots and took sixty-one prisoners, among them several Trotters and Davisons. Davy Hume was put to flight with a broken spear either in his coat or body. Sixty-one geldings, the best in the March and Teviotdale, together with a standard and a 'gyttern,' formed part of the spoil.⁵⁴

The Earl of Surrey inspected Wark in the following September, and had new bulwarks made there, under the direction of Richard Caundish, the master of the ordnance at Berwick. These, he considered, would enable it to stand a ten days' siege. The outer ward might be lost in two days and yet the enemy be nothing nearer taking the donjon, 'which,' he says, 'is the strongest thing that I have seen. I would the keep at Guisnes were like it.' He had so trimmed it with ordnance

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 794.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 1,077.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1,310.

that he only wished Albany would come and try its strength.⁵⁵ A month later, however, he was alarmed at discovering that the foundation of the donjon was not two feet underground and that it could be easily mined.⁵⁶

On the 17th of October the garrison consisted of Lord Ogle the captain, his deputy Sir William Lisle, and his brother John Ogle, with 131 spears, archers, gunners, and mariners.⁵⁷ By Saturday, the 31st of the month, Albany, who had been three days at Melrose, having received his great gun, in addition to eight cannon, two double cannon, and twenty-four falcons and serpentines, proposed to march to Birgham, within a mile of Wark, and shoot over the Tweed at the castle,⁵⁸ which he had assured the Scots would never dare shut its gates against him.⁵⁹ He arrived before the castle that same evening with a great puissance, and fired at it all the Sunday and Monday.⁶⁰ At three o'clock on the Monday afternoon, as the river was too high to ford, he despatched two thousand Frenchmen in boats to assault the place. They made their way into the base court, which was too large for a garrison of little over a hundred to attempt to defend, and after an assault of an hour and a half's duration, forced a passage into the inner ward. As fast, however, as they came in, they were slain, fighting 'at hand-strokes,' by Sir William Lisle and his men. After the captain of the first band of French foot had fallen with nine others, the rest were driven out of the inner ward, and so hotly pursued by the handful of Englishmen that the thousand French and five hundred Scots in the base court also took fright, and fled pell-mell towards the Tweed, where not a few were drowned in the panic. Twenty-two more Frenchmen died that night, and a hundred and sixty were sore hurt. Hearing that Surrey was approaching to give him battle, Albany beat a disgraceful retreat. Wark could not have held out long. If Surrey had not made new bulwarks of earth it would not have been tenable half a day. Indeed, even after its brilliant defence he found it so difficult to get a garrison to stop there that he cordially wished the castle were in the sea.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1,400.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 1,450.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 1,445.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 1,433.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1,424.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1,454.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 1,459. Cf. Wolsey's letter to Sampson and Jerningham in *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vi. 201. The Scottish historian, Buchanan, was in Albany's camp at this time, and gives the following description of Wark:—
'Arcis hæc forma est. Turris munitissima in intima area in magnam assurgit

In anticipation of this siege, the roof of the donjon had been taken off and made flat for setting guns upon. This caused the timber to take 'grete skathe,' and no person could lodge or remain in it till it was repaired. The Lord Treasurer knew that a low roof was required, and Dacre applied, in the following May, for nine or ten fotheres of the waste lead at Dunstanburgh for this purpose.⁶²

Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker in their View of the Fortresses of the East and Middle Marches in 1541, made an elaborate report on the state of the defences of Wark :—

'The towne of Warke standeth . . . upon the banke of the Ryver of Twede in the which towne bene xiiij husbandlands well plenyshed of the kings Majesties inherytaunce. There ys also a castell of the said kings majestie of thre wardes whereof the utter most warde serveth for a barmakyn the said castell ys in greate and extreme decaye as well by reason that yt was never perfytyly fynyshed nor the walls of the princypall tower or dungeon thereof was never covered as by occasion of a battrye made upon the utter walls of the same with greate ordenaunce at the last sege lade thereunto by the duke of Albany. The said castell of Wark ys the only chefe succour relefe and defence of all the quarter of the border of England lying on the west syde of the ryver of Tyll And yf the said castell be not maynteyned and upholden the resydewe thereof wyll soone be layde waste and dyssolate as by the late experyence after the said Scottes felde dyd plainely appear and was proved.

'And althoughe yt may be thoughte that the said castell of Warke cannot where yt standeth be tenable against the sege royall because that syde thereof where the dongeon standeth ys not by the nature of the self grounde defensyble from the daunger of mynery yet under the correction of suche men of greate experyence and dyscreton as have lately by the kings majesties comaundemente vyewed and consydered the same yt woll be very harde (as we thinke) thereabout to fynde a place for all respects more necessary and convenyente for the defence and relief of that frountier and border than where the same

altitudinem : eam duplex murus ambit, exterior latum amplexus spatium, in quod, belli tempore, rustici solebant confugere, ac pecora fructusque agrorum conferre : interior multo angustior, sed, fossis circumductis, et turribus excitatis munitior.' *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. iv. xxii. Edin. 1727, p. 412.

⁶² Cotton MS. Calig. B. iii. 6; Raine, *North Durham*, General History, p. xiv.

‘castell nowe standeth and the said castell as yt maye (as we esteeme)
‘with the coste of twoo hundreth pounds or lyttle more be repared
‘amended and fynysched in suche wyse as yt shalbe not onely able to
‘receyve and lodge two hundreth souldiours in tymme of warre with
‘all their horses in the myddle warde but also in the utter warde
‘thereof releyve and harborowe all the tenants and inhabytantes of
‘the Lordeshippe with their goodes in tyme of nede. And a garryson
‘of two hundreth men layde there in tyme of warre may do more
‘annoyance and dyspleasures to the Scottes and more relefe to the
‘Englyshe Inhabytants of that border then yf they were in any other
‘place of all the said marches.

‘And consyderynge the Scottes and especyally the borderers to be
‘men of no great experyence or engyne in the assaillinge of fortresses
‘as we thinke the said castell myghte be where yt standeth fortifyed
‘in suche wyse that yt well defended mighte be able to withstande the
‘Scottes armye to suche tyme as an armye mighte be prepared within
‘this realm of England and avaunced thither for rescues of the same.
‘And yf yt were the kings majesties pleasure we thinke there might
‘be within the cyrcuyte of the said castell a strong towre or kepe
‘devysed and made for the savegarde of suche mens lyves as were
‘within the said castell when in extreme nede shoulde chance and that
‘towre to be prepared fortifyed and kepte only for suche a purpose.

‘The specyall decayes of the said Castell of Warke of necessitye
‘requysite to be repared in brefe tyme.

‘Fyrste, the walls of the chefe towre or doungeon muste be covered
‘with leade for preservynge of the same from the rayne water that fal-
‘leth and by estimacon that wold take four fother of leade or lytle more.

‘And where for lacke of coverture of the same heretofore as yt ys
‘thoughte the wall of the said tower ys ryven in two places whiche
‘muste be amended and for the better assystance of the same two
‘stronge buttresses to be rased from the grounde one joyninge to
‘eyther syde of the said tower.

‘Also there ys a longe house that was devysed and never fynysched
‘within the mydle warde of the said castell whereof the walles be rased
‘of lyme and stone and nether rooffe floores nor coverture standinge
‘upon or in the same That house was devysed for the lodgynges of
‘two hundredth souldyours in warre tyme.

‘There ys also a nother longe house within the said castell with
‘stables underneath and garners above whiche woulde be better re-
‘paralleled both in the coverynges floores partycons and other neces-
‘saryes requysite to the same.

‘The bullwarkes within bothe the utter and inwarde warde which
‘at the last sege of the said castell was for the instance necessytie
‘made of dovett turves and earthe ware requyset to be made of lyme
‘and stone for the better and more durable contynuanche of the
‘same.

‘The walle of the utterwarde whiche was beaten downe nere to the
‘grounde at the last sege and made redye dybatrie for assaulte
‘remayning as yet unrepared had greatt nede to be newe reedyfied
‘and allmost all the utter warde to be newlye rampered and fortifyed
‘and the roofes of the gate house tower thereof and of an other lytle
‘tower standinge in a corner of the said utterwarde to be new repared
‘and amended where as nede so requyreth.

‘Also the ordenaunce within the said castell would be newly
‘stocked and mounted and some store of powder munycon and
‘artyllerye be sente to the same to be kepte in store for a soden
‘necessytie for affayres as we perceyed there was very small store of
‘any suche necessities wyth in the said castell.’⁶³

Henry VIII. laid out considerable sums on the repair of Wark between the 12th of February and the 10th of November, 1543. The wages and other expenses were certified and paid fortnightly by Thomas Gower the Surveyor of Works, and Thomas Pettyt the master mason. Gower found it necessary to ride to the Court to declare to the king the state of all his works, and to sue for a warrant for money to pay for them. He obtained £600 at the hands of Sir John Gostwick, and on the 8th of September charged the sum of £10 3s. 6d. for the carriage of this money from London to Berwick, and his own personal expenses in the matter. The whole accounts may be presented in a short abstract:—

‘The charges of the Kyngs Ma^{ties} Works at Warke Castell, begyn-
nyng Monday xij day of February, the xxxiiij yere of the reigne
of our soueraygn lorde Kyng Henry the viijth:—

⁶³ *Cotton MS. Calig. B. vii. B.M.*; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 181.

Thomas Pettyt, master mason, at 12d. a day ...	£15	2s.	0d.
Thomas Gower, expenses to London and back..	10	3s.	6d.
'Clarks and Ouersears,' at 7s. a fortnight, and 6d. a day	37	10s.	6d.
'Masons, Setters, and Hewars,' at 3s. 4d. and 3s. 8d. a week	113	11s.	8d.
'Rough layers and wallers,' at 6d. and 5d. a day	113	16s.	10d.
'Smythes,' at 8d. and 6d. a day	12	18s.	5d.
'Carpynnters,' at 8d. and 6d. a day	6	14s.	9d.
'Quarrrers' at the 'Quarryes in Oxenden' and at 'Qwarrey Hagg,' at 6d. a day	70	1s.	6d.
'Lymeborners,' at 5d. a day	53	16s.	2½d.
'Laborers' at 4d. and 5d. a day, and women to carry earth to fill in between the walls of the ramparts and so on, at 3d.	303	14s.	4d.
For lime bought of 'Edward Muschame lord of Gatheryck,' at 2d. a boll, and carriage at 3d.	66	15s.	3d.
'Coles bought at Forde Cole Pytts'	31	15s.	8d.
'Coles bought at Gatteryck Cole Pytts,' at 4d. a boll	110	3s.	4d.
'Horses hyred at iiij d. the day enery horse' ...	264	5s.	8d.
Carters, at 4d. a day	106	0s.	0d.
'Necessaries payments emptions and expenses'	530	7s.	0d.
<hr/>			
' <i>Summa totalis</i> of the hole charges' ...	£1846	16s.	7d. ⁶⁴

Sadler, in a letter to Wriothesley of the 26th of April, 1545, represents John Cárr, captain of Wark, active and expert enough in Border warfare, as incapable of properly defending the castle, which, with others in the North, had been kept more like a gentleman's house than a fortress of war.⁶⁵

Sir Robert Bowes, in his Book of the State of the Marches, composed in 1551, was more occupied with the state of the village than that of the castle of Wark :—

'The next Castle upon the frontier (above Norham) is the kinges 'majesties Castle of Warke, the utter warde whereof is moche decayed,

⁶⁴ *Harleian MS.* 1724, fo. 166.

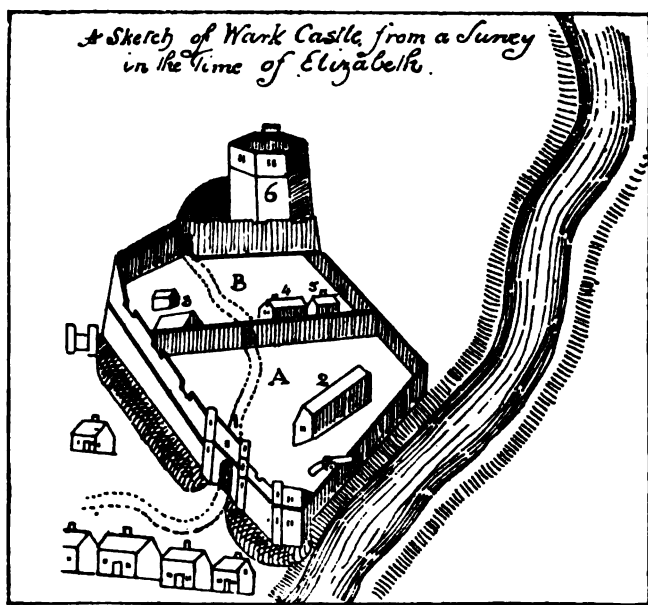
⁶⁵ *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. v. p. 439.

‘specyally towardes the water of Tweade, And had muche nede to be
‘there repared. That Castle standethe also to very good purpose, for
‘the defence of the frontier and countre. And if way colde be founde
‘to encrease the plenyshing and inhabytation of that towne it wolde
‘moche strengthe and enforce that frontier against the enemye. And
‘for that purpose, myne opynyon is, That if the towne were made
‘larger as from the east ende thereof extending w^hout the ringe of
‘the castle as farre westwarde from the castle as that parte of the
‘towne that is by east the castle. And the same fortyfied with a
‘ditch, and an earthe walle as Guynes is, I think the most parte of
‘the ditch wolde be full of water. And so it might be with no
‘great charge made tenable for the sodayne, excepte the enemye came
‘with powre and ordynance. And then the Castle might be the
‘keeper’s saffegarde for the men and goodes of the towne. And this
‘fortefyeng of the towne wolde be also muche savety unto the Castle
‘specyally from mynorye where unto the saide inner warde of the
‘castle is muche subiect. And this towne of Warke (so enlarged)
‘wolde not onely conteyn in tyme of warre the inhabitantes of sondry
‘villages therabouts for there better savety, but also a nombre of
‘artificers and merchantes, whiche, I thinke, might be gathered thider,
‘and their maynteyned, if a liberty were graunted unto that towne
‘of a market every weeke, and ij faires in the yeare, w^here the comerce
‘and enterchange of all wares and merchandize passing betwene the
‘realmes of England and Scotland upon horseback within theast and
‘myddle marches of the same sholde be had and made. And the
‘tolle and custome there payde for the same, to goo to the fortifyca-
‘tions of the said towne.

‘There was left in the saide castle of Warke much faire tymber
‘that was of a storehouse brought from Roxebrughe whiche wolde
‘be safely kept, and also a copper panne, and sondry other brewe
‘vesselles brought also from Roxebroughe. Whiche I think wolde
‘suffise to make a large brewhouse and a backhouse there. And it
‘were muche necessary to have suche houses there, as well to serve
‘the cattle (if nede sholde requyre) as to helpe in victualling an armye,
‘if any sholde entre Scotlande by that waye, whereby muche cariage
‘might be saved that must nedes be occupied, if all the victuall sholde
‘be conveyde from Berwicke or the Holle Island.

'This castle of Wark is not flanked, but rownde in compasse, 'albeit (I think) there might be waies devysed in fortifyeng the 'towne, as afore to flanke bothe the towne and the Castle.'⁶⁶

Actuated by that strong sense of justice, devoid of any ulterior purpose, which so distinguished her from the rest of the Tudors, Queen Mary reminded the Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, on the 6th of May, 1554, that the barony, castle, and manor of Wark, after the death of Sir Edward Gray on the 6th of December, 1531, by reason



WARK CASTLE.

of the minority of his son Ralph, came into the king's hands; and that considering it was convenient for the defence of the country against Scotland, Henry VIII. fortified it with sumptuous, strong, and large buildings, and it was so maintained till the 6th of December, 1550, when Ralph Gray came of age, tendered his livery, and presented a petition for the restoration of the castle and all his lands. The petition was then stayed in order that the charge employed on the

⁶⁶ *State Papers, Dom. Add.* Ed. VI. vol. iv. 30, P.R.O.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 201.

castle by the crown might be continued, but considering the good service done by Ralph Gray's ancestors for the defence of the country, and that none less was conceived of him, and that his inheritance could not justly be withdrawn without his free assent, Mary now granted him livery of the castle and his other possessions on condition of his giving the Master surety for the performance of these articles:— To keep the castle in as good repair as now; to maintain in residence a house-porter, two gunners, and eight soldiers; to visit it himself or by deputy twice a year in time of peace; to see to its repair and the good order of the soldiers; to repair thither and continue there in time of war and serve according to the custom of the Borders, or as commanded; and to redeliver the ordnance there to the queen or her heirs when required. These articles Ralph Gray covenanted to observe under an obligation of £500.⁶⁷

A bird's-eye view of Wark Castle from the north-east as it stood in the reign of Elizabeth has fortunately been preserved.

Attached to this sketch is the following elucidation:—

'A. The nether or outer ward.

1. The great gate and Porter's Lodge.
2. The Stonehouse.

'B. The second or middle ward.

3. } The Constable's House.
4. } Bakehouse.
5. } Kitchen, etc.

'C. The third ward, called the Ring.

6. The great Dungeon, which has a Hall Parlour, Kitchen, and several chambers.'

An accompanying Survey informs us that 'The Circumferance of the Castell of Warke, some time called the baronie of Roos, conteineth lxxii perches, everie perche comprehendes xvi foute and one half, so that the compasse of the same Castell is cccclxxxvii yards, and a thousande one hundred ninety one foute, within the whiche thaire is three wairdes.

'The neather wairde or utter warde wherein stands the great Yaite, or entrie into the Castell, and lieth next unto the waiter of Tweide, in

⁶⁷ *Cal of State Papers, Dom. Add. Mary*, vol. vii. 19, p. 434.

'which there is a Porter's luge, in the occupation of the Porter called
'Williame Selbie, one goodly Stone house in the Lord's owen hande.

'The seconde wairde is called the midle warde, wharin is ane
'Bawkehouse, ane house or Chawlmer the Constable lieth in; ane
'Kitchinge, ane house that John Morninge occupies, ane bakehouse
'all in good reparations.

'The third wairde of this Castell is called the Ringe, wharin
'standes the greate Dungeon in rounde forme wharin was boithe
'Haulle, Parler, Kitchinge, and manye goodlie Chalmers, but nowe
'in great decaie and ruine, and parte els fallen downe to the earth.

'Within the Castell thaire is of the Queens Majestie allowed for the
'better preservation of hir fronte, 4 Gunners and John Morninge the
'maister gunner; the rest are called Richarde Hazelwoode, Mathewe
'Hutchinson and William Caxton, and paid upon hir chargies, who
'haithe in charghe, Three duble basies—ij fawconettes of brasse—a
'culvret—iij sakers—ij demiculverins—ij fawconettes of brasse for
'the feilde, and all ere in good repaire and servisable as tyme and
'servise requireth in all xiiij peace.'⁶⁸

The proposed budget for the garrison of Wark in 1583 comprised,
as in the cases of Norham and Harbottle :—

Captain of Horsemen, at 6s. 8d. per diem ...	£121	13s.	4d.
Lieutenant, at 3s. 4d.	60	16s.	8d.
80 Horsemen, at 10d. a man	1,216	13s.	4d.
An Ensign Bearer, at 20d.	30	8s.	4d.
A Trumpet, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.
A Porter, at 10d.	15	4s.	2d.
An Under Porter, at 6d.	9	2s.	6d.
Master Gunner, at 12d.	18	5s.	0d.
A Quartermaster Gunner, at 8d.	12	3s.	4d.
16 Gunners, at 16d.	146	0s.	0d.
A Chaplain, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.
A Surgeon, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.

£1703 6s. 8d.

⁶⁸ *Collections relating to Camps and Castles*, by Sir David Smith, Alnwick Castle MSS. It has hitherto been impossible to discover the original survey.

The castle, we are told, was Mr. Gray's inheritance. He was bound by his covenant to keep a lieutenant and certain gunners and officers in it, and to lie there himself in time of war in order, with the queen's help, to defend it with his tenants. This, it was considered, he would be unable to do, as since making this bargain, he had done nothing to the castle; and because a place so necessary to the defence of the frontier must be kept up, it would be well to let him provide a lieutenant and fifty men from his tenantry, as he was doing, and for the queen to bear the other charges.⁶⁹

Writing from Chillingham on the 7th of October, 1592, Sir Ralph Gray stated that he had finished the water wall of Wark Castle, except a little in the basement, and that he had sufficient stone, lime, sand, and timber for the remaining works of the castle. He complained that as yet he had only received £200 out of the £500 promised him as the estimated cost of the work, although many people in that neighbourhood considered that what he had already done was well worth the whole money.⁷⁰

Sir Ralph's son, Sir William Grey, was created Lord Grey of Wark by James I., on the 11th of February, 1624, and the castle is now the property of his descendant the Earl of Tankerville.

With the aid of the sketch of the castle as it stood in the reign of Elizabeth, it is easy enough to make out the general ground plan on the spot. The great gatehouse on the east side has entirely disappeared, but the foundation of the little tower next to the Tweed may still be traced in a garden, and marks the eastern extremity of the castle area. Below this garden a terrace, formerly known as the Maiden Way, but now called the Ladies' Walk, has been formed along the cliff above the river. It was possibly intended for a battery. The site of the wall separating the outer from the middle ward is indicated by a hedge. From this middle ward, which contained the quarters of the garrison, with a draw-well, and was supposed to be capable of sheltering a flock of sheep and 160 head of cattle, the west postern led down to the boat house. Enough is left of the double curtain-wall on the south side of this ward to show how it was filled in with earth by the women

⁶⁹ Raine, *North Durham*, General History, p. xxxv.; Cotton MS. Titus F. xiii.

⁷⁰ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Add. Eliz.* vol. vii.

in 1548. The flight of steps that ascended to the Ring or inner ward can be distinctly traced. The donjon itself seems to have been a sort of oblong octagon, with an octagonal turret about 18 feet in diameter attached to its east face. The position of the donjon, on by far the highest member of the *kaim* or comb-like range of drift gravel, is very striking. Beyond it to the west is the ditch made in consequence of recommendation of Sir Robert Bowes, in 1551, that the village should be extended in that direction, and in some measure fortified.

ADDENDA.

P. 345, l. 19.—Dacre's accounts relating to the year 1552 have been preserved, and contain some additional particulars of Ellerker's cowardly abandonment of Wark :—

- 'To William Ellerker, captein of the Castell of Warke for the tyme for
 'his owne wagies and his custrell for two monethes aither monethe
 'contenyng xxviiij. dayes begynnyng the xj.th daye of Julii and
 'ending the iiijth daye of September inclusive, anno xiiij.^{mo} at iiij^s.
 'by the daye xj^{li} iiij^s.
 'To the same William for the wagies of iiij^{xx} xiiij. soldeours his
 'retinewe by the space of two monethes begynnyng the xj.th daye
 'of Julii and ending the iiijth daye of September inclusive either
 'monethe contenyng xxviiij. dayes wherof to xlvij. of the same
 'soldeours every of them at viij^d. by the daye xliij^{li} xvj^s and to
 'xlv. of them every one at vj^d. by the daye the one monethe
 'xxxj^{li} xs and the other monethe to every one of the hole retynue
 'vj^d. by the daye lxx^{li} ijs cxlj^{li} viijs
 clij^{li} xijs
 'Of the last monythes wages atteynynge to lxx^{li} ijs ther is deteyned
 'in the handes of the foresaid William Ellerker xl^{li} ijs for hym
 'and his retynue for foure daies wagies parcell of the said two
 'monethes wagies, that is to saye from the last daye of Auguste
 'unto the v.th daye of September exclusive whiche last daye of
 'Auguste the same William Ellerker gaif over the said Castell in
 'the presence of the Lorde Roos wardein and others when as the
 'Duke of Albanye with the power of Scotland came forwardes to-
 'wardes the marchies wherof the said William muste aunswere the
 'kinges highnes.

'Paied unto Edward Graye Squyer in partie of paiement of xix daies
 'wages for him and his retinue of iiij^{xx} xiiij. soldeours entring as
 'captain of the Castell of Warke the furste daye of September
 'anno xiiij.^{mo} astur the departure of the foresaid William Ellerker
 'and endynge the xix daye of the same monythe at whiche daye
 'peas was taken and from that tyme forward the said Edward
 'undertoke to kepe the said Castell withoute wages duryng peas⁷¹
 'as apperes by billes remanyng, that is to saye iiij. a daye for
 'hymself and vjd. a daye for every souldyour ... xlvjli xiijs iiijd.
 'And then in truste of peas the said garrison of Edward Greye were
 'all dischargied by the said Lord Dacre save only the gonners
 'called John Martyn, Thomas Tindale and John Atkinson who
 'taried there a monethe contenyng xxviiij. dayes every of
 'them at vjd. by the daye over and besides thre gonners taken of
 'the grete retinue of Berwik according to the kinges warraunt
 'remanyng in the Tresourer custodie within the counsell house of
 'Berwyk xlijs
 xlviiijli xvs iiijd.⁷²

P. 349, l. 21.—John Carr, captain of Wark, was taken prisoner by the Scots at Haddonrig on the 24th of August, 1542, together with 'Master John Tempest and his broder Lasseye,' who were in command of a hundred men stationed at Wark. On hearing of the disaster, the Earl of Rutland immediately despatched another hundred men under Thomas Waterton and Nicholas Tempest to reinforce the garrison. Rutland was, however, informed by Thomas Gower, on the 28th, that the castle of Wark was not tenable. The next morning he was surprised to hear from John Carr that his taker, who appears to have been Richard Carr, a possible kinsman, had been good to him, and had released him for a month on his own bond and other sureties he had obtained in Scotland. Carr had returned in good courage to keep the house of Wark, and as only about fifty out of the hundred men who had gone with the Tempests to Haddonrig had made their way back to the castle, and that 'with great hurts and without weapons or harness,' he asked Rutland to allow him to engage fifty men of his own choosing in order to defend

⁷¹ After 'peas' is added and crossed out 'quod hoc factum fuit discrecionem (sic) Domini Dacres nulla billa pro hujusmodi solucione habet ad ostendum.'

⁷² *Chapter House Book*, B₄, f. 232, P.R.O.

a place which the earl of Huntley was almost certain to besiege if he entered England.⁷³ Rutland complied with his request, but the moment the Privy Council heard of the matter, they naturally considered that a prisoner on parole was not a fit person to be captain of one of the most important fortresses on the Border, and instructed Rutland to gently remove Carr to some other post and put Robert Raymond, whom they sent down, in his place.⁷⁴ The castle, Henry VIII. was told, was far out of order, and 'Scottes borne' were still allowed to remain in the house. The royal pleasure was, therefore, that the Duke of Norfolk, who had been appointed to command the forces preparing to take the field against Scotland, should speak to the king's mason then at Wark to see that the donjon was repaired to turn the wet, and that 'where there was sometime a well in it, it shall be meet the same to be searched out and cleansed accordingly.'⁷⁵ The Privy Council was informed that there was a secret vault at Wark that led to the captain's chamber, but Norfolk assured them there was nothing of the kind. The works on the defences of the castle were already in active progress. On the morning of Tuesday, the 26th of September, as the king's carts were engaged in carrying stone from Carham church to the castle, the Scots came and seized three of the carts with the horses and harness, without any attempt at their rescue being made by John Carr and his fifty men, or any other soldiers in the castle, 'whereof none was stirring but only the poor workmen. The demeanour of John Carr and other capetains ther, I referr,' the denunciante Lawson wrote to Norfolk, 'to your graces wisdoms in this behalve.'⁷⁶ Although the king 'much noted both the behaviour of the Scots in the taking of the carts from Wark, and the slackness of Carr in suffering the same,'⁷⁷ Carr remained at Wark while the castle was nominally in the charge of Raymond. On the 22nd of November the two captains of Wark were requested by the captain of Berwick to obtain what information they could in their neighbourhood of the probable incursions of the Scots, but as the Earl of Hertford had only recently made a proclamation 'that

⁷³ *Hamilton Papers*, ed. by Joseph Bain, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. i. pp. 164-166.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 175.

⁷⁵ Henry VIII. to Norfolk, etc., 22nd Sept., 1542. *Ibid.* p. 222.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 245.

there should no man speak with no Scots,' Carr was very doubtful if he could safely hold any communication with his friends across the Tweed. At last yielding to the advice of Raymond and a certain Master Utred he sent to a Scotsman who came to them at ten o'clock at night, and said that the king of Scots was at Hawick intending to ravage the West March and leave the East alone.⁷⁸ On July 16th, 1543, six hundred Scots from Teviotdale and the Merse 'ran a foray' at Wark and drove off eight score of cattle with some sheep and nags, and took two of the king's tenants prisoners. This time Carr and his company gave chase, and in crossing the ford the Scots turned round on them. In the skirmish Watty Young, a household servant of the laird of Cessford, the supposed instigator of the raid, was slain, and several of the Scots were badly wounded.⁷⁹

APPENDIX:

THE RELIEF OF WARK CASTLE BY EDWARD III.

ALTHOUGH Froissart's story of how Edward III. raised the siege of Wark, and was honourably entertained there by the Countess of Salisbury,⁸⁰ presents many difficulties of detail, these difficulties have been immensely increased by the blunders of those critics who have ventured to deny that there could be any foundation in fact for his narrative. 'What follows,' Mr. Ruskin justly says in presenting the story of Wark to his readers, 'you may receive on Froissart's telling as the vital and effectual truth of the matter. A modern English critic will indeed always and instantly extinguish this vital truth; there is

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Appendix to Introduction, selections from Longleat MSS. lxxvii.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 574.

⁸⁰ Froissart makes the singular mistake of calling the countess, *Aliee*. There was indeed an Alice Countess of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Lancaster, alive at the time—the widow of Thomas Plantagenet of the fascinating age of ninety. Ridpath in his *Border History* is equally wrong in supposing the countess to have been Joan Plantagenet, the Fair Maid of Kent, then a girl of thirteen. Katharine de Grandison, as the countess of William Earl of Salisbury, then a prisoner in France, was really called, was born before 1310, and married about 1327—her son William Montagu was born 25 June, 1328 (Inq. p.m. Will. Montagu, 18 Ed. III. Berks, P.R.O.) She was therefore over thirty years of age in 1341; Berenice was, however, the same when Titus laid the empire of the world at her feet. In 1332 Katharine had been charged to distribute at Woodstock the presents made by the queen to the ladies of her court.—Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Chroniques de Froissart*, iii. pp. 518-519.

in it something inherently detestable to him; thus, the editor of Johnes' Froissart prefaces this very story with "the romance—for it is nothing more."⁸¹ Yes, probably Froissart is after all right in the main, and we have here an interesting example of the danger of trusting to shallow methods of critical enquiry, methods that would rather destroy all history than be at the pains of examining and reconciling apparent discrepancies.

By erroneously postponing for a year the return of David Bruce to Scotland, which actually took place on the 2nd of June, 1311, Froissart's critics have also transferred Edward's adventure at Wark to the year 1312, in which it is easy for them to show it could not have taken place,⁸² instead of connecting it with his expedition to Melrose, late in the autumn of the previous year, into which it falls most naturally. Knyghton, no doubt, gives us the true sequence of events when he tells us that 'David Bruce with 40,000 Scots entered into England as far as Newcastle, and even Durham, and they did much mischief, and on their road home they lost six knights and eleven other warriors'—very possibly at Wark—and then goes on to say that 'King Edward invaded Scotland about St. Andrew's day and kept Christmas at Melrose.'⁸³

According to the Scottish accounts, David Bruce appears to have made three incursions into England during the year of his return. The first of these was a mere foray to Penrith and Rose Castle.⁸⁴ In the second, during which five knights were taken prisoners through the strategy of Sir Robert Ogle,⁸⁵ the royal banner was openly displayed, and we know for a fact, from documentary evidence, that David was encamped on Heddon Law, about six miles to the north-

⁸¹ Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, letter xxxi.

⁸² 'Eodem anno, scilicet Domini M.CCC.XLI. IIII Nonas Junii, David,—Dei Gracia, rex Scotorum illustris de Francia ad Scociam rediit . . . apud Inverbervy.'—Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Hearne, iv. p. 1035. Yet Mr. Longman in his *Edward III.* i. p. 201 makes this into 4th June, 1342, and thereupon dismisses the relief of Wark as a fable. By misdating the battle of Waterloo, 20th June, 1816, it would be easy to prove that the Allies never entered Paris.

⁸³ '*David le Bruz* cum xl. mille Scotorum intravit in *Angliam* prope Novum Castrum et eciam Dunelmum, et exercuerunt multa mala, et in regressu eorum perdidit sex milites et xj. alios valentes . . . Rex Edwardus transiit in Scociam circa festum sancti Andree, et celebravit natale Domini apud Menrose.'—Knyghton in Twysden, *Historia Anglicana Scriptores*, p. 2580.

⁸⁴ Wyntoun, *Cronykil of Scotland*, v. 5,975, etc. ed. *Historians of Scotland*, ii. p. 467.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

west of Newcastle, on Sunday, the 26th of August, 1341.⁸⁶ The third expedition, that with which we have to do, undertaken on a large scale towards the end of autumn, was impeded by heavy rains, and effected nothing except the burning of a few strongholds.⁸⁷

Edward's itinerary can be approximately traced, though very considerable research is necessary. He had set out on his road north as far as Cheshunt, on Friday, the 26th of October. The next day he reached Royston, and was at Huntingdon on the Sunday. Resting at Sawtry on the 29th, he reached Stamford on the Tuesday,⁸⁸ and remained there it seems for nearly three weeks. Then on Tuesday, the 20th of November, he suddenly left Stamford, and apparently only breaking his journey at Retford, Newark,⁸⁹ York, and Darlington,⁹⁰ arrived at Newcastle on Saturday, the 24th.⁹¹ So hasty an advance can only be explained, as Froissart explains it, by the arrival of the news of the Scottish inroad.⁹²

Now, referring to the Amiens MS. of Froissart,⁹³ of which the

⁸⁶ John de Denton, a leading burgess of Newcastle, was accused of having arranged to supply the Scottish army with provisions—'Quod Johannes de Dentone tempore quo David le Bruys jacuit apud Hydwynlawes cum excersitu suo deberet desinasse predicto David et aliis Scotis victualia per quemdam Adam Palfreyman servientem suum die dominica post festum Sancti Bartholomei Apostoli anno regni regis Edwardi nunc xv.'—*Placita in Com. Northumb.* 19 Ed. iij.; *Arch. Acl.* iii. pp. 116-117.

⁸⁷ Buchanan *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. iv. xxxii. ed. Edinburgh, 1727, p. 257. Boece's version of these raids is too ridiculous; he turns Ogle's exploit round in favour of the Scots and then makes the Earl of Salisbury and the captain of Wark to be taken prisoners in battle and their castle to surrender.—*Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland*, Rolls ed. iii. pp. 355-357.

⁸⁸ Roll of expenses, etc., of Robert de Nateby and Robert de Kildesby, controllers, 3 Jul. 14 Ed. iij.—24 Nov. 15 Ed. iij. *Exchequer Q.R. Misc. Wardrobe*, 4th, P.R.O.

⁸⁹ Rot. Pat. 15 Ed. iij. pars 3^a. m. 4, P.R.O. The earliest date at any place in the rolls of this period approximately fixes the date of the arrival of the king; the officials lagged several days behind, and the mere date of an entry on the roll is no indication of the king's presence. All the documents of the Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, the Patent and Close Rolls, and the Chancery Privy Seals relating to this period have been carefully gone through.

⁹⁰ *Clauis. Rot.* 15 Ed. iij. pars 3^a. m. 8, P.R.O. The entries dated York, 28 Nov., and Darlington, 1 Dec., seem to show that the officials were then engaged in writing up work the king had done in previously passing through those places.

⁹¹ *Excheq. Q.R. Misc. Wardrobe*, 4th P.R.O. The margin containing the names of the different places after Stamford where the king rested has been vexatiously torn off. The entry of the expenses of the royal kitchen between Stamford to Newcastle under the 24th of Nov. at the end of the roll proves the king to have reached the latter town by that day.

⁹² According to the Amiens MS. of Froissart, Edward received the news of the invasion at Windsor. The other MSS. say that it was at Chertsey. The fact is that Froissart was uncertain about the place, which was no doubt Stamford.

⁹³ This important MS. was discovered at Amiens by M. de Cayrol, see *Chroniques de Jehan le Bel*, ed. M. L. Polain, Brussels, 1863, i. p. 271n.

ordinary version is a revised epitome, we learn that in the first place the Scots had passed by the strong castle of Roxburgh, which the English still held, to their great annoyance. They attempted to carry it by assault, but on its proving too strong, the king resolved not to waste time in besieging it, but to march his army straight into England. Accordingly passing by Berwick, the Scots entered Northumberland, and having burnt all the town of Percy—by which Alnwick was doubtless meant—they attacked the castle, but failed to take it. They then proceeded to 'Urcol'—probably Warkworth—and burnt and sacked the town and neighbourhood.⁸⁴ After being harassed under the walls of Newcastle by a sally of the garrison,⁸⁵ they ineffectually assailed the castle, but burnt the town of Brancepeth, and ravaging the bishopric on all sides, came before 'the city of Durham'—by which Auckland is possibly meant—and as it appeared to be an easy prey, determined to remain till it fell into their hands.

⁸⁴ 'Si passèrent premiers par devant le fort castiel de Rosebouch, que li Engles avoient conquis, et le tenoient encores et leur faisoient souvent grans assaux et grans destourbiers. Si fissent là li Escot ung grant assaut; mès point n'y gaegnèrent, car li castiel est trop fors. Et n'eut point li roys adont conseil del asséger, mès de chevauchier avant et d'entrer ou droit royaume d'Engleterre. Si fist son host passer oultre. Apriès il passèrent devant le cité de Bervich, mès point n'y arestèrent et entrèrent ou royaume de Northombrelande. Si ardient toute le ville de Persi et livrèrent ung grant assaut à le forterèce, mès il ne le peurent avoir. Si passèrent oultre et vinrent à Urcol, et ardient et pillèrent toute le ville et le pays de là environ, et entrèrent si avant ens ou royaume de Northumbrelande, qu'il vinrent sur le rivière de Tin, ardent et destruisent tout le pays, et fissent tant qu'il parvinrent devant le bonne ville de Noef-Castiel-sur-Tin, et là se logièrent et le environèrent pour l'assaillir.'—Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Academie Royale des Sciences, Brussels, 1867, iii. p. 437.

⁸⁵ The Amiens MS. of Froissart represents Lucy and Ros as the captains of Newcastle and ascribes the feat of taking prisoner the Earl of Murray to Lucy. The Earl of Murray was already in captivity since 1335, and was released in 1342 in consequence of the agreement, dated at the Bois de Vincennes the 2nd of June in that year, which the Earl of Salisbury had entered into with the French king, that if he was allowed to return to England he would procure the safe delivery of the Earl of Murray with 'maistre Walter de Moffett,' at Roxburgh, and also endeavour to obtain the discharge of 'messire Hervy de Lyon' in Brittany, and if the former condition was not fulfilled by the middle of August, he would forfeit 3,000 livres sterling.—*Archives Nationales*, Paris, Trésor des chartes, carton J. 362, No. 1; Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, iii. p. 524. The account of Murray's capture before Newcastle is, one of the most dubious episodes in Froissart's narrative. Murray had been kept in by no means close confinement in England. In the summer of 1341 he was allowed to go to Scotland under promise of returning before September 12th, but there seems to be no proof that he did so return, while there is a safe-conduct for his passing through England on his way to France, dated 22nd February, 1342.—Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, ii. pp. 251-252; Rymer, *Fœdera*, iv. p. 660; v. pp. 197, 213, 224, 250, 262, 268, 300. If he broke his parole, he may easily have been taken prisoner before Newcastle, and kept there till the negotiations for his exchange for Salisbury.

They broke down the walls with their engines, and put the inhabitants to the sword.⁹⁶ The canons took refuge in the church, but this, too, the Scots burnt, with all who were in it.⁹⁷ It was in carrying off to Scotland the booty they obtained on this occasion that their rear-guard was attacked by the Earl of Salisbury's sister's son, whose name can scarcely have been Sir William Montagu,⁹⁸ and Wark was besieged in consequence.

On the 4th of December Edward III. at Newcastle ordered a general levy there on the 24th of January for the purpose of advancing against the Scots; something exceptional must therefore have occurred to lead him to take the field himself in the meantime.⁹⁹ By the 13th of the month he had proceeded to Alnwick,¹⁰⁰ and on the 20th he was at Melrose.¹⁰¹ Froissart again very naturally attributes this forced march of Edward to the fact that he had received a message summoning him

⁹⁶ 'Quant li roys d'Escosse et ses conssaulx virent que il se laissoient et travailloient en vain, il s'ordonnèrent au deslogier et se missent au chemin contre-mont ceste belle rivière de Thin, et passèrent à Bransepie, ung très-fort castiel au seigneur de Noefville. Si l'assaillirent et ardirent toute le ville, mès le fortèce ne peurent-il avoir, et assés priés de là il passèrent le rivière de Thin et entrèrent en l'evesquie de Durem. Si le ardirent mont et gastèrent de tous costés, puis se traient devant le chité de Durem et le asségièrent, et disent entr'iaux que elle estoit bien prendable et que de là ne se partiroient, si l'avoient.'—Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, iii. p. 441. The geography of this passage is somewhat wild. Froissart seems to have no idea of any other river but the Tyne in the North of England. 'Le chité de Durem' is probably Auckland—the bishop of Durham's town, just as the 'castle of Salisbury' is Wark and 'the castle of Percy,' Alnwick. The sack of Durham itself would have resounded in every chronicle as a work of sacrilege, and raiders who had attacked Roxburgh, Alnwick, Warkworth, and Brancepeth in vain could surely never have considered the true Durham to be 'bien prendable.'

⁹⁷ 'Depuis le chité prise, il s'en vinrent deviers l'église catédral qui siet haut sus ung tertre, et l'avoient li chanoinne fortetyet, et estoient dedens retret à garant; mès li Escot (dont che fu grant pité et grant cruauté) brûlèrent le feu ens et le ardirent et tous chiaux qui oedens estoient, sans nullui prendre à merchy. Enssi fu menée la bonne chité de Durem, des Escos, dont che fu dommage.'—Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 441. 'The cathedral church set high on an eminence' sounds like Durham, and may be only a literary embellishment, while 'the canons' carry us again to Auckland.

⁹⁸ Salisbury's nephew, Sir Edward Montagu, seems to have been in the south of England.

⁹⁹ The Amiens MS. makes 'le chité de Ewruic' the appointed rendezvous for the army, and says that Edward set out for 'Iorc' where he received the tidings from Wark. The later editions of Froissart substitute 'Berwick' for 'York.' This shows that the actual place was considered doubtful, while documentary evidence now pretty clearly proves it to have been Newcastle. Rymer, *Medæra*, ii. part ii. p. 1183, has erroneously dated some of the summonses addressed to the nobles for bringing their retainers to Newcastle, the 4th of November, 1341. A reference to his authority, *Rot. Claus.* 15 Ed. iij. pars 3^a. m. 9 dors, corrects this to the 4th of December.

¹⁰⁰ *Chancery Privy Seals*, file 280, 14477, 14479, P.R.O.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* file 280, 14480.

to the relief of Wark. We are thus enabled to fix the time of this famous exploit to the week intervening between Thursday, December 18th, and Thursday, December 20th, 1341.

The Amiens MS. gives some additional particulars of the king's departure from Wark which have an air of quaint verisimilitude about them:—"After dinner, when the trestle tables had been removed, the king sent Sir Reginald Cobham and Sir Richard Stafford¹⁰² to the army and to their companions who were quartered below the castle to inquire how they fared and whether they were ready to march, since he wished to set out in pursuit of the Scots, and therefore desired them to send on all the baggage and accoutrements in front and he would come up with them by the evening. He ordered the earl of Pembroke¹⁰³ to form the rear-guard with no more than 500 lances, who were to await him; all the rest were to ride forward. His instructions were obeyed, and the king still lingered in the castle with the countess, hoping that before he left his addresses would receive more encouragement from her. He asked for a chess-board, which the countess had brought, and then enquired if she would play with him. To this the lady gladly assented, for she was doing her very best to entertain him, as she was bound to do, considering that the king had rendered such good service in raising the siege of the castle by the Scots which had placed her in considerable danger, besides which, the king was naturally her liege-lord. At the commencement of the game the king, desirous that something of his should be left with the countess, laughingly demanded, "Lady, what wish you to play for?" To which she answered, "Sire, and what do you?" Then the king put down a very beautiful ring with a large ruby which he wore on his finger, but the countess protested, saying, "Sire, sire, I have no ring as splendid as yours is." "Lady," replied the king, "stake whatever ring you have. I do not attach so much importance to its value." So to oblige him the countess drew from her finger a little gold ring that was not worth much, and they began the game. The lady played as well as she could in order that the king should not think her stupid or ignorant, but the king played badly with intention.

¹⁰² See *Chroniques de Sire Jean Froissart* par J.C. Buchon, Paris, 1837, pp. xxxix, xlvii.

¹⁰³ Laurence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, 1339-1375.

Between every move the king stared at her so much that the countess felt quite ashamed and lost several pieces in consequence of her moves, but when the king saw that she had lost a castle, a knight, or anything else, he lost one too in order to help her play. The result was that the king was checkmated and lost the game. Hereupon, as the king seemed desirous of leaving, the lady rose and ordered some wine and spices. Putting her own ring on her finger, she pressed the king to take his back, saying, "Sire, it is not right that in my own house I should have anything of yours, you should rather take something of mine." "Lady," rejoined the king, "it is all settled, according to the game, and if I had won you may be sure that I should have worn your ring." The lady did not then wish to press the king further, but going to one of her damsels, entrusted her with his ring, saying, "When you see that the king has taken leave of me and is about to get on horseback go up to him and return him his ring with good grace, saying that I nowise wish to keep it, for it would not be right to do so." And the damsel promised willingly to do so. At this point the spices and wines were brought in, but the king would take nothing before the countess, nor the countess before the king, and there was a loud altercation between them. At last, to save time, it was agreed that they should take what they wanted both together at the same time. This done, and the king's knights having all drunk, the king took leave of the countess and said to her in a loud voice so as to avoid all suspicion, "Lady, you remain here in your castle, and I shall go in pursuit of my enemies." The countess at these words bowed low before the king, and he, openly enough, took her right hand and pressed it a little, and this he did very earnestly, as a sign of affection. And seeing that the knights and damsels were occupied in taking farewell of one another, the king came up again to say only two words to her. "My dear lady, may God keep you till my return! and may you then be of a different mind towards me." "Dear lord," replied the countess, "may the glorious Father direct you and free you from any wicked and dishonourable thought, for I am and always shall be willing and ready to serve you to your own honour and to mine own." On this the king left the chamber, as did the lady, who accompanied him as far as the hall where his palfrey was. The king declared that he would not mount while the countess was present, so,

to save time, she took leave all round this time of the king and of his knights, and returned to her chambers with her damsels. Then when the king was about to mount, the damsel who had been instructed by the countess came to him and knelt down. On seeing this the king got quickly up and thought that she wished to speak of some different matter than what she did. "My lord," said she, "here is your ring that my mistress returns and humbly begs that you will not think it rude that she does not wish it to remain with her here. You have done so much for her in other ways that she is bound, she says, to be your servant always." The king, who listened to the damsel and saw his ring which she held, and heard the wishes and excuses of the countess, was quite amazed. Nevertheless, being quite resolved to have his way, and that the ring should remain there as he had determined, he answered briefly (for there was no occasion for a long speech), "Damsel, as your mistress does not care for the trifle she has won from me, it remains yours." After saying this, he mounted at once and rode out of the castle and immediately joined his knights. He found the earl of Pembroke waiting for him with fully five hundred lances, and they set off together to overtake the army.¹⁰⁴ The

¹⁰⁴ 'Après disner on leva les tables : si envoya li roys monseigneur Renaut de Gobehe et monseigneur Richart de Stanford à l'ost et as compagnons qui desous le castiel estoient logiet, savoir comment il le faisoient, et qu'il fuissent appareillet, car il volloit cevaucier encorres oultre et sieuoir les Escos, et que on fesisst tout le charoy et tous le harnas exploiter devant, et que dou soir il seroit avoecq yaux, et ordonna le conte de Pennebruch à faire l'arrière-garde atout V° lanches, et que chil l'atendesissent sus les camps tant qu'il venroit, et tout li demourant chevauchaissent avant. Li doy baron fissent tout ce qu'il commanda, et il demoura encorres ens ou castiel de Sallebrin dallés la dame, et espéroit bien ainschois son département que il aroit de la dame respouce plus agréable qu'il n'avoit eue. Si demanda les eschès, et la dame li fist aporier. Adont pria li roys à la dame que elle volüst jeuer à lui, et la dame li accorda liement, qui li faisoit toute le bonne chièr que elle pooit, et bien estoit tenue dou faire; car li roys li avoit fait ung biau serviche de lever le siège des Escos de devant son castel, dont elle estoit en grant péril, et se li devoit le dame faire, pour tant que li roys estoit ses droits naturels sires de foi et hommaige. A l'entrée dou jeu des escès, li roys, qui volloit que aucune cose demourast dou sien à la dame, l'assailli en riant : 'Dame, que vous plaist-il à mettre au jeu ?' Et la dame li respondi : 'Sire, et vous aussi ?' Adont mist li roys avant ung très-bel aniel qu'il portoit en son doi à ung gros rubi sus le tablier. Lors dist la dame : 'Sire, sire, je n'ay nul aniel si riche comme li vostre est.'—'Dame, dist li roys, tel que vous l'avés, metés-le avant. Je n'y preng pas de si priés garde.' Adont la contesse, pour accomplir la volenté du ray, traist hors d'un doy ung anelet d'or qui n'estoit pas de grant vaille. Si jeurent as escès ensamble, la dame à son avis au mieux que elle pooit, affin que li roys ne le tenist pour trop simple et ygnorans, et li roys se faindoit, car pas ne jeuoit dou mieux qu'il savoit; et à painne y avoit nulle espasse de tires, que il ne regardast la dame si fort que elle en estoit toute honteuse et s'en fourfaisoit bien en traiant, et

damsel, of whom you have heard tell, went back to her mistress, and, telling her the king's answer, wished to restore the gold ring the king lost at chess. The countess, however, would not accept it,

quant li roys veoit qu'elle estoit fourfaite d'un rock, d'un chevalier ou de quoy que fuist, il se fourfaisoit ossi pour remettre le dame en son jeu. Tant jeurent que li roys le perdi, et fu mas d'un aufui. Adont se leva la dame et demanda le vin et les épisses, car li roys par samblant volloit partir, et prist la dame son aniel et le mist en son doy, et volsist trop bien que li roys eunist repris le sien, et li aussi offri et dist : 'Sire, il n'aperteint pas qu'en mon hostel jou aie riens del vostre, ainchois en deveriés porter dou mien.'—'Dame, dit li roys, si fait, car li jeus le porte ensi, et se je l'euisse gagniet, tenés véritablement que jou enisse porté le vostre.' La dame ne vot adont plus presser le roy, mès s'en vint à une sienne damoiselle et li bailla l'aniel et li dist : 'Quant vous verrés jà que li roys sera parti de céens et qu'il ara pris congiet de moy et qu'il devra monter à cheval, si vous avanchiés et li rendés tout bellement son aniel, et li dittes que nullement je ne le voeil détenir, car point n'aperteint.' Et la damoiselle li respondi que elle le feroit volontiers. A ces mos vinrent espisses et vins, et n'en vot oncques prendre li roys devant la dame, ne la dame ossi devant lui, et y eut grant estrif tout en reviel. Finablement, il fu acordé que il prissent tout doy ensamble, oositost li ungs comme l'autre, pour cause de briefté. Apries ce fait et que li chevalier le roy eurent tout beu, li roys prist congiet à la dame et li dist tout haut, affin que nuls n'y pensast : 'Dame, vous demoures en vostre hostel, et je m'en irai sieuwir mes ennemis.' La dame, à ces mos, s'enclina bien bas devant le roy, et li roys moult apertement le prist par le main droite et li estraindi ung petit, et ce li fist trop grant bien, en signe d'amour, et regarda li roys que chevaliers et damoiselles s'ensonnioient de prendre congiet l'un à l'autre : si s'avança encorres de dire deux mos tant seullement : 'Ma chière dame, que Dieu vous commande jusques au revenir ! Si vous pri que vous vos voeilliés aviser et autrement estre conseillie que vous ne me aies dit.'—'Chiers sires,' respondi la dame, 'li Péres glorieux vous voeille conduire et oster de villainne pensée et deshonorabile, car je sui et seray toudis conseillie et appareillie de vous servir à vostre honneur et à la mienne.' A tant se parti li roys de le cambre, et la dame ossi, qui là convoya jusqu'en la salle où sen pallefroi estoit. Se dist li roys que il ne monteroit point à cheval tant que la dame fust là, si que pour couse de briefté la comtesse prist congiet de tous poins pour ceste fois au roys et à ses chevaliers, et reentra en ses cambres avoecq ses damoiselles. Ensi que li roys devoit monter, la damoiselle qui estoit enfourmée de sa dame, s'en vint au roy et s'engenouilla, et quant li roys le vit, il se leva moult tost et quida que elle volsist parler d'autre matère que elle ne fist. Ce li dist : 'Monseigneur, vechy vostre aniel que madame vous renvoie et vous prie humblement que vous ne le voeilliés tenir à villonnie, que point ne voet qu'il demeure ci par deviers elle. Vous li avés fait tant en autres mannières que elle est tenue, ce dist, à tousjours d'estre vostre serve.' Li roys qui oy la damoiselle et veoit son aniel qu'elle tenoit, et ooit la volenté et l'escusanche de la contesse, fu tous estonnés. Nonpourquant, comme tout conseiliet à son gré et affin que li aniaux demourast laiens, ensi que en soy-meismes ordonné avoit, respondi briefment (car pas n'y aéroit longe parolle), et dist : 'Damoiselle, puisqu'il ne plaist à vostre dame li gains petis que elle a fait à moy, il vous demeure.' Apries che parlet, il monta tautost et se parti et yasi hors dou castiel, et se mist sour les cambres avoecq ses chevaliers, et trouva le conte de Pennebruc qui l'atendoit à bien V° lanches. Adont se partirent-il tout ensamble et sieuwirent l'ost ; et la damoiselle dont vous avés oy, revint à sa dame et ly recorda la responece dou roy, et li vot rendre l'aniel d'or que li roys avoit perdu as escès, mais la dame ne le volt prendre ; ains dist que elle n'y clammoit riens et que li roys lui avoit donnet et si en festis son prouffit. Ensi demoura li aniaux dou roy à la damoiselle.—Froissart, *Chroniques* (Amiens MS.), ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1867, vol. iii. pp. 457-461.

as she said she had no claim to it, while as the king had given it to the damsel she might have the benefit of it. Thus the king's ring remained with the damsel.'

It is extremely annoying that the unique MS. of the *Scalacronica*, to which we might reasonably look for some side-light, is defective at this very juncture,¹⁰⁶ and we have only Leland's abstract of its contents, which certainly bears out Froissart's incidental mention of the heavy rains and his account of the effect the rebuff to his gallantry at Wark had on Edward's spirits:—'The wynter after the sege of Turnay king Edward went to Melros, and rode thorough part of the forest of Etrik in a very il season, and cam to Melrose agayne, wher Henry erle of Darby, sunne and heyre to Henry counte of Lancastre, justid with Wylliam Duglas by covenaut yn the kinges syte. The king Edward taking a trews departid from Melros half in a melancholy with them that movid hym to that yornay.'¹⁰⁶

The most ample testimony to the general veracity of Froissart's account of the reception of Edward by the Countess of Salisbury at Wark, is, however, afforded by the fact that Jehan le Bel, a chronicler hostile to that king's reputation, after unhesitatingly relating this story in the same words, makes Edward return to Wark in about September, 1342, under pretence of inspecting the border fortresses, and take the foulest advantage of the unprotected countess.¹⁰⁷ The whole details

¹⁰⁶ *Scalacronica*, Maitland Club Publ. p. xxxvi n.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 229. Cf. 'Hoc anno (1341) circa Adventum Domini, audito rumore quod David le Bruys, qui diutina moram traxit in Franciæ partibus, consensu Philippi de Valois rediret in Scotiam cum multitudine armatorum, et teneret ibi Natale prope marchiam Angliæ, rex Angliæ cum comite Derbeyse, et aliis armatis paucis, se transtulit versus Scotiam, et audito quod David le Bruys voluit tenere Natale apud Menros, rex præveniens tenuit suum Natale ibidem, et per nuncios obtulit se paratum pugnare cum Scotis; sed ipsi noluerunt pugnam aliquam expectare, sed ultra mare Scotiæ latitarunt. Rex tamen et sui quæsierunt habere facere cum eisdem, et, quærendo, magnas hyemalces angustias tolerarunt; multasque prædas ceperunt, et patriam vastarunt ubique. Sed quidam a suis et nostris, pauci a casu fortuito ceciderunt. Et finaliter fuit inita una treuga usque ad festum Pentecostes.'—*Adami Murimuthensis Chronica*, ed. Thos. Hog. 1816, p. 131.

¹⁰⁷ 'Aprez ce qu'il eut envoyé le vaillant conte de Salbry en Bretagne, mary de la bonne dame aveques messire Robert d'Artoys, il ne se poent tenir qu'il n'alast veoir la vallant dame en faisant semblant qu'il alast visiter son pays et les fortresses, et s'embasti es marches où le chastel de Salbry estoit, et là où la dame demouroit &c. &c. Aprez ce tantost avint que le noble roy ala en Bretagne pour secourir ses gens qu'il y avoit mandé . . . eut puis s'en revint en Angleterre avecques le conte de Salbry aussy.'—Jehan le Bel, *Chroniques*, ed. M. L. Polain, Brussels, 1863, ii. pp. 30-31. Salisbury embarked with Robert of Artois for Brittany in August, 1342; Edward III. followed early in October, and during the interval resided almost continuously at Easry in Kent.—Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, iv. p. 459.

of this calumny are so utterly at variance with known facts that it is not necessary to again refute it.¹⁰⁸ It is only worthy of notice that even Jehan le Bel throws not the least aspersion on the noble character of the countess. The important point is that Froissart himself, in the Amiens MS. expressly denies the truth of Jehan le Bel's scandalous story, and states that in the whole course of his own connection with the English court he never heard any rumour of the sort.¹⁰⁹ It is certain, then, that the circumstances of Edward's reception at Wark, in December, 1341, were made the subjects of critical examination while contemporary witnesses were yet alive. That the romantic relief of Wark was a favourite topic for court gossip is more than probable, and in the tournaments that Edward subsequently gave in honour of the countess, and to which the origin of the Order of the Garter is referred, he may, under the circumstances, very properly have adopted the device *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*.

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.* iv. pp. 458-460.

¹⁰⁹ 'Vous avés bien chy-dessus oy parler comment li roys englès fu enamourés de la contesse de Sallebrin; toutes-foies, les cronikes monseigneur Jehan le Bel parollent de ceste amour plus avant et mains convignablement que je ne doie faire; car, se il plaist à Dieu, je ne pense ja à encoupper le roy d'Engleterre, ne le contesse de Sallebrin, de nul villain reproche; et pour continuer l'istoire et ouvrir le vérité de le matière, par quoy toutes bonnes gens en soient apaisiet et sachent pourquoy j'en parolle et ramentoy maintenant ceste amour, voirs est que messires Jehans li Biaux maintient par ses cronikes qui li roys englès assés villainnement usa de ceste dame et en eult, ce dist, ses vollentés sicomme par force: dont je vous di, se vieux m'ait, que j'ai moult repairiet et conversé en Engleterre en l'ostel dou roy principaument, et des grans seigneurs de celui pays, mès oncques je n'en oy parler en nul villain cas; si en ai-je demandé as pluisseurs qui bien le sceussent se riens en eüst esté. Ossi je ne poroie croire (et il ne fait mies à croire) que ungs si haux et vaillans hommes que li roys d'Engleterre est et a esté, se daignast ensonnyer de déshonneurer une sienne noble dame et un sien chevalier qui si loyaument li servoit et servir toute se vie.'—*Ibid.* p. 273.

COCKLAW TOWER.

THE tower of West Errington,¹ usually known by the name of Cocklaw, stands near where the Erringburn enters the North Tyne, in the extreme north-west corner of the ancient franchise of Hexham. The view from it is shut in on the south by the high range on which was fought the great battle of Hefenfelth between Oswald and Cadwalla in 634. To the north it takes in the neighbouring village of Chollerton and the woods round Swinburn Castle, and a little more to the west the rocky defile in which Haughton Castle is situated. Cocklaw Tower is plainly seen from the Roman station of CILURNUM.

The entry to the tower is from the south, through a rude doorway, very slightly pointed, that leads into a passage about 10 feet long and 4 feet 6 inches wide, with a steep, pointed vault. The outer door appears, from the holes left in the jambs, to have been secured by a mere fall-bar, 6 inches by 4½ inches thick. On the right-hand side of the passage is the door of the wheel-stair that occupies the south-east corner of the tower. On the opposite side the wall of the passage is said to have been formerly solid, but it is now broken through into a dungeon, 5 feet wide and 8 feet long, with an opening in its high pointed vault, through which prisoners may have been let down.

At the end of the passage facing the entrance is the door of the vault, which, as usual in a Border tower, occupied the greater part of the basement. The pointed doorway, 6 feet 6 inches high and 3 feet 8 inches wide, is of superior workmanship. It has a concave chamfer on the inside and a fine mason-mark near the base of the eastern jamb. It opened outwards, and may very possibly have been removed from some earlier building. The vault beyond it measures about 32 feet north to south by 20 feet 6 inches east to west, and had a cylindrical roof formed of long-shaped stones. At the north end there seems to have been a slit for admitting some light and air. The northern portion of the vaulting has now fallen away, and the remainder is covered with nettles.

¹ 'Gilberte Errington houldeth . . . freehold certain landes called West-errington alias Cocklawe in fre soccage and payeth yearlie rent xxiiij s. viij d.'—*Survey*, 1608, in Land Revenue Record Office.



J. P. SIMMONS, PHOTO.

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COCKLAW TOWER, FROM THE S.

1884.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION

The first floor is entered off the wheel-stair by a pointed doorway 3 feet in width. There has been a large fire-place in the west wall, and on the right of it is a window, in a round-arched recess, with two trefoil-headed lights and rough stone seats. Near the north-west corner a mural passage leads to a latrine. The north wall is pierced by a small loop. The east wall contains another window of two lights, the trefoiled heads cut out of one stone, and another slit, while between these is a small door, with a rough arch formed like that of the main entrance by two converging stones. This door, the most remarkable feature of the tower, is set in a flat-headed passage, and probably communicated by a small wooden bridge with the first floor of a building—possibly a chapel—the foundations of which are to be traced to the east of the tower. In the south-west corner of the room, a door, now firmly barred up, led into the small vaulted chamber over the dungeon, that retains its plaster with tracings of blue arabesques, of which, in about 1862, Mr. Archer made an excellent water-colour drawing that is preserved in the portfolio of his sketches at Alnwick Castle.

The principal room on the second floor must have been extremely dark, as it had only two small windows in the east and west walls. As on the floor below, there was a fire-place in the west wall. Two doors in the south wall, the one pointed, the other square-headed, led respectively on to the wheel-stair and into a chamber in the south-west corner of the tower. This chamber could also be entered from the stair direct. It forms at present the highest portion of the whole building, but, judging from analogy, the wheel-stair may have originally terminated in a turret still higher.

There is no reason to suppose that this tower, which must have been built and inhabited by the Errington family, is older than the 15th century. It is not mentioned in the list of towers in 1415, and stood just outside the scope of the View of Bowes and Ellerker in 1541. It is necessary to remember that towers of this class were the work of the country people themselves, and consequently look considerably earlier than they really are, if judged by the standard of ecclesiastical buildings carried out by regular masons under the superintendence of monastic architects.

BYWELL CASTLE.

It was to Bywell Castle that Henry VI. fled from the battle-field of Hexham on the 8th of May, 1464. At any rate when the castle was surrendered to the victorious Lord Montagu, Henry's helmet with his crown and sword, and the trappings of his horse, were found in it. 'How and whither the king himself had escaped,' adds the old chronicler, 'God knows, in whose hand are the hearts of kings.'¹ Probably Henry made his way back to Bamburgh.²

This seems the earliest reference to a castle at Bywell, and the present gate-tower was no doubt built by the second earl of Westmoreland (1426-1484).

Hall and Homberston, in their Survey of Bywell, taken on the 30th of May, 1570, after the attainder of Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, for his share in the rising of the previous year, tell us:—'The towne of Bywell ys buylded in lengthe all in one streete upon the Ryver or water of Tyne on the north and west parte of the same and ys devyded into two severall paryshes and inhabyted with handycrafts men whose trade is all in yron worke for the horse men and borderers of that countrey or in making byttes styroppes buckles and such othere wherein they are very experte and conyng and are subiect to the incursions of the theaves of Tyndale and compelled wynter and sommer to bryng all there cattell and sheepe into the strete in the night season and watche both ends of the strete and when thenemy approachith to raise hue and cry wher upon all the towne preparith for the rescue of there goods which is very populous by reason of their trade and stoute and hardy by contynnall practyse agaynst thenemy. . .

'Also in Bywell towne on the north side of the ryver of Tyne thauncestors of therle of Westmoreland buylded a faire towre or gate howse all of stone and covered with leade meanyng to have procceded further as the foundations declare beyng the heyght of a man

¹ See above, p. 21, n. 125.

² See above, p. 256

'above' the ground which were never fynyshed and the said towre
'is a good defence for the towne and will sone decay yf yt be not
'mayntened.'³

About the same time, the notorious Sir John Forster, being warden
of the Middle Marches, and having 'the quenes stafe in his hand,'



BYWELL GATE-TOWER FROM THE S.E.

seized by force on the fishery in the Tyne at Eltringham, which
belonged to John Newton, a child of six or seven years old. Newton's
stepfather, Arthur Lee, in order to maintain his rights, set on a boat
and net in his name, and Sir John, when he said that he would not

³ *Humberston's Survey*, vol. i. p. 365, P.R.O.

leave off fishing, caused Cuthbert Radcliff, who was officer under him in Bywell lordship, to seize Lee and immure him for twelve days or more in Bywell Castle, till his friends loosed him on his entering into recognizances to fish there no more.⁴

The Survey of 1608 has :—‘There is standinge at the east end of the towne of Bywell upon the North side of the river of Tyne the walls of a faire large and high Tower but the leade all taken away within these xvj yeares by one Anthony Felton gent. by what warrant we knowe not and since the taking away of the sayde leade the tymber is all rotten and most of it fallen to the ground soe as at this present ther is noe parte of it habitable or fitte either to keepe his Majestie’s Courtleetes in for the whole mannor, or for any other service. *Item.* There hath been a forrest of redd deare within the said Barrony well replenished with game within these xxxth yeeres and lesse, now utterly destroyed but by whose means it appeareth not unto us.’⁵

Sir David Smith, writing about 1810, says in his invaluable collections, ‘Bywell Castle is situated upon the north side of the River Tyne, a little to the East of Bywell. The Gunhouse is in the S.E. corner, and the Dungeon in the S.W. corner of the Courtyard. The Dungeon is about 26 links square, and the curtain wall between the square tower and the Gunhouse is 125 links.’⁶

The situation of the castle is very singular. It was at the extreme east end of the village, which formerly extended to a considerable distance to the west of the two churches,⁷ and yet it did not command the old bridge, which was still further to the east again, almost half way between the castle and the modern bridge. No advantage, too,

⁴ *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xiii. p. 124, extracted from the Hodgson MSS. in a paper on Bywell by the Rev. A. Johnson.

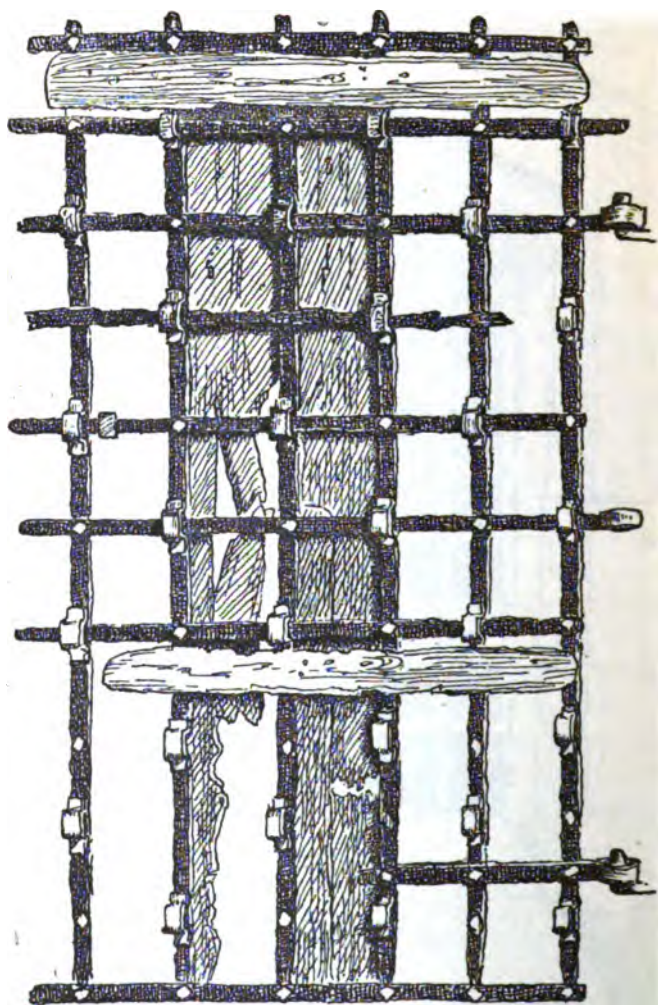
⁵ *Survey*, 1608; in Land Revenue Record Office, Whitehall.

⁶ *MS. Collections on Camps and Castles*, Alnwick Castle Library.

⁷ The house of the bailiff of the lady de Valence at the time of the conflagration of 1285, was, we are expressly told, on the west side of the village. This man had feathered his nest by dishonest practices, but being suddenly taken ill, he had only time to make a few specific bequests, when being questioned by the priest as to the disposal of the residue, he replied *Si qua plura supersunt Sathana commendo*, and expired. As the funeral was on the way to the church of St. Peter, on Friday, the 22nd of June, and the bailiff’s family were preparing refreshments, the house caught fire, in consequence, it was doubtless believed, of the residuary legatee appearing to claim his own. The flames, fanned by a strong west wind, ran along both sides of the street, and mass was barely said and the bailiff consigned to his grave, when both the church of St. Peter and that of St. Andrew, *ecclesia parochialis magna et pulchra*, were burnt with the rest of the village.—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 119.



BYWELL CASTLE—DOOR AT STAIR-FOOT.



BYWELL CASTLE—IRON GRILLE INSIDE DOOR AT STAIR-FOOT.

was taken of the rising ground immediately behind it. The idea seems to have been to merely enclose a large irregular-shaped barmkin with high walls for the purpose of protecting the flocks and herds of the villages from cattle-lifters, and nearly the whole architectural skill of the builder was lavished on the gate-house. Dunstanburgh, Bothal, Tynemouth, and Willimoteswyke are all of them strongholds in which the gate-house was made the dominant feature of fortification, but at none of them does a castle consist in such a degree of a gate-tower and little more as at Bywell, and there is no reason to suppose that it was ever intended to be much otherwise.

This noble gate-tower, the walls of which are standing almost intact, is a rectangle of about 59 feet long by 38 feet deep. It faces the Tyne, just sufficient space for a road intervening between the arch of the ivy-clad front and the steep bank of the river. The gate was protected by a portcullis, as may be seen from the groove, and also by the battlement over it being machicolated. The original oak gate still remains. It is in two halves, with a small door in the western. The roadway through the tower is 10 feet 8 inches wide. Towards the inner end of this passage two doors, confronting each other, open into the large vaults that occupy the remainder of the basement. The western vault has a square closet in the south-west corner. On the west side of the passage, close to the jamb of the archway into the courtyard, is the door of the stair leading to the first floor. This ancient door, with its grated iron frame, is a good example of English workmanship, the uprights being all in front of the horizontals, riveted and clasped alternately, and the spaces between the perpendicular bars being filled with oak planks. The Scottish mode of construction, it is said, was to make the bars interpenetrate one another, and this is adduced to show the little intercourse that existed between the two sides of the Border.⁸ Other examples of the English make of *grille* are to be seen at Corbridge, Naworth, Dalston, and Burgh-on-the-Sands.

The straight stair, behind the *grille*, ascends to a small square landing on the first floor. We enter a room 23 feet 2 inches broad

⁸ See a paper on the Iron Grated Doors of Castles, by Dr. David Christison in the Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, 1882-83, p. 98, by whom the accompanying illustrations are kindly lent; and a paper on Bywell by the Rev. B. E. Dwarria, in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xi. p. 17.

from north to south, and 29 feet 11 inches in length to a partition on the west side, which may or may not be an insertion. There is a window of two cusped lights, unusually large, to the west of the fireplace, in the north wall. In the floor of the recess of this window the shaft of a *meurtrière* threatens the head of any enemy coming up the stair. A similar perpendicular window in the south wall, with a charming view over the river, has a smaller square-headed window on the right. In the south-west corner of the room is a garderobe, and in the centre of the west wall a hole has been broken into what may have been intended for a window or a chimney. The inner room entered at the south end of the cross wall, measures only 17 feet 6 inches from east to west. There are a square-headed slit and a fireplace in the north wall, while a perpendicular window of two lights overlooks the Tyne, and there was once no doubt a window in the centre of the east wall. Both the eastern angles are provided with closets. The height of this storey from the original floor level to the plain chamfered string-course running along the north and south walls was 13 feet 6 inches.

The stair is continued by a narrow newel to the second floor. This was undoubtedly occupied by a single room nearly 50 feet long, with a perpendicular window at the west end of the north wall, then a fireplace, the head formed of two converging stones, then another window, and at the east end a fireplace with a roughly-shouldered head of one stone. The south wall has windows at both ends, and there are square-headed windows in the centre of the east and west walls. The north-east and south-west angles contain square closets.

Instead of ending in the usual umbrella vault, the newel stair is carried up past the roof level in rude steps that come to an abrupt termination against the flat stone that covers in the turret. This and the other three square turrets at each corner of the building are cleverly converted into octagons by having their battlements supported on long stones overhanging the angles. They are approached by straight external stairs resting on the east and west main walls respectively, the battlements of which are carried to a great height in order to screen the stairs. The flat roofs of the turrets are all pierced by *meurtrières* on the three sides facing the field. The main building has had a flat-pitched roof. The battlements of the south and east

sides are complete. Machicolations project over both the outer and inner gateways. The embrasures are placed at 3 feet 6 inches above the walk, and are 2 feet broad by 2 feet 8 inches deep. Both these and the merlons are moulded externally at the top. There is a chimney shaft in the thickness of the west wall.

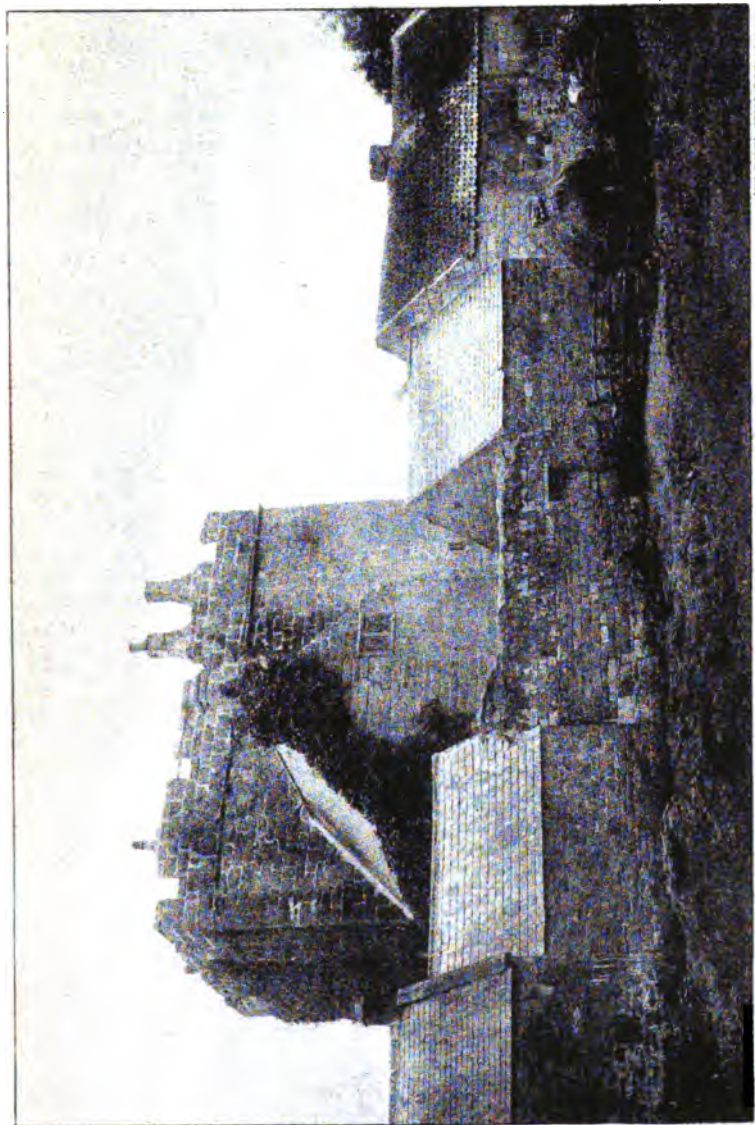
A considerable piece of the curtain-wall, with two slits in it, is still left between the gate-tower and the modern house to the east, the cellar of which, vaulted from north to south, was the basement of the old gunhouse.

LONG HORSLEY TOWER.

THE tower of Long Horsley, about six miles to the north-west of Morpeth, appears to have belonged to the ancient family of Horsley, the last of whom, Sir Thomas Horsley, an honest old knight, entertained General Monk with his whole train, on their march to Morpeth, very kindly and nobly on the 3rd of January, 1660. Sir Thomas told them that Lambert's forces had recently been quartered on him, and did not scruple to say that he had rather that these should have prevailed,¹ a sentiment that seemed strange for him to indulge in, if he was a member of the Roman Church.

The tower is a plain rectangle, measuring about 42 feet from east to west by 30 feet from north to south. It has a number of large windows with stone labels over them on the south side, some of which at any rate do not look like insertions. The present entrance is in the east wall, but an older square-headed doorway in the south wall, now turned into a window, led directly into the vault which occupies the western portion of the basement. This vault with a cylindrical stone roof was 22 feet 2 inches long by 17 feet 10 inches broad before it was divided by modern partitions. At the north end of the east wall is a door into a small vault, 6 feet 4 inches long and 6 feet wide, now used as a pantry. Through this was the way to the so-called Lady's Room, on the ground floor of a gabled addition made to the tower, parallel with the east wall, apparently about the close of the seventeenth century. A short passage from near the former entrance at the south-east corner of the main vault leads to the wheel-stair which ascends to the battlements. On the north side, just before coming to the stair-foot, is a door into another small vault, in the east wall of which the present entrance door has been inserted. The three upper floors contain little that is remarkable. A latrine chamber that turns the north-west angle of the tower on the second floor is carefully concealed behind some eighteenth-century panelling. There is also

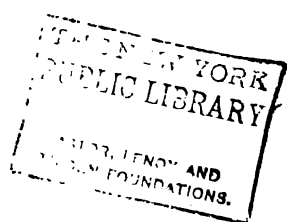
¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II. ii. p. 104, quoting Kennett's *Reg.* pp. 4, 7. Sir Thomas Horsley's will at Durham shows that he lived at Brinkburn.



THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COMPANY LTD.

LONG HORSLEY TOWER, FROM THE N.

1884.



another similar mural chamber at the north-east angle of this floor. The third floor is very low. The wheel-stair in the south-east angle of the tower terminates in a small turret, on which a bell has been placed, the chain for ringing it coming through a hole in the stone roof. There is nothing left to show the actual way in which the stair itself originally finished. The turret, although its south wall rests on the battlement of the main tower, seems to have had embrasures of its own. A square door of the stairhead leads on to the walk. The battlements are perfectly plain and are in an almost unique state of preservation. They are rather low, and the embrasures have the ordinary proportions reversed, being 2 feet 5 inches in width by 2 feet 1 inch in height, a sign of late work showing more regard to ornament than design.

The tower, which belongs to Mr. Riddell of Swinburne and Felton, the representative of the Horsley family, is occupied by the priest of the adjoining chapel. On the north side of it are the walls of a small park, said once to have contained some fallow deer.

HOWTELL TOWER.

IN a fine open valley between Flodden Hill and the Beaumont are the remains of the old tower of Howtell. The front, facing south, is still three stories high, and is of much better masonry than the other less perfect sides, which have been roughly built up with great boulders. The south wall seems also to be thicker than the others, being 7 feet wide in the basement, while the west wall, for instance, is only 6 feet 9 inches. All the angles except the south-east have been rebbed of their quoins. There appear to have been originally two entrances, both on the south side: one at the ground level near the south-west corner, and the other under a relieving arch to the right of a loop on the first floor. Only the arch of the passage of the first of these is now left, and the other, which is 2 feet 3 inches wide inside, has been built up. The interior of the basement measures 17 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 16 feet 6 inches from east to west. In the west wall is a large square-headed loop set in a pointed recess. There seem to be no signs of any vaulting, and as there are some rough put-holes in the south wall, the first floor was probably supported on beams. If ever there was a stone stair it has entirely disappeared. A lean-to has been placed against the inside of the south wall for the purpose of forming a dove-cot. In the north wall are some traces of a first-floor window. Of the arrangements of the second floor a loop in the centre of the south wall is all that is left.

This tower was one of those 'rased and casten downe' by James the Fourth of Scotland when he invaded Northumberland in the interests of Perkin Warbeck in 1496.¹ It belonged to John Burrell in 1541, when a great part of the walls are said to have been standing, and forty pounds would, it was estimated, have served to put it into repair. It was still in ruins ten years later,² and again in 1584 the Border Commissioners thought that as it was 'a verye small thinge' fifty pounds would restore it.³ Howtell Tower is now the property of Mr. Watson Askew-Robertson of Pallinsburn.

¹ See above, p. 34.

² *Ibid.* p. 52.

³ *Ibid.* p. 72.



G. GIBSON, PHOTO.

HOWTELL TOWER, FROM THE WEST.
1891.

(This Plate contributed by Watson Askew-Robertson, Esq.)

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WILLIMOTESWYKE.

THE ancient stronghold of Willimoteswyke occupies a charming situation on the right bank of the South Tyne, about a mile above Bardon Mill railway-station. The irregular court-yard, about 56 yards long by 33 yards wide, is entered through a gate-tower of comparatively late work at the north-east angle. A very characteristic range of old byres and stables closes the court in on the east side, and at the south end, towards which the ground rises, is a manor-house overlooking the romantic dene formed by the Black-clengh burn, and attached at the



WILLIMOTESWYKE FROM THE EAST, 1860.

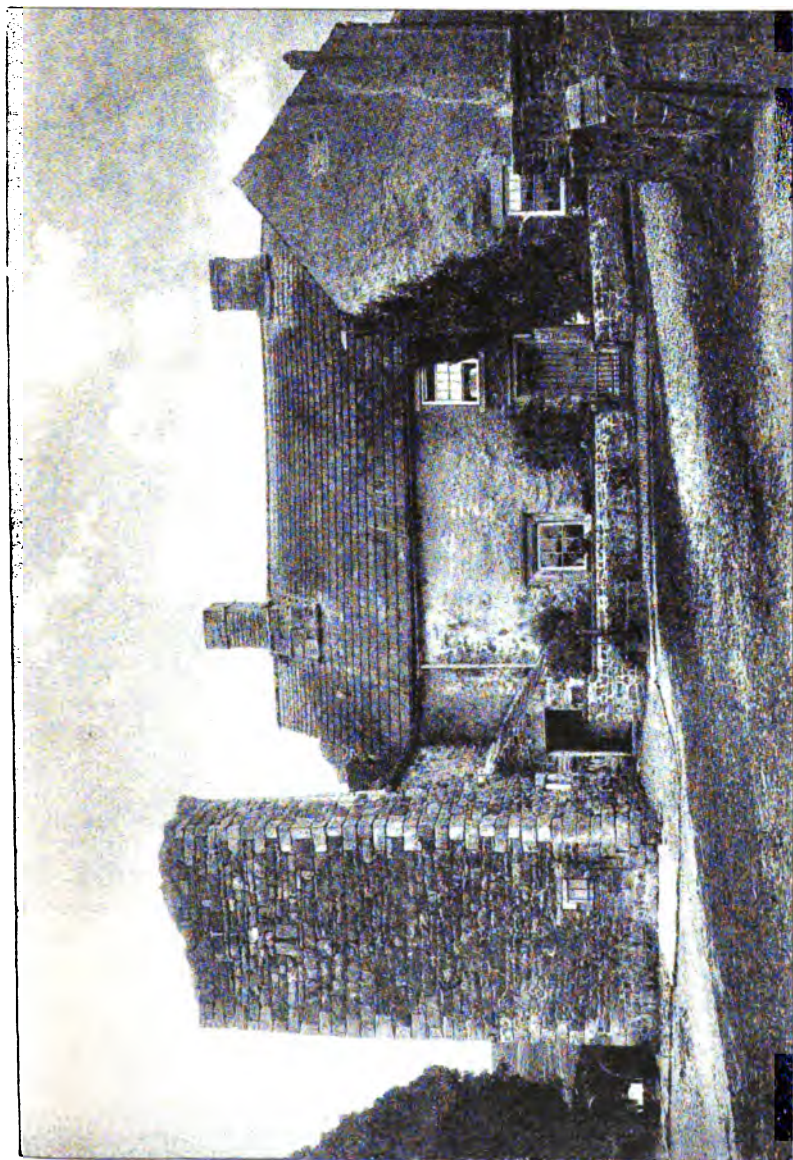
east end to a very early building, standing north and south, between two narrow towers. Little is left of the curtain-wall of the west side, except part of a curious doorway, owing to the erection of modern farm-buildings.

The gate-tower, which is the first of the three distinct fortified houses to meet the eyes of a traveller, though it is the latest of them in point of actual construction, is a rectangle of rough masonry 39 feet long by 22 feet deep. The south end is occupied by a roadway

10 feet 4 inches wide, under a flat arch formed by long dressed stones, over the east face of which a recessed panel for a coat of arms is now vacant. The upper hinges of the gates remain, and the hole for the sliding bar measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the north side of the passage are two doorways. The first leads into a basement chamber, with a small loop in each of the walls near the north-east corner, and an inserted shed and fire-place on the north side. The second doorway is that of the wheel-stair, which has been built inside the tower, and ascends to the battlements in about 43 steps, 3 feet wide with 8 inches rise.

The first floor might almost be reckoned an *entresol*, as it is very low and extends only over the northern portion of the tower. It has a labelled window of two lights in the east wall, and a fire-place and a loop in the west. The second floor has contained two rooms, both entered off the stair, though there is no trace left of the partition wall between them. The northern of these has a flat-headed fire-place under a relieving arch in the north wall, with a large loop near it in the west wall, and a window in the east wall protected by iron bars, the verticals being passed through squares in the horizontals. The southern room, 14 feet wide, is over the entrance archway, and has a headless fire-place in the south wall, a window of two lights to the west, and one very low down in the east wall. The similar room on the third floor has a plain-chamfered fire-place in the south wall and windows to the east and west, the latter blocked up; while the room adjoining it on the north has a fire-place with a chimney over it in the west wall, and a barred window to the east. There are two chimnies near the centres of the north and south walls. All of them rise from the inner face of the walls so as to be free of the battlements; the thin coping stones are cut into little square billets on their undersides. The rubble battlements project on three courses of close corbelling. The two embrasures on the south side are nearly perfect; and in the wall of the parapet below them are three spouts, the two western ones annulated in imitation of cannon. The northern of the two spouts on the west side is solid, and was meant, therefore, only for ornament.

The old manor-house of the Ridleys has been much pulled about and altered in order to suit the requirements of successive farm-



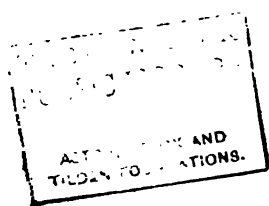
INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

WILLIMOTESWICK (TOWER AND MANOR HOUSE FROM THE N.)

1884.

THIS PLATE PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY SIR MATTHEW W. RIDLEY, BART.

J. P. GOSWAM PHOTO



tenants. Many of the walls are very thick, and the great fire-place has been spared. An interesting gothic doorway on the south side has been blocked up.

The two towers at either end of the cross-building attached to the manor-house on the east are most curious relics of the defensive architecture of Northumberland. They are about 17 feet wide by only 7 feet 6 inches wide measured externally at the base, and they gradually taper towards the top, so that there is only just room for a narrow stair inside them. Three corbels, and some of the moulded string-course of the battlement, is left on the south side of the north tower. The south tower has still a spout at its south end, and there is a latrine appended to its east side. The top of the door that led into this tower from the first floor of the cross-building can be seen above the lower modern roof of the latter.

The name of Willimoteswyke is, no doubt, derived from some early English settler called Willimot, who fixed on this site for his 'wyke,' or fortified manor-house. As usual, there was a family bearing the local name, and we meet with an Odard de Willimoteswick in the time of Henry II.¹ In 1279, Willimoteswyke was held of a Nicholas de Rydeley by Hugh de Ferewithescheles.² Little seems recorded of it again until John de Belasis and Alice his wife obtained a licence from Cardinal Langley, bishop of Durham, on the 2nd of October, 1428, to have mass said by one or more fit priests, in their chapel of Willimoteswyke, in the parish of Haltwhistle.³

At the close of the Wars of the Roses, Willimoteswyke was in the possession of Nicholas Ridley, who, in 1484, was one of the Commissioners for assuring the truce with Scotland. He was probably father of Sir Nicholas Ridley, 'the Broad Knight,' and grandfather of Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, who was burnt at Oxford in 1555. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, a friend of the bishop, says:—'He was 'born in mine own Northumberland, and descended from the noble

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II. ii. p. 322, referring to *Lansd. MS.* 826, fo. 115.

² *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. lviii. Less fortunate than Willimoteswyke, the neighbouring Ferewithes-shields is now miserably corrupted into Farrow Shields.

³ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II. ii. p. 322, on the authority of Langley's *Register*, 289.

fact that paper being scarce at Willimoteswyke in those days, the scanty inventory of that lady's effects was written on the back of it six years afterwards:—

'To the wor^{ll} and my worthy Good Anntt m^{rs} Margrett Ridley
'att willamondswike these:—

'Good Anntt,

'excuse me, thatt I am enforced to be thus troublesome, I
'have long expected my libertye and have relyed upon my Brother
'in law S^r Thomas musgrave this twelfe month, thatt he would have
'furnished me wth fivety or three score pound to have taken of my
'executions of me And now by his delay S^r Allen Apsley doeth now
'sew me, If he do nott speedly send unto me thatt I may have mony
'to take of my executions, I shall for want of meanes be forced in
'this place to condissend to those things thatt boeth he and my frends
'will be martaylus much offendid wth me for, besyds I shall for ever
'repentt, Thearefore Good Anntt lett me intreatt you to be pleased to
'send unto him and acquantt him wth the busines thatt he may send
'unto me, otherwise upon my faith I shall be compelled I feare to doe
'those things thatt afterwards I shall be hartly sorry for, thus ever
'beseeching god to attend you wth all health happynes and contentt I
'tak my leave and rest

'Your ever assured louving

'This 8th of June

'Cosen to Comand

'1620

'W Ridley.⁸

This letter is of itself a sufficient clue to the real causes of the downfall of the Ridley family. Their fortunes seem to have been dissipated and their estates sold to the Nevilles of Chevet, near Wakefield, before the Great Civil War began. The name of Musgrave Ridley of Willimoteswyke was indeed inserted in the bill for sequestrating the estates of active royalists on the 2nd of November, 1652,⁹ but that this was done under misapprehension may be gathered from the remonstrance of the real owner of Willimoteswyke:—

⁸ Original Inventory of Margaret Ridley, taken 14 Nov. 1626, in Probate Office, Durham.

⁹ *Journal of the House of Commons*, vii. p. 204.

‘To the Hon^{ble} the Com^{rs} for Compoundinge wth Delinq^{ts}
 ‘The humble Petic^{on} of ffancis Nevill esq^r
 ‘Sheweth

‘That yo^r Petic^{on} is seised in ffee of y^e Mannor of Willmanswick
 ‘with severall Messuages, ffarmes, lands, Tenem^{ts} & hereditamen^{ts}
 ‘thereunto belonginge lying and being in the County of Northum-
 ‘berland.

‘That one Musgrave Ridley beinge Tennant at Will unto yo^r
 ‘Petic^{on} of a ffarme called Whitshields, lying in y^e sayd County, The
 ‘Com^{rs} for Seq^{cons} in the sayd County have seq^{cd} the same for the
 ‘delinq^{cy} of the sayd Ridley, he having noe estate, interest, or tearme
 ‘of yeares in the sayd ffarme, other then Tennant at Will as aforesayd.

‘Now in regard yo^r Petic^{on} hath severall witnesses for prooffe of
 ‘the p^rmisses aforesayd who live in Yorkshire,

‘He therefore humbly prayes yo^r order to the Com^{rs} for seques-
 ‘tracons in the County of Yorke to take the examinacon of yo^r
 ‘Petic^{on} and of such witnesses as he shall produce unto them for the
 ‘prooffe of his Title and interest in the sayd ffarme

‘4^o Nov: 1658

‘And he shall pray &c.

‘[The Com^{rs} to ex: and certify

‘ffran : Nevill.’¹⁰

R.W. R.M.]’

The idea, then, that the Ridleys of Willimoteswyke lost their estates through their attachment to the Royal cause is as fallacious as that which dates the ruin of the Forsters, of Bamburgh from their share in the rising of 1715, and the oft-quoted stanzas of Surtees—

‘Then fell the Ridley’s martial line
 Lord William’s antient towers,
 Fair Ridley on the silver Tyne,
 And sweet Thorngraston’s bowers.
 All felt the Plunderer’s cruel hand,
 When legal rapine through the land
 Stalked forth with giant stride;
 When loyalty successful bled,
 And truth and honour vainly sped
 Against misfortune’s tide,’

are part and parcel of that modern-antique ballad-mongery which has

¹⁰ *Royalist Composition Papers*, Series I. xlvii. p. 755. P.R.O.

done more to obscure the real history of Northumberland than that of any other county.¹¹

After the Restoration the Nevilles of Chevet appear to have sold Willimoteswyke to the Blacketts, and it is at present the property of Sir Edward William Blackett, bart. of Matfen.

¹¹ Hodgson, *Northd.* II. iii. pp. 341, 342, has forsaken history for poetry in his account of the loss of Willimoteswyke by the Bidleys, and is not consistent with himself, since he there brands the Nevilles as 'receivers of republican favours,' while he had previously (*ibid.* II. iii. p. 325) admitted that Sir Francis Neville of Willimoteswyke 'was also a loyalist and heavily fined during the time of the Commonwealth.' The exact nature of the whole transaction can only be ascertained from the title-deeds of the estate.

COCKLE PARK TOWER.

THE tower of Cockle Park stands on high ground in the chapelry of Hebburn, about three miles to the north of Morpeth. The length of the entire building on the west side is about 54 feet, and its width 30 feet at the north end, which projects some 6 feet to the east in a small wing that contains the original newel-stair. On the east face of this wing is a large armorial panel much weather-worn. The whole of the southern portion of the building, now occupied as a farm-house, which is three stories high, has been so much altered first in the Jacobean style, when a stair-turret was added on the west side, and afterwards in the pseudo-gothic, that the only original part left is the so-called North Tower, which has fine moulded corner bartizans and machicolations.

The entrance is in the east wall, close to the re-entering angle of the wing. The remains of the vault in the north end of the basement that was probably continued through the whole building are now partitioned off to form a dairy. To the right of the entrance is the wheel-stair, with steps about 3 feet 7 inches wide and 9 inches high. Ascending this, past two loops, we reach a square-headed doorway, now bricked up, but which communicated with the first floor before this was included in the farm-house. At the level of the thirty-second



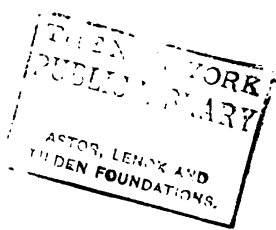
J. P. DODGE, PHOTO.

1884. PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON.

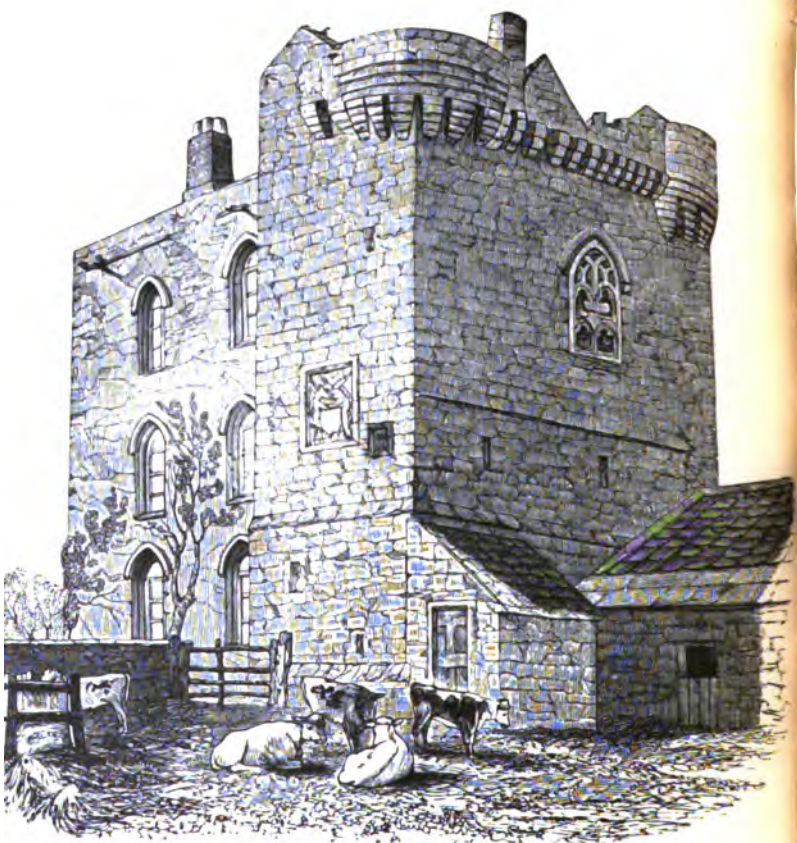
COCKLE-PARK TOWER, NEAR MORPETH, FROM THE S.E.

1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PORTLAND



ASBESTOS, LEROX AND
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COCKLE PARK TOWER,

FROM THE NORTH-EAST,

IN ABOUT 1830.

step of the newel the doorway of the second floor admits us into a passage, 4 feet 3 inches wide, running along the east wall. This passage has also been bricked up at the far end, and an opening been made through the thin internal wall to lead direct into what must have been the principal chamber of the tower. This room is 16 feet 4 inches broad, and at present 18 feet long to where the brick wall cuts off the southern portion of it, which has been incorporated in the farm-house. A jamb of what has been the great fire-place, thrown out externally on corbels, may be noticed in the west wall, from which a window has also been removed. At the north end, under a rather flat arch with a chamfer hollowed and stopped, is a recess about 5 feet wide and 6 feet deep, that contained the handsome pointed window with perpendicular tracery that forms one of the main features of the tower in the views of it given by Grose¹ and Hodgson,² and which has unfortunately been removed and inserted in Bothal Castle. A stone seat, 14 inches wide, is placed along the east side of the recess, and opposite to it is a square-headed door leading to a mural latrine. The chamber has also been despoiled of the fine ornamented fire-place in the north-east corner, which is now in the room over the archway of Bothal gatehouse.

Returning to the wheel-stair and ascending a few steps, we come to a small roughly vaulted chamber 6 feet 4 inches long by 4 feet 5 inches broad, a loop in the east end, and a square recess in the west. The stair terminates under a small gable with doors leading on to the walks of both the east and north battlements. The north gable of the main building contains a plain two-light window.

According to Grose the armorial panel on the east side of the tower, now much weather-worn, contained a shield supported by two antelopes collared and chained, and surmounted by the Ogle crest of an antelope's head. It seems therefore improbable that the tower was built before Robert, first lord Ogle, came into definite possession of Bothal barony in about 1465, especially as its name does not occur in the list of Northumberland fortalices in 1415. It is first actually mentioned as having been the dower-house of Anne widow of Robert

¹ Grose, *Antiquities*, vol. iv. p. 80.

² Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 139. The accompanying woodcut by Mr. Edward Swinburne, representing the tower in about 1830, has been kindly lent by the historian's grandson, Mr. J. G. Hodgson.

fourth lord Ogle, who died in 1589.³ In like manner, when the fifth lord, being 'commanded to invade the realm of Scotland in the king's 'majesty's wars,' made his last will in 1543, 'in case of being slain by 'the chance of war,' as actually did befall him on Ancrum moor, he bequeathed to his wife Jane 'Cockell Parke and Towre.'⁴

'A projection on the west side of the tower, which had small 'windows in it, fell,' Hodgson informs us, 'in 1828, when the opening 'occasioned by the fall was filled up in a line with the rest of the wall; 'and the mantelpiece of one of the two curious old chimneys formerly 'in the tower, and cleverly decorated with dentils and mouldings, was 'inserted high up in the gap on the outside, by way of curiosity and 'ornament.'⁵

Cockle Park has descended to its present owner, the Duke of Portland, in the same manner as Bothal Castle.⁶

³ 'Cocleparke cum Turre &c. que dudum fuer. in manibus Anne Ogle matris mee.'—Trust deed from Robert 5th Lord Ogle, dated 4 Apr. 35 H. viij; *Lansd. MS.* 326, fo. 82; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 394 n. A deed from Robert 4th Lord Ogle to his brother Sir William Ogle of 'Cokill Park,' relating to Cawsey Park, and dated 10 May 18 H. viij, and one from Robert the 5th Lord to the same, his uncle, relating to Earsdon, and dated 2 Dec. 28 H. viij, are in the possession of Mr. Brumell of Morpeth.—*Hist. MSS. Comm. App. 6th Report*, p. 540.

⁴ Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 393 n.

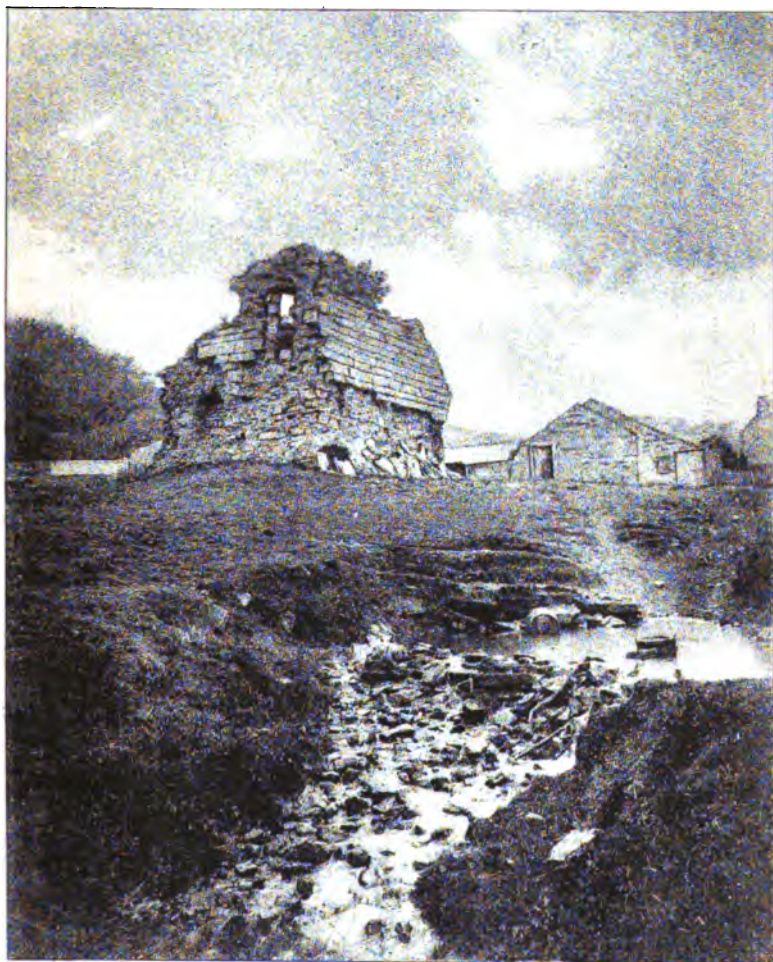
⁵ *Ibid.* II. ii. p. 141.

⁶ See above, p. 287.

TOSSON TOWER.

LITTLE can be said of the tower of Great Tosson, about a mile from Rothbury, on the south side of the Coquet. It is mentioned in 1541 as 'a tower of the lorde Ogles Inherytance & not in good reparacions.'¹ The Ogles obtained lands here through a marriage with the daughter of Sir Robert Hepple in about 1330, but the tower is probably of later construction. It measures about 25 feet from east to west, by 18 feet from north to south. There has been the wonted slit for air and light at the west end of the vault. Very near the south-east corner there remain portions of the jamb and springing of the inner arch of the doorway. Some traces of the stair are left in the north-east angle, and above these a square-headed door and flat-roofed passage is seen from outside.

¹ See above, p. 45.



J. P. GIBSON. PHOTO.

"THE PHOTO" SPRAGUE & CO. LONDON

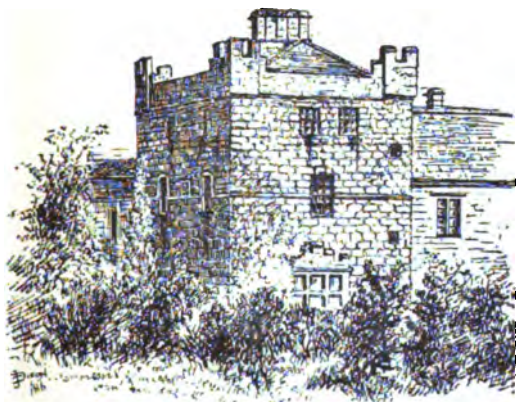
TOSSON TOWER, NEAR ROTHBURY. FROM THE N.E.
1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY SIR W. G. ARMSTRONG.

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TILDEN FOUNDATION

WHITTON TOWER.

THE situation of Whitton Tower, on the south of the Coquet, about a quarter of a mile from Rothbury, is very singular, as it is so built into the hill-side that the external base to the north is some twenty feet below that fronting the south. The vault that occupies the basement



has thus a semi-subterranean character, and its door in the north wall, and that leading into the first floor of the tower on the east side, are both on the ground level. This singular position is probably to be explained by a desire on the part of the

builder to include within his tower the excellent supply of water that here issues from the higher ground to the south.

Although a square panel in the centre of the west wall contains a shield with the arms, *a cinquefoil within an orle of six crosses moline*,¹ there is no good reason to suppose that the tower was built by the Umfrevilles and not by the rectors of Rothbury, who appear

¹ It is curious that in each of the three undoubted examples of the Umfreville arms that are found carved in stone in Northumberland the form of the crosses composing the orle is different, while there are sometimes six and sometimes eight crosses. The shield on the effigy of Gilbert de Umfreville, who died in 1307, in Hexham church has had *eight crosses patonce*; that on the battlements of the gateway of the inner ward at Alnwick Castle, *circa* 1350, has *six plain crosses croiset*; while on that at Elsdon tower, probably 1421-1436, are *eight crosses croiset patty*. The crosses of the Umfreville shield on the gatehouse of Cockermouth Castle are *flory*, and seem to be only four in number. The exact shape of such crosses is, then, matter of no moment; and as the arms of Cooke are given as *gules a cinquefoil between six crosses croiset fitchy argent*, and Alexander Cooke was rector of Rothbury from 1435, the shield on Whitton may be with more probability considered to be his, since the Umfrevilles had no direct connection with the place.

to have been lords of Whitton manor from early times. It seems evidently the work of the last half of the fourteenth century; and in the roll of Northumbrian fortalices drawn up in 1415 it is entered as being in the possession of the rector. There was nothing very peculiar in a priest occupying a strong tower in those wild times; the rector of Elsdon, and the vicars of Corbridge, Stamfordham, Chatton, Ponteland, and Embleton, appear as owners of fortified parsonages in the same record, and instances occur of the clergy in the bishopric obtaining licences to crenellate. The notion that ecclesiastics slipped into these strongholds on their being abandoned by more warlike occupants is devoid of any foundation in fact. In the View of the Border taken by Bowes and Ellerker in 1541, the tower of Whitton and the little barmkin, 'beinge the mancion of the parsonage of Rothbery,' is reported to be in a good state of repair.² Sir Ralph Sadler, in about 1560, recommended to Elizabeth that the parsonage of Rothbury should be annexed to the castle of Harbottle for the better defence of the country from the spoil of the enemy;³ but this means, not that the tower of Whitton, 'the mansion of the parsonage,' was to be made an outlying fort of Harbottle, but that the revenues of the living of Rothbury were to be applied to the maintenance of the castle. Nothing, however, came of Sir Ralph's advice.

Some sort of stone house may have been built on to the tower in the seventeenth century; but Dr. Thomlinson, who was rector for more than forty years, says:—'At my coming to Rothbury, which was January 24th, 1679, it was not easy to determine whether the parsonage house and chancell, incumbent upon me to repair, or the profitts belonging to the parson, were in worse circumstances.'⁴ Dr. Thomlinson left the tower in good condition at his death,⁵ and Edward

² See above, p. 45.

³ Sadler's *State Papers*, 1809, ii. p. 15.

⁴ See a very interesting account of Whitton Tower, by Mr. D. D. Dixon, reprinted from the *Newcastle Courant*, July, 1885.

⁵ The Rev. A. O. Medd, the present rector of Rothbury, has in his possession a curious sketch of Whitton Tower with the dedication, 'To the Rev^d. Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, this west view of Whitton Tower and part of Rothbury is most humbly inscribed by his ever dutifull son, Granville Sharp. Taken in June, 1754.' The original is in the possession of Granville Baker, esq., of Hardwick Hall, Gloucestershire, a descendant of the archdeacon. The tower itself, however, is too distant an object in the quaint landscape to show much of its architectural character at the time.

Hay Drummond, who became rector in 1784, appears to have added to the east side a substantial wing of three storeys with a high pitched roof that was returned in a gable over the tower. A sketch of Whitton, by the Hon. Mrs. Leveson Vernon, was reproduced by lithography by Hullmandell, for Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, in 1828, and the plain solid dwelling-house shown in it seems to have so much Northumbrian character about it, that it is perhaps matter of regret that it should have been since transformed into a modern Tudor mansion.

The vaulted basement measures internally 27 feet 6 inches along the east and 18 feet 4 inches along the south wall. The entrance is at the extreme east end of the north wall, which is here 9 feet 5 inches thick. There were two doors, both pointed, with a passage about 4 feet wide between them. Neither of them was protected with the stout bars, the holes for which are usually conspicuous in buildings of this character. The outer door seems to have been secured by some small rough bars, and the inner one, which opened outwards, to have been merely locked. Immediately to the right on entering is the well, walled round in ashlar, and almost 3 feet in diameter and 14 feet 4 inches deep. The cylindrical stone roof rises to a height of 11 feet 9 inches, and is pierced near the south end by a man-hole about 2 feet 8 inches square that formed the only means of communication between the basement and the floor above it.

The first floor has also a stone vault, which is unusual in Northumberland, and may be accounted for by the fact of its being on the ground level of the south side. The pointed inner door of the entrance from the east side of the ground level still remains, and near it the shouldered door that leads to the wheel-stair occupying the south-east corner of the tower. These doors are both in the rector's study, which has been formed in the southern portion of the vault, and is lit by a large window inserted in the south wall, here above 8 feet thick.

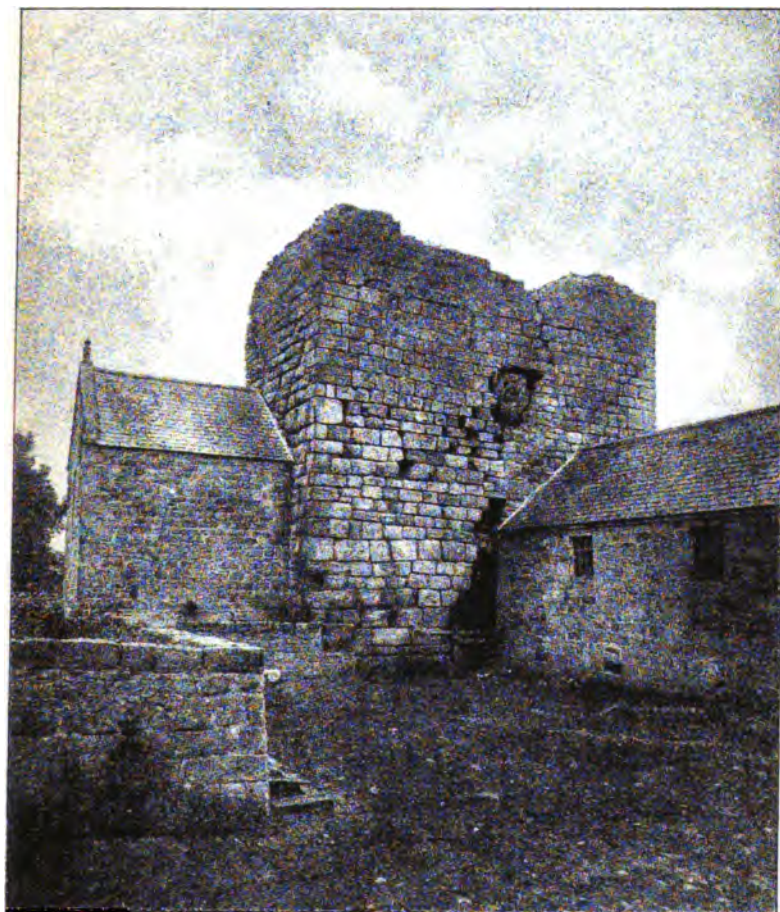
Ascending the wheel-stair past slits and mason-marks we reach the second floor, which has been divided into bed-rooms. A small piscina, projecting in a semi-hexagon from an ogee niche, was discovered a few years ago on what was evidently the southern splay of a large window-recess in the east wall. The basin is ornamented on its

three under sides with trefoils, and the angles are covered with oak-leaves. This window-recess probably formed a small oratory, as at Borthwick, in Midlothian, and the whole floor—the first, if we reckon from the south side of the tower, the second if from the north—was probably the living hall of the medieval rectors. The uppermost floor presents no particular features of interest, and the battlements are, of course, modern.

HEPPLE TOWER.

ORIGINALLY held by thanage, Hepple, or 'Heppedale' as it was anciently styled, was raised to a barony by king John in favour of Ivo de Tailbois, one of the three husbands of its heiress. Afterwards it was parted between the families of Tailbois and Hepple. The marriage of Jane de Hepple in 1331 brought her moiety to the Ogles, who probably acquired the whole during the Wars of the Roses. Hepple continued with the representatives of the lords Ogle till the third duke of Portland sold it in 1803 to the father of Sir Walter Buchanan Riddell, the present owner.

The tower is probably of fourteenth-century construction. It appears as one of the six strongholds of Sir Robert Ogle in 1415, and was 'decayed in the roofes and scarcely in good reparacions' in 1541. The walls are over 6 feet thick. The internal dimensions of the ground floor are about 26 feet east to west by about 17 feet north to south. The cylindrical stone vault rises to nearly 17 feet, and beneath it there has been a loft supported on stone corbels, two of which remain in the western angles. A slit for light at the west end is set in a round-arched recess of wide splay. The entrance was by a pointed door at the east end of the south wall. The holes for the sliding bar, 7 inches square, are still to be seen. The roof of the passage between this outer door and that leading into the vault is pierced by a *meurtrière*. On the left, a straight stair seems to have gone up in the thickness of the south wall through a square-headed door now built up. Beyond a small window opening in the west wall, the first floor retains no details of interest.



J. P. GIBSON, PHOTO.

INK-PHOTO, STRAQUE & CO. LONDON

HEPPLE TOWER, FROM THE W.

1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY SIR WALTER BUCHANAN RIDDELL, BART.

CARTINGTON CASTLE.

CARTINGTON, written in early times 'Kertindon,' is first heard of as a detached portion of the barony of Ditchburn, one of the least and latest of the feudal divisions of Northumberland. It stands on high ground about three miles to the north-west of Rothbury.

From an early period half of the manor had been held of the lords of Ditchburn by the barons of Embleton. After the death of Simon de Montfort in 1265, the earls of Lancaster became possessed of Embleton; and, on reference to their earliest Roll, we find that so soon as 1316 their moiety of Cartington was sub-let to a certain John de Cartington at the fixed rent of five shillings. As far as local history is concerned, resident tenants are much more interesting than absentee landlords; but the Cartingtons are a difficult family to make out, for every father of them seems to have determined that his son and heir should be called John. In 1415 a John Cartington is returned as the owner of the Tower of Cartington, then for the first time mentioned. In 1428 a John Cartington was elected one of the knights of the shire of Northumberland, and in 1433 this name stands, as one of four, at the head of a list of the county gentry. On a Swinburne deed, dated 1452, is a seal of John Cartington, blazoned—*gules, a fess between three catherine wheels or*, with a horse's head for crest. In 1458, John Cartington was one of Henry the Sixth's commissioners for raising a body of archers in Northumberland; on the 21st of October in that same year he died, leaving a son John, born in about 1436. In 1462 we have for once a William Cartington entered on the Lancaster Rolls as paying the customary five shillings for his rent of the moiety of the manor; but he must have been soon followed by the traditional John, since we know a John Cartington married Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Claxton, who died in 1485, the year of Bosworth, and thus acquired Dilston and other estates of the Claxton family. But 'what came with a lass' soon 'went with a lass,' and John Cartington, the last of his race in possession of Cartington, died in about the year 1494, leaving an heiress, his daughter Anne, the wife of Edward son of Sir Thomas Radcliff of Derwentwater. It

was in Sir Edward Radcliff's time that, on Monday the 16th of November, 1515, Margaret queen of Scots, the widow of James IV., and wife of Angus, reached Cartington on her journey from Harbottle Castle, where her daughter Margaret Douglas had been born on the 15th of October. The queen remained at the castle till the Saturday following, when she proceeded to Brinkburn Priory. She was so weak that she could not bear horses in her litter, so Lord Dacre caused his servants to carry it all the way from Harbottle to Morpeth.¹ The little Lady Margaret who thus visited Cartington became the wife of Lennox, the mother of Darnley, and the grandmother of our James the First.

Three successive generations of Radcliffs—Sir Edward, sheriff in 1502; Sir Cuthbert, sheriff in 1528; and Sir George, sheriff in 1558—appear to have made Cartington their principal residence. The Border Survey of 1541 reports, that 'at Carttyngton is a good fortesse of 'two toures and other stronge houses of the Inherita'nce of Sir Cuthb' 'Ratelyffe knight and kepte in good repac'ons.'² On the 18th of November, 1601, Francis Radcliff of Dilston settled Cartington on his eldest daughter Mary's husband, Roger Widdrington.³ Their son, Sir Edward Widdrington of Cartington, was created a baronet on the 8th August, 1642. From his petition to Charles II. we learn that, in obedience to the late king's proclamation, he had left his dwelling in Northumberland at the approach of the Scottish army, losing by spoil and plunder £1,900. With his kinsman Lord Widdrington he raised at their own charge two thousand foot and two hundred horse to serve Lord Newcastle, as well as part of another brigade. After Marston Moor he was consequently banished, and his lands sequestered;⁴ while his wife was fined £400 for giving information to the king's party, and his chief house Cartington Castle, worth £8,000 (an enormous sum in those days), pulled down.⁵

Cartington Castle had stood a siege of two hours on the morning of Saturday the 1st of July, 1648, when the Royalist forces quartered in the neighbourhood allowed themselves to be shamefully surprised by a

¹ *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.*, vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 365.

² See above, p. 44.

³ *Royalist Composition Papers*, Series I. vol. 73, No. 53. P.R.O.

⁴ Cartington was sold by the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates to John Rushworth, esq., on 25th of April, 1654.—*Ibid.* No. 183.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1660-1661, p. 339.

forced march of the Roundheads from Chollerton. The tracts giving an account of this engagement are so rare, and their quaint contents have been so frequently misconstrued, that it is worth while to give them in their entirety. In the first tract, 'a Gentleman of quality' writes to his friend in London:—

'Sir,

'God is pleased to work wonders dayly; and when we least think
'of help, but rather expect a ruine, God then is pleased to step in and
'stay us, as may appear by this great victory God hath given to us
'unexpectedly; the manner of it was thus: The Scots were near the
'borders of England to joyn with Langdale, and those Forces that
'belonged to Northumberland and Bishopricks, who were now in
'Northumberland under the Command of Col. Grey and Sir Richard
'Tempest, being in number about twelve hundred Horse, who lay
'together expecting to joyn with six hundred Foot that were to march
'out of Barwick that day they were taken, & had not they then bin
'taken they had within 3 hours bin upon their march to meet the
'Foot toward Barwik, being unwilling to engage without more
'Forces though they were twelve hundred and we but nine hundred:
'Our men very early on Saturday morning before break of day fell into
'their quarters, and after they had beaten up one of their quarters and
'taken them that were there prisoners, the souldiers then were so
'resolute that they rode Post to all the quarters round about where
'the Cavaliers were quartered, and took them in their beds, and their
'Horses at grass: only Cartington Castle, where Sir Richard Tempest
'was, stood out two hours, but we lost no men, only two horses killed:
'It wil much daunt the Scots joyning with *Langdale* and interrupt
'their present design, which was to march into England to engage the
'Forces with LAMBERT: I see it is good to leave all to God; when we
'think least God doth most: O that men would give the whole glory
'to God! The Commanders that are taken were the chief Actors in
'raising a new War in the North and bringing in the Scots. I have
'much more to write, but I am in haste, in providing entertainment
'for the prisoners, therefore say no more but give the glory to God.'⁶

⁶ *A true and perfect Relation of a Great Victory obtained by the Parliaments Forces in Northumberland Together with a List of all the Prisoners, Horse and Arms taken; with the surrender of Cartington Castle with all the Arms and Ammunition.* London, Printed by J. M. 1648 (King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. Golden number 375, tract 22).

The second tract is the official despatch from Sir Arthur Hesilrige, addressed 'To the Honourable, William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons,' and enclosing Colonel Lilburn's report of the affair, and a list of the captured cavaliers :—

' *Mr Speaker,*

' You have heard how *Langdale* retreated upon Major General '*Lamberts* approaching, and would not engage his Forces upon terms 'of advantage, resolving to preserve his Body whole to joyn with the 'Scots; and upon his retreat to Carlisle, he sent Colonel *Tempest* with 'Seven or Eight hundred of his Horse for to meet Colonel *Grey*, that 'was before that time kept up in Berwick by our Northumberland 'Horse, with the assistance of Major *Sandersons* two Troops: but upon 'Colonel *Tempests* coming into Northumberland, ours drew towards 'Newcastle, and Colonel *Grey* with his Forces from Berwick joyned 'with Colonel *Tempest* about Alnwick: I sent for the Bishoprick Regi- 'ment of Horse under Colonel *Wren*, to come into Northumberland 'to joyn with Colonel *Fenwick* (who commanded the Northumberland 'new raised Regiment) and Major *Sanderson*; I also mounted about 'One hundred of my Foot as Dragoons, and sent them to them: I writ 'also to Major General *Lambert*, letting him understand that the 'Enemy was joyned, and intreated him to send some assistance imme- 'diately to our forces: Upon Friday last, Col: *Lilburn* with three 'Troops of Horse, came to them to *Chollerton*, and that evening they 'marched towards the Enemy that lay about Easington, and Whit- 'tingham, and all along Cocquet water; and having marched all night, 'the next morning they fell into their quarters, the enemy having no 'Scouts out, and they fell so close in from Town to Town for about 'seven miles, that they suffered the enemy to take no Alarum: There 'are taken most of the considerable Gentlemen of Northumberland and 'Bishoprick, that were the very first beginners of this War, and incur- 'agers of the Scots to come into England, and at least Three hundred 'private Soldiers, and between 5 and 600 Horses, and good store of 'Arms, without the loss of one man of either side. I have inclosed a 'Letter sent to me from Col: *Lilburn*, in which you will see the 'Enemies intention, and have cause to give God the greater praise, 'That when the Enemy resolved, out of policy, not to fight, that God

‘ was pleased to give them up into our hands, without striking a stroke, and that to their everlasting shame. I have also sent you a List of the Commanders and Gentlemen that are taken: I beseech you do not apprehend that the work in the North is done, God having bestowed this great mercy upon us, for be assured the Scots are come very near the Borders, and *Langdale* is joyned with them, and their numbers will be far too great for what we are able to withstand in these parts, onely to God nothing is impossible. Some of the foot Soldiers of this Garison, and some of our new raised Horse ran away to the Enemy, and we have taken divers of them, and we intend to try them by a Counsel of War, unless you please to dispose otherwise of them; if so, we desire we may speedily know your pleasure; if not, they will be suddenly knit up: Col: *Grey* compounded at Goldsmiths Hall, and did take the Covenant, and so have some others, and there is not a man in the North of England that hath done you more mischief than Col: *Grey*: I shall take the best care I can to keep them safe in Tinmouth Castle till I know what your commands are; and you have now in custody your chieftest Enemies in Northumberland and Bishoprick, for the begining of this new War in the northern parts, and the taking of Berwick. I writ formerly to you, to intreat the House to take notice of the diligence, pains, and faithfulness of your few friends in Northumberland and Bishoprick, that have raised the Horse, and now I hope you will be pleased to grant it, for their service hath been very real and beneficial, both to you and the kingdom: I have one more favour to beg, That you will be pleased to keep Free-quarter out of the Garison of Newcastle, and then it will be serviceable to you upon all occasions. We know not what to do with the ordinary prisoners, I wish that some merchants had them for a Plantation, for we finde by experience, That very few that have fought against the Parliament do alter their opinions.

‘ Sir, Your humblest Servant,

‘ Newcastle, 2 Julii,

‘ 1648.

‘ ART: HESILRIGE.’

‘ *Honored Sir,*

‘ God having blest us with greater success then we expected this day upon the Enemy, I cannot but admire his goodness, and speak of

'it to others to the praise of his Name. Having sent my man to
 'acquaint you (in part) herewith, I have in the inclosed sent you a
 'more perfect Account of the quality and number of Prisoners taken,
 'having dissipated their whole Force in this County, that there did
 'not escape above Two hundred and fifty in a Body, besides those that
 'crept into hedges and hid themselves. This hath struck a very great
 'astonishment into the Gentlemen that are Prisoners, and they confess
 'it will much distract their Affairs, and alter the designs of *Langdale* :
 'He had sent them Orders to march towards Dumfreise, to joyn with
 'him and the Scots there; and had we but staid but three hours longer,
 'they had been gone, and we lost our labor. I cannot enlarge, being
 'very indisposed and weary at present, but intreat you to send a
 'messenger speedily to Major General *Lambert*, to acquaint him here-
 'with, because our Horses are much wearied: I shall leave that to Col:
 '*Fenwicks* further Relation, and subscribe my self,

'Your very humble Servant,

'Morpeth, July 1.

'ROBERT LILBURN.'

'1648.

'PRISONERS

'taken in *Northumberland*, July 1. 1648.

'Colonel *Edw: Grey*, Commander in chief of the Forces in Northum-
 berland.

'Col: Sir *Richard Tempest* Baronet, Commander in chief of the Forces
 for the County of Durham.

'Sir Francis Ratcliff.	Mr. Gowen Ratcliff.
'Baronet Ratcliffs Son.	Mr. Roger Ratcliff.
'Sir Gervas Lucas.	Mr. Ralph Bowes.
Mr. Geo: Bellasis.	Mr. John Wright.
'Mr. Geo: Collingwood	} Refor- madoes.
'Mr. John Collingwood	
'Lieut: Col: John Salkield.	Mr. Chholmley Wright.
'Lieut: Col: Ralph Millet.	Mr. Jo: Thornton.
'Lieut: Col: John Thornton.	Mr. William Hodgson.
'Major Tho: Salkield.	Mr. Charles Selby.
'Major Trollop.	Mr. John Thurlwel.
'Major Francis Brandling.	Mr. Will: Lampton.
	Mr. Shaw.
	Mr. Lancelot Selby.

' Capt. James Shafto.	Mr. Nicho: Woodhouse.
' Capt. Hugh James.	Mr. Antho: Trollop.
' Capt. Smith.	Mr. John Fitzwilliams.
' Capt. Fetherstonhaugh.	Mr. John Sison.
' Capt. Francis Carlton.	Mr. Tho: Hardy.
' Capt. Ascue.	Mr. John Watson.
' Capt. Ambrose Carlton.	Mr. Ralph Claxton.

' And many other Gentlemen, Lieutenants, and other Officers, and
' above Three hundred Soldiers, and between Five or Six hundred
' Horses, and many Arms.

' The Enemy was about One thousand two hundred. and we about
' Nine hundred. Six hundred Foot came out of *Berwick* this day, and
' was within eight miles of the Horse, to have joyned with them about
' *Calilah*."

The sequel to this miserable affair of Cartington was that over three hundred prisoners, many of them officers and gentlemen, had to trudge to Morpeth on foot, their horses having been already driven to Newcastle for sale by their captors. Sir Richard Tempest contrived to make his escape from Morpeth the next morning after breakfast.⁸

Sir Edward Widdrington's eldest son died in 1654, and after his own death Cartington appears to have become the property of Sir Edward Charlton of Hesleyside, who had married his daughter Mary. Sir Edward Charlton died in 1675, and the two widows, Dame Christina Widdrington and Dame Mary Charlton, continued to reside at Cartington for some years after, both their names appearing in the lists of recusants. Of the four daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Edward Charlton, Catherine, the youngest, married Sir Nicholas Sherburne of Stoneyhurst, and we find him living at Cartington at the end of the seventeenth century. On the brow of

¹ *A Letter from Sir Arthur Hesilrige of a Great Victory in Northumberland, &c.* '5 Julii, 1648. Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That these Letters and List be forthwith printed and published. H: Eleyngge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.' London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons, July 7, 1648 (King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. Golden number 375, tract 25).

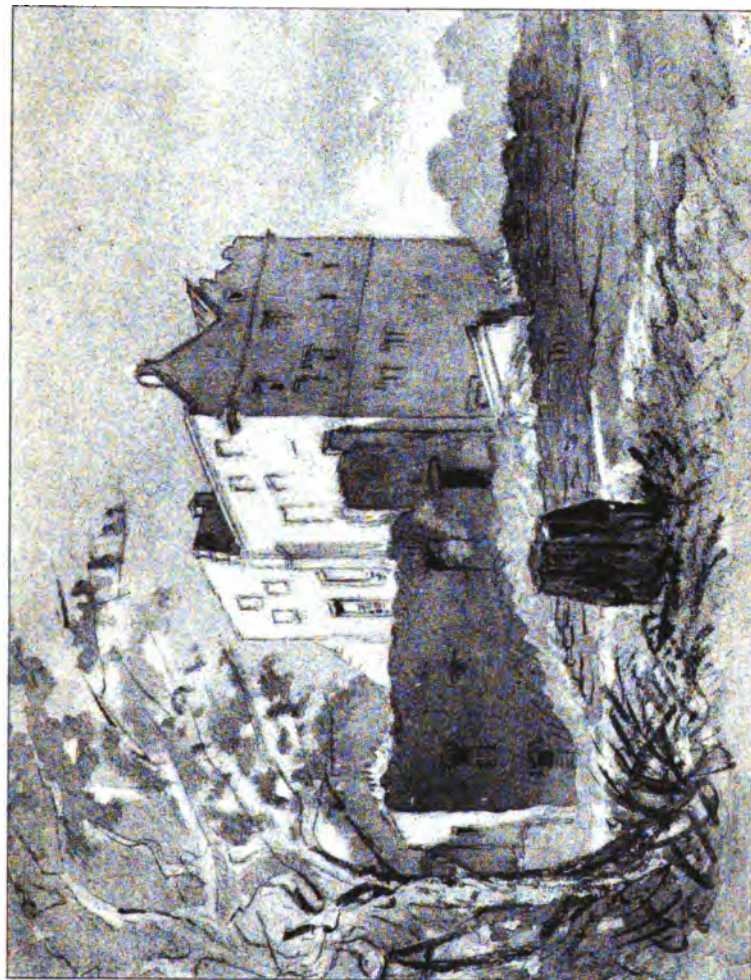
² *Packets of letters from Scotland, etc. brought by Post, July 11, 1648, in Reprints and Imprints, Historical*, vol. ii., M. A. Richardson, Newcastle, 1847. This letter from Major Sanderson, dated Newcastle, July 3, 1648, varies in some particulars from those given above, and, among other things, makes no mention of Cartington.

the hill to the west of the castle a weatherworn shield, with the arms of Sir Nicholas: *Quarterly 1 and 4 [Arg.] a lion rampant [vert]* SHERBURNE, 2 and 3 [*Vert*] *an eagle displayed [arg.]* BAILEY, over all *a shield of pretence charged with the badge of Ulster*, impaling *Quarterly 1 and 4 [Or] a lion rampant [gules]* CHARLTON, 2 and 3 [*Quarterly or and gules*] *a bend [sa.]* WIDDRINGTON is inserted in the east gable of the so-called Nunnery, an almshouse founded, it is said, by Dame Mary Charlton for four widows of her own faith. The crest has been a unicorn's head, and on the scroll below the third word of the motto *TANT QUE JE PUIS* still remains.⁹ Sir Edward Charlton's second daughter, Mary, married, it seems, a Talbot, who was killed at the siege of Buda in Hungary in 1686. Their son, John Talbot of Cartington, joined in the rising of 1715, and was taken prisoner at Preston, but subsequently escaped from Chester. Cartington afterwards became the property of the Alcocks and the Becks, and was sold in 1888 to Sir W. G. Armstrong of Craggsdale.

Till 1887 Cartington Castle was one of the most romantic ruins in the North of England. Round none other of equal importance did there linger such an air of absolute desolation. Four or five centuries in succession had left their special imprints on a wreck that was a speaking monument to the loyalty and the misfortunes of the series of ancient families who made it their home. The shattered fragment of the buttress-like stair-turret, the one prominent feature in the place, threatened to collapse at any moment; the vaults were choked with loose stones, and the only access to them was by crawling in on hands and knees at narrow openings; a crop of nettles had to be mown down before a clear view could be obtained of the arch of the north doorway, and it was evident to the most casual observer that the external base of the castle was buried several feet in *débris*.

Lord Armstrong nobly resolved to rescue Cartington from the destruction that had overtaken it and to lay bare its architectural history by systematic excavations. In order that nothing might be

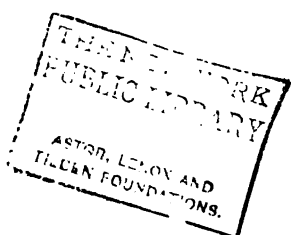
⁹ Underneath this shield is a widow's lozenge with *Quarterly 1 and 4, a lion rampant guardant*; 2 and 3, *an eagle displayed*. Sir Nicholas Sherburne died in 1717, and his wife must therefore have retained some connection with Cartington after that date.



"THE PHOTO" BRUCE & CO. LONDON

CARTINGTON CASTLE, FROM THE S.E. Circa 1780.

This Plate (from a drawing in the collection of the Society) contributed by SIR W. G. ARMSTRONG.



done that could impair the historical and architectural interest of the fabric, he entrusted the direction of the work to Mr. C. C. Hodges.

The 'good fortress' of Cartington, it will be remembered, consisted, according to the Border Survey of 1541, of two towers and other strong houses. These two towers conjoined form the main block. The eastern tower is a rectangle measuring externally 45 feet 7 inches along its east and 31 feet 10 inches along its north wall. Judging from a view taken in about 1780,¹⁰ it was originally four storeys high, and its eastern angles were capped by rounded bartizans, the lower stones of which, with carved monsters on their under sides, are at present lying on the garden-wall of the farm-house. The western tower extended 37 feet, almost in a line with the south wall of the eastern tower, and 41 feet 7 inches along its west wall. The plain base of the eastern tower, on the north and east sides, points to its being of earlier construction; and the more elaborate base of the south side, similar as it is to the base round the western tower, shows that the erection of the latter was already determined on when this side was built, or that this side was refaced at the time of its erection. The western tower rose a storey above the eastern, and near their junction on the south front is the unique buttress-like stair-turret already mentioned, the west half of which forms a quarter-octagon, the east a quarter-hexagon. The ground rises so much on the west that the basement is on that side considerably below its level.

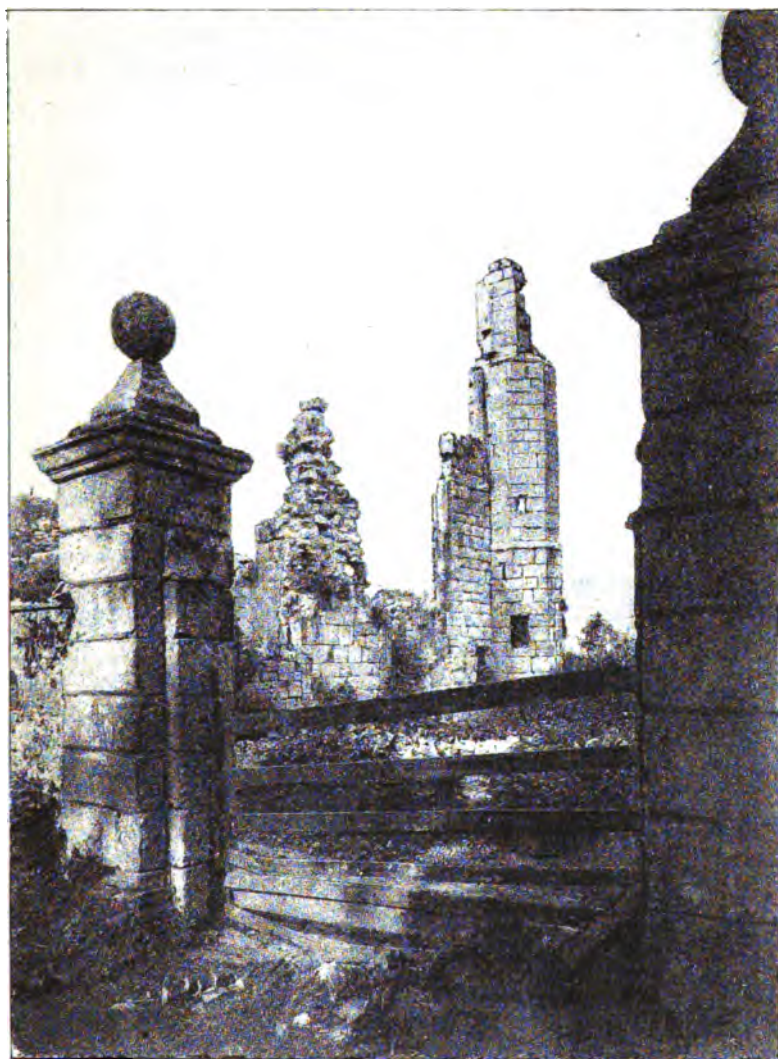
On the south of these combined towers, as the recent excavations show, a paved courtyard about 67 feet wide extended 57 feet in front to an enclosing wall that does not seem to have been built for purposes of defence. At the south-east corner of this courtyard is a small tower or lodge with a vaulted basement and a garderobe above. A range of buildings, of probably Elizabethan date, stretched along the east side of the courtyard, connecting this corner tower with the main block. Some part of this corner tower and the outer face of these Elizabethan buildings have now been rebuilt with fourteenth-century ashlar.

¹⁰ This view (here reproduced) is pasted into a scrapbook of *Sketches by G. B. Richardson*, Northumberland and Durham, p. 41, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle. A charming steel engraving of the castle from the south-west, by T. H. Hair, will be found in their scrapbook of *Prints*, p. 32. A small vignette taken from the latter appears in Richardson's *Borderer's Table Book*, Historical Division, vol. i, p. 271.

The question at once suggests itself whether this courtyard was inside the medieval fortress, or whether it was of later formation and without the regular defences. This it is not easy to determine, since the main building had two principal doors, one leading into this court, and another immediately opposite to it opening to the north, on which side there is also a paved yard with a well and foundations of strong buildings of medieval character beyond it. One thing is evident, and that is that unless there was an opening in the south wall of the front court no horse or carriage could reach the main south door, the ground on the west being so very much higher than the level of the court, which, indeed, must always have been commanded from that quarter. After the Restoration a new door, with a four-centred head and mouldings like those of the east entrance of Callaly Castle,¹¹ was inserted over the arch of the original south door, and an external flight of steps carried up to it from the court. Not very long afterwards, in the early part of last century, the court appears to have been filled in with earth to the level of the first floor, and a gateway, with two handsome piers surmounted by round stone balls,¹² was erected on the west side of it, thus enabling any one to drive up to the new front door. It is possible that the chief alterations in the main building were the work of Sir Nicholas Sherburne and his widow, and that their arms were originally upon the walls of it, and were subsequently inserted in the gable of the almhouse in order that they might be better preserved. The jambs and sill of the seventeenth-century doorway, which fell out when the soil was removed, are replaced by a Victorian shield and straight motto-riband set in medieval ashlar-work. The remains of the flight of steps have been left, which may cause some perplexity to those who do not know that the doorway has been removed. The fragments of the seventeenth-century windows in the south front, which has here been rebuilt with medieval ashlar, disappeared some time ago. No lover of the beautiful should fail to admire the traceried windows that have been inserted in

¹¹ The date 1676 appears on the sun-dial at Callaly, which, together with the arms of Clavering impaling Middleton, forms an integral part of the east façade. The initials of Ralph Clavering, the owner of the Castle at that time, and of his wife Mary are carved on the doorway itself.

¹² These balls have lately been broken off by a falling tree, and are now lying in a corner of the courtyard. A photograph of the gateway in 1884 is here reproduced.

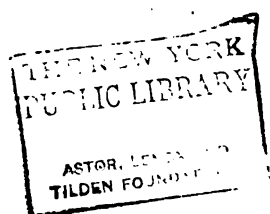


J. P. GIBSON. PHOTO.

"100 PHOTO" SPEARS & CO. LONDON.

CARTINGTON CASTLE. FROM THE S.W.
1884.

THIS PLATE CONTRIBUTED BY SIR W. G. ARMSTRONG.



it. The heads of the two eastern ones are ancient, but there is no authority for their position. The head of the western one is a restoration of a shattered head found beneath its site.

The original south door of the main building had a label above it. The late restoration has served to bring out the deep mouldings of the arch not visible before. Between it and an inner door a straight stair probably led up on the right to the first floor, but the present broad steps are new. On either side of the passage which terminates in the north door were vaults arched from east to west. The two vaults on the west side are 22 feet 6 inches long from north to south. The first one is 13 feet 3 inches wide and has an external door in the north wall, and a mullioned window and fire-place in the south. The inner vault, 11 feet 6 inches wide, has a mullioned window in the south wall and a fire-place in the north, while a wide newel-stair, its well about 9 feet in diameter, ascends in a projecting turret at the north-west corner. A remarkable flying buttress of very massive construction, 18 feet long by 9 feet 5 inches wide, has been built against the north wall of this western tower.

On the opposite side of the through passage is a vault leading to the basement of the eastern tower. The arch of the entrance doorway of the latter is somewhat of an ogee form, and is provided with bar-holes. The vault into which it opens would be about 18 feet broad and 20 feet long, if a square of between 9 and 10 feet had not been taken off its south-east corner in order to form a dungeon, with which, however, it has no communication. Originally the only access to this dungeon, which measures 7 feet by 6 feet 5 inches inside, was through a man-hole in the roof, but a door was subsequently broken through the southern wall into what is now a sort of mural passage, with an external four-centre-headed door immediately opposite. The shaft of a latrine comes down in an inexplicable fashion at the east end of this passage, but the whole of this south-east angle of the tower has been at some previous time tampered with. One of the ashlar stones has 'E W 1654' cut upon it. This was probably the year in which Sir Edward Widdrington was permitted by Cromwell to return to Cartington, and he would then naturally do something to repair his ruined home. The stone in question was found buried when the courtyard was cleared and has been built into the wall to preserve it.

In the south-west corner of the main vault a wheel-stair with steps about three feet wide ascends in the buttress-turret to the first floor only. An octagonal stone sink is placed in the angle formed by the east wall and the north wall of the dungeon, while in the north-east corner is the very remarkable well with steps down into it. Near the well in the north wall is a door into the vault that occupies the remainder of the basement. This vault is 10 feet 6 inches wide. A narrow, straight stair goes up in the thickness of the north wall to a room on the first floor that was probably the kitchen. Of this very little is left. A slit in the west wall has been diverted in an oblique direction when the western tower was added. The well comes up to this floor in the partition wall between this room and the one to the south of it, which may have been the buttery. This could also be approached by the newel-stair coming up from the vault below at its south-west corner.

Three doors—one from the supposed kitchen and two from the room adjoining it—did at one time or other communicate with the first floor of the western tower, but whether these were the stereotyped three doors at the low end of a medieval hall there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to determine. It is in the south-east corner of this floor that the present wide stair from near the south entrance emerges. In the same corner a widened door gives access to the newel-stair that wound its way to the roof inside the buttress-turret so often mentioned. It is curious that it has purposely had no connection with the stair below it which comes out on the east side. Scarcely anything more that is original remains of the first floor of the western tower except a closet in the south wall, the doorway of which has a good flat-pointed head of one stone.

The description of a stronghold which has undergone so many changes as Cartington cannot be expected to be very lucid or trustworthy.

STATIONS.



J. P. GIBSON, PHOTO.

THE PHOTO, SUPPLIED BY G. LONDON.

DUDDO TOWER, FROM THE S.E.

1884.

DUDDO TOWER.

THE ruin of Duddo, in Northumberland, a landmark for miles around, stands on a precipitous crag that rises three hundred feet above the sea level out of the plateau on the east side of the Till.

The northern portion of the tower has quite disappeared, but the plan seems to have been more or less of a square, measuring about 36 feet outside, with a rectangular stair-turret, 13 feet 7 inches broad, projected about 10 feet from the south wall, at a distance of 16 feet 6 inches from the south-west corner of the tower. The south wall of this turret is rent from top to bottom. On the east face of it, in the re-entering angle, is the entrance, a four-centred door of rude construction, with two bar-holes on the right. The recess under a rough arch over the door was no doubt for an armorial panel. A round angle turret is corbelled out above the entrance. This is entered off the main wheel-stair at the third floor level. The south wall of the tower to the west of the entrance turret contains two square-headed windows.

James IV. of Scotland rased and cast down a tower at Duddo when he invaded England in the autumn of 1496.¹ Only a piece of this tower was standing in 1541, and it had not been repaired before 1561, when half of it is stated to have been left with a barnkin round it. The present ruin, which is built of rubble, exhibits none of the characteristics of a tower of the fifteenth century. The angle turret is indeed an evident sign of late sixteenth-century construction. Like Doddington and Coupland, the existing tower was very probably built subsequent to the report of the Border Commissioners in 1584.

William Clavering of Duddo, the third son of Robert Clavering of Callaly, was slain in a skirmish with the Scots at the end of November 1586, and being 'verie craysed and sore wounded in his bodye' made a nuncupative will.² A large old barn-like building was standing near the tower on the very verge of the rock in 1821, and was removed about thirty years afterwards.³

¹ See above, p. 38. By 1561 the Warbeck raid had been to a great extent forgotten, and the destruction of Duddo was said to have taken place 'at Flodden field'; see above, p. 53.

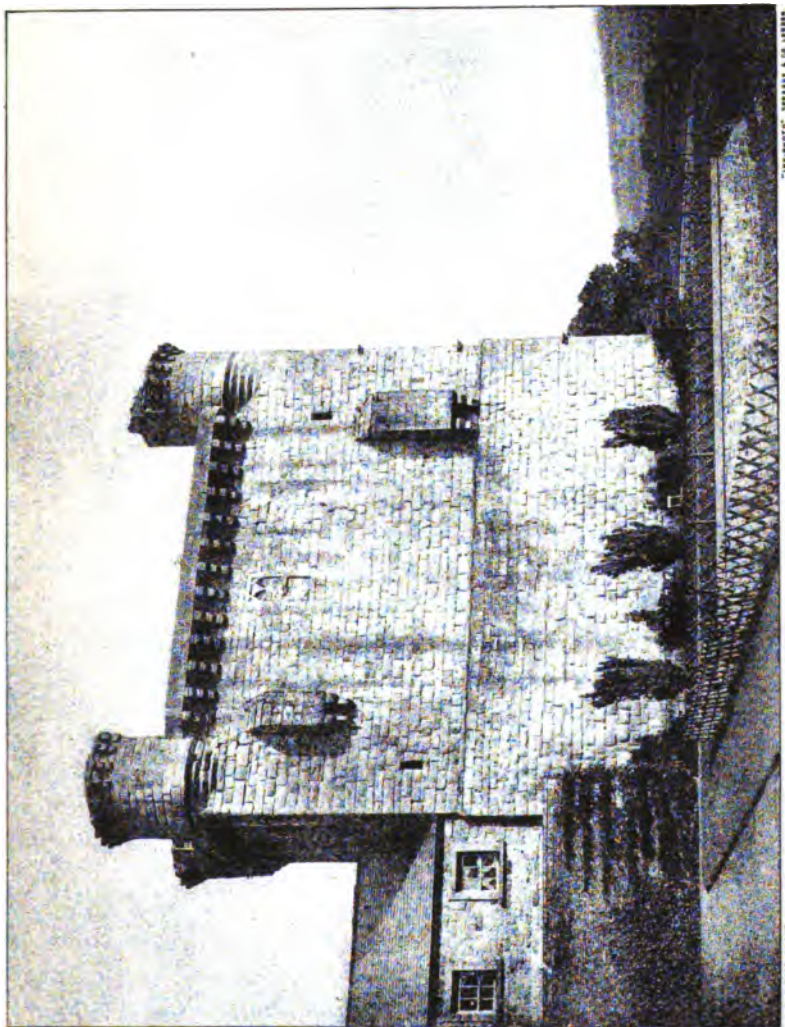
² *Wills and Inventories*, ii. Surtees Soc. Publ. 38, p. 51.

³ Raine, *North Durham*, p. 317.

CHIPCHASE CASTLE.

THE old tower of Chipchase stands in a charming park overlooking some of the finest scenery on the North Tyne. Although unoccupied for many generations the building is in a good state of preservation, thanks to a modern hipped roof of grey stone slates. The plan is a simple parallelogram, measuring externally at the base 52 feet 6 inches from north to south, by 37 feet 8 inches from east to west. The height to the eaves of the roof is 51 feet 6 inches, and the heavy corner bartizans rise some 12 feet higher. The entrance is near the south end of the east face under an archway that joins the later manor-house to the tower without there being any internal communication between them. The plastered frame-work of the floor of a small room in the entresol of the house comes down below this archway and cuts off the upper portion of the entrance doorway, thus preventing a proper view being obtained of its fine proportions. The pointed arch of the doorway is very flat. In front of the door itself are the grooves of the famous oak portcullis,¹ about 6 feet wide, that has become imbedded in the masonry above. Two strong sliding bars, the upper one 7 inches square and the lower somewhat stouter, secured the door on the inside. The basement is occupied by a vault 34 feet 8 inches long and 15 feet 9 inches broad, with a rather flat barrel roof rising to the height of about 13 feet, the north end of which is pierced by a manhole. This vault is entered by a large square-headed door, 3 feet 10 inches wide and 6 feet 4 inches high, immediately opposite the main entrance. The passage between them is covered with immense stone flags, the use of which in this way is one of the especial features of the tower, the whole masonry of which is of magnificent proportions. On the left, high up in the wall, is a semi-circular recess, while on the right a wheel-stair with 8½ inch risers ascends to the roof in a 6 feet 6 inch well, communicating directly with the first, second, and third

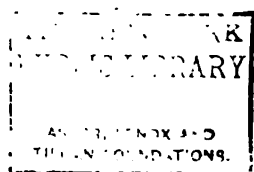
¹ The portcullis, similarly imbedded, above the postern gate at Alnwick Castle does not pretend to be authentic. Mr. Hartshorne vouches for the genuineness of the Chipchase example.—*Proc. Arch. Inst. Newcastle*, 1852, ii. p. 75.



CHIPCHASE CASTLE, FROM THE N.

1884.

This Plate contributed by HUGH TAYLOR, Esq.



floors. A little below the first floor level a room on the left, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 7 feet 8 inches, with a semi-circular recess 1 foot 9 inches in diameter in its west wall, leads to the narrow chamber from which the portcullis was worked. The greatest width of this irregularly shaped chamber is only 2 feet 7 inches. It is now 6 feet 6 inches high and 6 feet 10 inches long. Remains of the north side of the portcullis still protrude at the far end. The oak bars that form the grate have been about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, with $7\frac{1}{2}$ inch squares left open between them. Rather low down in the wall near the centre of the portcullis is a slit for light, and on either side of it a semi-circular hole 8 inches in diameter at the top and 3 inches in radius to the bottom, sloping and contracting inwards. These holes are 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart, and may have been of use in raising the portcullis or sustaining it when raised.

The average length of the room on the first floor is 36 feet, the average width 16 feet 10 inches. The darkness of it was made visible by two small slits in widely splayed recesses in the east and south walls, which are here 8 feet thick. In the north-west corner, at 3 feet 2 inches above the floor level, is a very remarkable recess 2 feet 6 inches deep, 4 feet long, and 1 foot 10 inches high, the two pointed openings of which have a plain round moulding with a keel-like fillet down the centre. It has been suggested that this was an oven, without a flue, heated by charcoal.² The fire-place is near the centre of the west side. The head is of a single stone supported on corbels, and the wall above it bulges out so as to form a hood. Ranges of double corbels have supported beams laid longitudinally along the walls to carry the floor above. The height of this very gloomy room, that possibly served for a kitchen, was about 9 feet.

The hall on the second floor occupied the same floor space as the room below it, but was 3 feet higher. In the east wall, to the left of the entrance off the wheel-stair, is an oblong aumbry, and beyond it a very noble window-recess, the roof being formed by huge flags 4 feet long, supported on four courses of obliquely canted corbelling. The window itself is of two lights with pointed heads. A door in the

² This has been suggested to Mr. Thomas Taylor from the recess being exactly like those still in use in Italy for the purpose. The present detailed description of Chipchase Tower is largely due to the kind assistance of Mr. Taylor and the Rev. G. Rome Hall.

north side of this recess leads into a small oratory 12 feet 2 inches long and 4 feet 6 inches wide in the thickness of the east wall, which is continued at the far end about 4 feet square in the thickness of the north wall of the tower. In front of the small east window, which has single cusping and a groove for glass, a slab about 4 feet long is let into the wall.³ This may have been an altar, though no dedication crosses can now be made out. In the wall to the right of it is a small square hole with what looks like the fragment of a broken piscina, and above this a bracket for an image. To the left is a similar bracket, and another small pointed window in the north wall. An oblong opening 3 feet 7 inches long and 2 feet 1 inch high is set slightly on the skew opposite the altar slab, as if to enable those in the hall better to follow the service in the oratory. In the north-west corner of the hall is a small mural chamber 3 feet 8 inches wide, that continues for 7 feet 4 inches in the west wall. Near the centre of the latter is a square aumbry, and further on the fire-place, now built up. A large window-recess at the south end of the hall communicates with a mural passage, which after turning the south-west corner terminates in a latrine thrown out on corbels. The south-east corner contains a charming little mural chamber about 7 feet 6 inches square, entered by a door only 5 feet high and 18 inches wide. The roof converges on corbelling from all four sides to a space 4 feet square, which is covered with great flags. In the west wall is a plain square fire-place.

The third and uppermost floor is much the highest, and is slightly larger owing to the walls being set back about 3 feet at the ends, and half that at the sides. The rows of single corbels on its side walls have evidently carried posts and struts for the support of the beams of the roof, but instead of there being corbels for this purpose at the angles, a pair of them have been placed along each of the end walls, so that the beams there could rest on the posts alone without struts being necessary. The fire-place in the west wall has, like that on the second floor, been built up. This wall also contains

³ The weather-moulding above this window on the outside terminates in a finial, which no doubt originally consisted of the usual bunch of foliage, but which is now worn down to the shape of a chalice. The tower really fronts the south-east, and it is in regard to this window that the wall in which it is placed is called the east, and not the south wall.

the recess of a square-headed, two-light window of Decorated character,⁴ the tracery of which is not pierced. A mural chamber in the south-west corner is approached through the recess for a slit on the other side of the fire-place. Another mural passage turning the north-west corner to a pendent wardrobe on the west wall. The mural chamber in the north-east angle should not extend along the east wall so as to be above the altar slab of the oratory on the second floor, if it be really such, for there was a strong objection to any room being above an altar.

The wheel-stair terminates in an isolated square turret. The old stone roof over the tower walls is very perfect. The slabs are about 6 feet long and 20 inches broad, every alternate one being sunk and provided with a rim at the low end so as to collect the water into spouts which project a foot between the corbels of the machicolations. The outside line of the battlements, which were originally almost 6 feet high, is carried out on these corbels 2 feet over the walls. Each corner of the tower had a machicolated turret, but only the tops of the south-east and north-west ones could be reached by external steps. They all contain rectangular guard-rooms, measuring about 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet. The north-west turret has a latrine.

The manor-house, built by Cuthbert Heron, to the south-east of the tower in 1621, is the finest example of Jacobean architecture in Northumberland. The front has two short wings and a square porch with semi-octagonal windows on the floors above it. Above the entrance is the Heron shield, charged with three herons, and the crest of a heron under an oak tree. In the pediments of the side-shafts are two panels, the one representing a bird, of which it can only be said that it is not a heron, with a palisade or faggot behind it, the other an ostrich-like heron in front of oak branches. On the highest pinnacle of the porch turret is seated a stone bear that seems to have once held a staff or some such thing in its clasped paws. The cornices both of the original wings and of the semi-circular windows thrown out from them at a later date are surmounted by similar beasts holding the shields of various northern families. The proportion of bears among them is so

⁴ Mr. Longstaffe remarks the resemblance of this window to those in the aisles of Darlington church.—*Memoir on Chipchase Castle*, by Rev. G. Rome Hall, F.S.A. (from the *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham*, vol. v. 1877, p. 5).

large that the motto, *Be war the Bar*, is all that is wanting to make us believe that we are at the Tully-Veolan of Waverley.⁵ Many of the shields are so weather-worn that their charges are lost. Among those easily made out are the chevron and indented chief of THORNTON,⁶ held by a lion, the six annulets of MUSGRAVE⁷ and the hurts and bars of CARNABY,⁸ both supported by bears, and a shield with three birds, very unlike herons, maintained by a bull.⁹

The windows of the comparatively narrow wing between the front part of the manor-house and the old tower looked at one time into the small courtyard in the centre of the pile. They were first converted into sash windows and then ultimately built up. The present windows all face the Tyne, and in order to add to the symmetry of this, the south-west front, six false sash windows were inserted in the wall of the tower with neo-classical string-courses at each floor level. The lower courses of masonry round the central courtyard have the appearance of medieval work, as though they might possibly be the remains of an earlier manor-house.

Chipchase after the Conquest formed part of the great *enclave* of the Umfreville barony of Prudhoe, that stretched along the left bank of North Tyne, while on the right bank was the franchise of Tynedale, held by the kings of Scotland. Indeed, the Lisles, who held Chipchase under the Umfrevilles in the thirteenth century, had to obtain permission from the Scottish kings before they could perfect their mill-dam on the river.

⁵ It is to the presence of this assemblage of bears that 'Sir Reginald,' whose ghost was supposed to haunt the tower in the early part of this century, doubtless owes his modern surname of Fitz-Urse. Though the story of Sir Reginald cannot be regarded as a genuine historical tradition, it would be very interesting if the memory of Sir Reginald Carnaby, the mortal enemy of the Herons, had survived under this form at Chipchase. Any fanciful tampering with our heritage of folk lore is much to be regretted.

⁶ John Heron of Chipchase married Mary daughter of Roger Thornton of Netherwitton, in the reign of Elizabeth.—Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II. i. p. 318.

⁷ John Heron of Chipchase married Margaret daughter of Sir Edward Musgrave, in the last years of Henry VIII.

⁸ Cuthbert Heron himself married Anne Carnaby of Halton.

⁹ As John Heron of Chipchase married Jane Ridley in 1491, one would have expected the bull, which is especially a Ridley beast, to have held the Ridley arms, *gu. a chevron between three goshawks arg.*, but there is no trace of a chevron. An account of similar single supporters of shields on the façade of Montacute House, removed from Clifton Maybank, may be seen in a paper in the *Transactions of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, N.S. xii. p. 101.

On Thursday, the 11th of September, 1348, Sir Robert de Lisle of Chipchase, sold his rights of being the guardian of Cecily, daughter of John de Lisle, on whom he had entailed the reversion of the manor, and of giving her in marriage, to Sir William Heron of Ford, on condition that her husband should be one of the latter's three sons, William, John, or Walter.¹⁰ Whether Cecily exercised any choice in the matter or not, it was Walter Heron, the youngest of the three, who obtained her hand. On the 11th of the following month Sir Robert de Lisle formally conveyed all his rights in Chipchase to Sir William Heron.¹¹

Chipchase Tower is first mentioned, so far as we know, in the list of 1415, when it was in the possession of Alexander Heron.¹² On the 6th of June, 1428, he assigned the manor, tower, and town of Chipchase to Sir John Bertram and Sir John Widdrington upon trust.¹³ In 1541 Chipchase is described as 'a fair tower and a manor of stonework joined thereunto of the inheritance of John Heron of the same esquire, kept in good reparations.'¹⁴ This clearly shows that there was a manor-house in addition to the tower before that erected in the reign of James I. Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker reported that Chipchase and Simondburn were the fittest places for the keeper of Tyndale to live in. Fifty horsemen were to be in constant attendance on him. The house of Chipchase was then in tolerable good repair for the purpose. They recommended also that a bridge should be built over the Tyne 'under the town of Chipchase,' so that the inhabitants of both banks might easily be assembled whenever the keeper had need of their services.¹⁵ The Herons sold Chipchase to the Allgoods at the end of the seventeenth century, and it passed from the latter to the Reeds in 1752. Mr. R. W. Grey of Backworth,¹⁶ for whom it had

¹⁰ *Lansdowne MS.* (Brit. Mus.) 326, fo. 49 d. 'Out of Mr. Heron of Chipches Evidences 25 Aug. 1639'; *Dodsworth MS.* (Bodl. Lib.) XLIX. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 326, fo. 42, 4.

¹² See above, p. 18.

¹³ *Lansdowne MS.* 326, &c.

¹⁴ See above, p. 47.

¹⁵ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 235-236; Sir Robert Bowes mentions in 1551 that as the king had no house for the government of the North Tyne district, George Heron, then Keeper of Tynedale, used his own house of Chipchase for the purpose, which was a very convenient place.—*Ibid.* p. 226.

¹⁶ Two stones with the initials *GM* and the date 1615, and the arms of Grey, *barry on a bend a roundle*, with the crest of a coronet and demi-swan, and the motto *DE BON VOULOIR SERVIR LE ROI* are lying in the tower vault. These probably came from Backworth Old Hall.

been purchased during his minority, sold it in 1861 to Mr. Hugh Taylor, the present owner.

The tower was probably built in the latter half of the fourteenth century, after the general cessation in Northumberland of the licences to crenellate, which give us the dates of foundation of so many earlier towers and castles. The general character of the masonry, the arch of the entrance door, the little east window of the oratory, and the west window of the third floor, are all of them important evidences in favour of this view. The great angle bartizans closely resemble those of Belsay Tower, which there is reason to believe was not built before 1371.¹⁷ The only point brought forward in support of an earlier date for the building of Chipchase is the fact of the arches of the small aumbry or oven on the first floor being pointed, but the day is past for relegating every round arch to the eleventh century and every pointed one to the thirteenth, and the moulding on the arcade in question is not of an early character. The opinion of church architects is of little moment in forming an opinion on the chronology of fortified houses, more especially in northern parts.

A good deal of the old thin plaster still remains on the inner walls. In the principal rooms this has been painted with a rough foliage pattern in dark blue or green. This work is probably not older than the reign of Henry VIII.

¹⁷ The stately tower of Widdrington, pulled down about 1775, also had bartizans of this description.

APPENDIX (I).

BISHOP PERCY AND WARKWORTH.

SINCE note 60, p. 96, was written, Mr. Bosworth, the librarian at Alnwick Castle, has been engaged in sorting the correspondence of Bishop Percy. From among this we have now recovered the actual materials on which the ballad of the *Hermit of Warkworth* was founded, besides many interesting memoranda relating to the history of the castle:—

On the 5th of August, 1767, Dr. Percy wrote from Alnwick Castle a description of the Hermitage to Lyttleton, bishop of Carlisle, who must have been a man of much archaeological discernment:—
 ‘At the east end,’ he says, ‘is a handsome plain altar, to which
 ‘the Priest ascended by one step: above the altar is a little nich
 ‘which probably received a crucifix.¹ Over the nich is still seen
 ‘the faint outline of a Glory.² . . . Near the small Vestibule . . .
 ‘is a winding stair-case, cut in the Rock, and leading thro’ a small
 ‘arched Door-case of the same up to the top of the Cliff, where
 ‘was the Hermit’s Orchard, &c,³ and at the bottom of the Hill (was
 ‘his Garden where a Gooseberry bush is still extant—M^r Lawson⁴
 ‘remembers Cherrie Trees at the top of the Cliff) are still scattered
 ‘flowers and shrubs that have sown themselves ever since the original
 ‘plantation. . . . The Tradition of the Country is, That this was
 ‘the Retreat of a⁵ Northumberland Warrior, who having left the
 ‘Mistress of his heart by some unexpected Stroke, with her lost all
 ‘Relish for the World, and retired to this solitude to spend the
 ‘remainder of his Days in devotion for her Soul, and in erecting this
 ‘little mausoleum to her Memory. Certain it is that the Figure of
 ‘Cenotaph has much the appearance of a woman, and therefore may
 ‘well pass for the effigie of his beloved Lady.’

¹ ‘cr the Pix,’ erased.

² ‘Madonna’s head,’ erased.

³ ‘little Garden,’ erased.

⁴ The Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, vicar of Warkworth, 1732-1777.

⁵ ‘young,’ erased.

On the back of this draft letter Dr. Percy has made these notes:—

‘The Bp. of Carlisle is of opinion (from the Stile of the intermediate window, between the Chapel and Antechapel) that the ‘Hermitage of Warkworth c^d not be earlier than the time of Ric^d II. ‘or the age of Hotspur.

‘Rev^d M^r Lawson says there is a Tradition that the Hermit of ‘Warkworth was the same *de Bertram* who founded Brinkburn Abbey ‘and Brinksaugh Cell, and that it was to expiate the murder of a ‘Brother—But William⁶ de Bertram founded Brinkburn temp. Hen. ‘1st. He therefore lived too early for the date of the Hermitage. ‘It might be one of the same name in a later age. This might ‘occasion their Persons to be confounded.—The cenotaph has a bull’s ‘head at the feet, this is the crest of the Widdrington Family.—The ‘figure lying along is that of a woman, a weeping attendant is at the ‘feet and beside the feet a bull’s head, at the shoulders is a little angel.

‘N.B.—Bemerton was gov^r of Warkworth Castle when the Scots ‘took it. The Sarcasm of the Scots governor: that if he had fought ‘as well as he danced it had not been taken.’⁷

Dr. Percy was at Warkworth on the 12th of August, 1767, and the next day the vicar forwarded to him John Clarke’s letter of 27th April, 1672,⁸ with these few lines of explanation:—

‘Rev^d S^r

‘About an Hour after I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday at Warkworth, the Inclosed Letter by accident fell into my ‘hand, by which you’ll see the Date of the Dismantling of the Castle ‘of Warkworth, and by whom, and for what Purpose.

‘On the Back of the Letter you’ll see certain numbers⁹ set down, ‘which I do imagine were to express the number of carriages employ’d ‘in carrying the Lead and Timber from the Castle.

⁷ ‘John,’ erased. ‘W^m Bartraham esq. was retained (by the Earl of Northumberland) for the term of his life to serve in Peace or War at 20 marks per annum by letters of warrant dated 6 Dec. 1440, and was also appointed master-forester of Rothbury at 2^d a day for life.’—Bp. Percy’s MSS. from *Syon Evidences*, C. III. No. 1.

⁸ This was probably in 1644, about the same time as the seizure of Coquet Island. So far as is known, there is no mention elsewhere of this siege of Warkworth.

⁹ See above, page 128.

⁹ Dr. Percy has made the note, ‘These Numbers were as under, viz.:—

3	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	4	1	3	6	2	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	6		176	96		212
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	---	--	-----	----	--	-----

'As I promised the person, from whom I got Clark's Letter, to
'Return it to him, you'll be pleas'd S^r at your Leisure to Remit it to
'me, and I am with due Respect, Rev^d Sir, Your most Obed^t Serv^t
'WILFRID LAWSON.'

A few days later Dr. Percy jotted down the following notes:—

'Aug. 21. 1767 Mem. The Old Timber of Warkworth Castle
'was sold in 1610 for 28*li.*, as I have been informed by his Grace the
'present Duke of Northumberland, who copied it from an ancient
'Mem^{dum}. This I suppose was the Timber belonging to the West
'Tower, Old Hall &c in the outer Court. The Dungeon at that time
'was entire as appears from the Survey in 1616.

'The Rev^d M^r Gilfrid Lawson, who has been Vicar of Warkworth
'upwards of 40 years, and who succeeded his Father there¹⁰ tells me,
'that he hath often conversed with John Davidson who died in 1734
'aged 73,¹¹ whose grandmother had been House-keeper at Warkworth
'Castle, to Sir Ralph Brandling K^{nt} who then held the same under
'the Earl of Northumb^d.¹² M^r Lawson remembers the Castle more
'intire; the South-wall between the Corner Tower next the Sea and
'the Gatehouse tower, was taken down to repair some Cottages &c.
'within these 14 or 15 years.¹³ He also remembers a Pillar standing
'in the Hermitage between the Antechapel and Vestry, that had a
'very picturesque appearance. He also remembers some of the Cherry
'trees still remaining in the Orchard on the top of the Cliff. He also
'remembers Rays of Glory on the Wall over the Altar in the Chappel,
'and part of a Latin sentence near the Scutcheon over the Door on

¹⁰ The Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, M.A., said to have been of the Brayton Hall family, was presented to the vicarage of Warkworth by Nicolson bishop of Carlisle, in 1717. He was succeeded on his death in 1732 by his son, the Rev. Wilfrid Lawson, B.A., who died in 1777 at the age of 71.—*Warkworth Epitaphs*, by M. H. Dand and J. C. Hodgson, privately printed, Alnwick, 1890, p. 51. Dr. Percy's correspondent had, therefore, come to Warkworth as a boy of eleven, exactly fifty years previously.

¹¹ 'Feb. 2, Johannes Davinsson de Warkworth barna.'—*Warkworth Registers*, Burials 1734. Davinsson's descendants in the female line continued to farm Warkworth Barns till about 1876.—*Ex inf.* J. C. Hodgson.

¹² This ought probably to be Sir *Francis* Brandling, who died in 1641. 'Sir Francis Brandling of Warkworth Castle' conveyed a close at Newcastle to Anthony Norman and his son, 18th April, 1635.—Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. p. 330. See also proceedings respecting Warkworth fishery in 1634, in *Court of High Commission at Durham*, 34 Surt. Soc. Publ. pp. 103, 104.

¹³ This may explain the medieval ashlar-work in some buildings near the turn of the road to Amble.

'the North-side, viz. *Ecce mea* &c.¹⁴ He says the wood reached 'down to the water edge, but that part of it was cut up a few years 'agoe to repair the Mill-dam above.'

• Dr. Percy then gives what is apparently an extract from the Survey of 1616 which he referred to. It runs:—

'Sir Raphe Gray K ^t holdeth &c	} Acres. Roods. Perches.
'The Castle & Mote about the same, as it is paled	
'about with a Lowe Pale like unto the rest of the	
'Parke Pale, conteynyth	
5 0 17 $\frac{3}{4}$	

'There is noe Lodge now standing in the Parke saveing a House (as 'it is said) lately built by Sir Raphe Gray, and now suffered to decay. 'There are but a small Company of Raskell Deare¹⁵ in the Park, and 'the Pales for the most part wasted and gone, and the Parke lyeth 'open to the Ground adjoining, and the Cattell staff-hirdded.'

He then attempted to obtain some further particulars relating to the Hermitage from Mr. Thomas Butler, the duke's commissioner. From him he received a letter dated Northumberland House, 25th August, 1767, in which he says:—'If my Memory does not fail me, I 'have either seen a Copy of the Foundation of the Hermitage, and the 'Appointment to the Priest residing in it, or a particular History of 'the Occasion of its being founded, and of the first Hermit who 'resided in it, who if I am not mistaken was a Knight of the name of 'Shebburne or Seaburne, or some such Name; who devoted himself to 'that Life, as an Atonement for having accidentally slain some one, and 'dug the several different Appartments out of the Rock with his own 'Hands, and that afterwards the Lords of Warkworth endowed the 'Hermitage with some Lands for the Maintenance of the Hermit and 'a Cow, an Ass, and some Sheep or Goats for the Hermit's Use, with 'the Liberty of coming to dine at the Castle on certain Feasts and at 'other times. If I remember right I met with the Account either in

¹⁴ 'Ps. 42, 3,' erased. This inscription, close to the shield bearing the emblems of the Crucifixion, was no doubt, *Dederunt in escam meam fel: et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto*—'They gave me gall for my meat and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.'—Ps. lxix. 21. That from Ps. xlii. 3, *Fuerunt mihi lacryme mee panes die ac nocte*—'My tears have been my meat day and night'—was over the inner doorway on the south side of the chapel.

¹⁵ 'Rascal Deer,' according to Bailey's Dictionary, are lean deer.

'Dugdale's Monasticon, or in some of the MSS of the late Mr Wharburton, which are now in the hands of Mr Wallis of Simondburn, who is writing the History of Northumberland, and which by the by I wish you could get from him, whilst you are in the Country, as they are pretty voluminous and some of them valuable.'

On the 22nd of September Mr. Butler again wrote to Dr. Percy, who had returned to his vicarage of Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire: 'I am very glad that you have got Mr Payne to make the Admeasurements & Views of Warkworth Castle & the Hermitage, which I shall be very glad to see: & I believe you are right in what you say concerning the Founder of the Hermitage, but if you have got Wharburton's Collection from Mr Wallis, I believe we shall there find some curious particulars concerning it.'

The *Hermit of Warkworth* was published in 1770. The dedication of it to the duchess of Northumberland has a charm about it quite different to anything in the ballad itself:—

Down in a northern vale wild flowerets grew,
And lent new sweetness to the summer gale;
The Muse there found them all remote from view,
Obscured with weeds, and scattered o'er the dale.
O Lady, may so slight a gift prevail,
And at your gracious hand acceptance find?
Say, may an ancient legendary tale
Amuse, delight, or move the polish'd mind.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed description of Warkworth Hermitage. For that reference may be made to Mr. Hartsorne's volume.¹⁶ It may, however, be remarked that it is extremely improbable that the recumbent figure on the south side of the altar is a monumental effigy at all. Had it been such it would at the period in question have been made to face the east. Besides which there seems to be an aureole round the head, showing that it was the representation of a saint. The whole group may have been intended as a rude memorial of the Nativity, which would explain the presence of an ox's head. It may be remembered that already in the second century the grotto of Bethlehem was regarded by popular belief as the scene of the Nativity, and "according to the Latin tradition the

¹⁶ *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute, Newcastle, 1852, ii. pp. 212-228.*

wooden manger or 'præsepe,' now deposited in the magnificent Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and there displayed under the auspices of the Pope, every Christmas-day," was discovered in the southern of the two recesses which that rock-chapel contains, and that connected with this chapel by a long winding passage excavated in the limestone is the rough cell hewn out of the rock in which, in all probability, the great hermit St. Jerome lived and died.¹⁷ Considering, then, that in the Hermitage of Warkworth, built in honour of the blessed Trinity, the outer chapel was probably dedicated in an especial manner to the Second Person, the representation of the Nativity would be peculiarly appropriate from the analogy of the cave of Bethlehem. It is a curious illustration of the wide fame of this cave in the fifteenth century that when the roof of the basilica over it was last repaired, the rafters were formed of English oak presented by Edward IV.¹⁸

Bishop Percy had an opportunity of going hastily through the various account rolls of the receivers and bailiffs of the Percy estates in Northumberland that are preserved at Syon.¹⁹ The main object of his painstaking researches was to obtain reliable authority for his genealogy of the Percy family, and, above all things, to endeavour to prove the connection with the House of Alnwick of a certain John Percy of Worcester, from whom he derived his own descent.²⁰ A passion for pedigrees, however ridiculous it may be in itself, often leads in its side-issues to important historical discoveries. In this instance bishop Percy fortunately noted down many facts of the greatest interest in provincial history that he incidentally came across in his search for forgotten forefathers. The curious thing is that he appears never to have made subsequent use of such of these notes as were of general interest, and which might have given him the fore-

¹⁷ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 1864, pp. 439-442.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 141.

¹⁹ He overlooked among other things the interesting accounts of the erection of the Bond Gate at Alnwick in 1443-1450, see above, p. 21.

²⁰ Mr. Harthorne says, 'It is almost needless to say that the bishop was in no way allied to the noble family of the Percies, having been born of low parentage in the Cartway at Bridgenorth.'—*Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 219. This is far too dogmatic, and argues but little acquaintance with the vicissitudes noble families often endure. Bishop Percy might not be able to clearly establish his connection with the main line at Alnwick, but it requires much more research than even he ever gave to the subject to prove that he was in no way allied to it. Mr. Hartshorne must claim in this passage to have full knowledge of bishop Percy's lineage from before the Conquest.

most place among the historians of Northumberland. The following facts are all taken from his manuscript note-book, entitled *Miscellaneous from the Records of the Northumberland Family (part used)*, preserved in the library of Alnwick Castle, the references being to the documents in the muniment-room at Syon:—

The first mention of Warkworth Hermitage occurs in 1487, when Thomas Barker, chaplain of the chantry in Sunderland Park, as the hermitage was then called, made a payment to Thomas Sharpe, bailiff of Warkworth, for having the privilege of letting a cow and calf and a mare and foal graze in the park during both winter and summer.²¹ Barker had been appointed for life to celebrate mass in the chapel there by the fourth earl of Northumberland, who was murdered in 1489, with a yearly stipend of 66s. 8d.²² He was probably succeeded at the hermitage by John Greene, who is mentioned as the chaplain of 'Trinity Chapel, in Sunderland Park, in 1506, when he received 10s.²³ On the 26th of July, 1515, the fifth earl of Northumberland, then at Topcliff, conferred an annuity of five marks during pleasure, on Edward Slegg, the hermit in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, in Warkworth Park.²⁴ In 1531 the sixth earl, as is well known, appointed his chaplain, George Lancaster, to the hermitage, with an annual stipend of 20 marks and other privileges, for his natural life, but it is doubtful whether Lancaster was actually to live at the hermitage, since his duties were restricted to 'celebrayting and doing masse of requiem every weke.'²⁵ Two years later a person of the same name was bailiff of Warkworth,

²¹ 'Item, vs rec. de agistamento hyemali et estivali catalli infra parcum de Sundreland hoc anno ut paret per unam billam inde per Ricardum Makson ac. acquit. viz. pro agistamento unius equi magistri Radulfi Percy et j vacee cum vitulo et j eque cum pullo Thome Barker capellani Cantarie infra dictum 'parcum.'—*Comptus of Thomas Sharpe, bailiff of Warkworth*, Mich. 1486–Mich. 1487, C. VI. No. 4, b, fo. 159. The name Sunderland Park seems to be derived from the fact that it was 'sundered' or severed from the Castle and other parks by the Coquet.

²² 'Et in solucione facta Thome Barker Capellano divina celebranti infra 'Capellam infra parcum de Sundreland eidem per dominum nuper comitem ultimū defunctum concessa ad terminum vite per literas ipsius Dni patentes pro hoc anno, lxxvs viijd.'—*Comptus of John Harbotell, Receiver*. C. III. No. 4, a.

²³ *Syon Evidences*, C. VI. No. 4, f.

²⁴ 'Et in denariis per ipsum solutis Edwardo Slegge capellano heremite infra 'Capellam Sancte Trinitas infra parcum de Warkworth in plena solucione cuiusdam Annuitatis sue ad v. marcas per annum per Dominum nunc comitem 'sibi concessa durante beneplacito sicut paret per literas patentes datas apud 'Topelyf xxvj die Julij anno Regis Henrici viij. &c.—lxxvs viijd.'—*Comptus of George Swinburne, Receiver*, C. III. No. 5, a.

²⁵ See ante, p. 116.

but the payment of the hermit's annuity is duly entered in his accounts.²⁶ It seems hardly credible that the last hermit of Warkworth took advantage of the Reformation to adopt a secular vocation while still enjoying the revenues of what had become a sinecure.

Returning to the castle—the sum of 4*li* is entered in the accounts of 1443 as the stipend of John Brotherwyk, for celebrating divine service in the chapel of Warkworth Castle.²⁷ This shows that by that time there was another chapel in the castle in addition to that for which a chaplain was provided by Alnwick Abbey under the agreement of 1428. At Warkworth, 28th August, 1477, the fourth earl of Northumberland bestowed an annuity of 40*s.* a year during pleasure on George Swan, tumbler.²⁸ Three years later James Bell, one of his trumpeters, received 15*s.* a year.²⁹ The wages of John Bonour, gardener of the earl's garden at Warkworth, at that time were 26*s.* 8*d.* a year,³⁰ and Ralph Bayley, the castle-grieve, received the same.³¹ Robert Spencer, the porter of the outer gate, was paid 2*d.* a day.³² In 1489 a pair of organs was sent from Warkworth to Newminster, the cost of carriage amounting to 4*s.* 2*d.*³³

The Armoury of the castle was fitted up in 1533.³⁴ That same year charges were made for keeping wood in the College of Warkworth,³⁵ and for carrying it from there to the Hall of the Donjon.³⁶ Thomas Monk received 3*d.* for putting whins in the windows of the College.³⁷ All which goes to show that the idea of completing the College, as the cruciform chapel between the Great Hall and East Tower was called, had already been abandoned, and that it had been turned into a wood-house, the windows being roughly closed with furze-bushes. Some additional light is thrown on the origin of this intended college by the facts that the fifth earl of Northumberland ordered in 1519 ten marks a year to be paid to Matthew Makerell, abbot of Alnwick, for the support of a pedagogue or master to read and teach grammar and

²⁶ 'xiiij*li* v*js* viij*d* solutis Georgio Lancastre capellano Heremite in plena 'solucione feodi pro hoc anno.'—*Computus Georgii Lancastre prepositi Castri de Warkworth*, C. VI. No. 5 b. fo. 90.

²⁷ C. III. No. 1.

²⁸ C. III. No. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ 'In vadiis Johannis Bonour ortolani Gardini Dni de Warkworth xxv*js* viij*d* per annum.'—C. VI. No. 2, c. ³¹ *Ibid.* ³² 'Janitor porte exterioris.'—*Ibid.*

³³ C. III. No. 4, a.

³⁴ C. VI. No. 5, b. fo. 54.

³⁵ 'Pro custodia bosci in Collegio de Warkworth.'—*Ibid.* fo. 55.

³⁶ 'Thome Wilson viij*d.* pro portacione bosci extra Collegium usque Aulam del Dongeon.'—*Ibid.*

³⁷ 'Thome Monk iij*d.* pro impositiione de Whynnes in fenestris Collegij.'—*Ibid.*

philosophy to the canons and brethren living in his monastery,³⁸ and that in 1523, on account of the poverty of the house, which was in debt after the death of the last abbot, he contributed to the maintenance of six canons or brethren who should celebrate divine service in the abbey.³⁹ Mr. Hartshorne then was probably after all right in considering that the foundations of the college at Warkworth were laid by the fifth earl, Henry the Magnificent.⁴⁰ That it was never completed need not be wondered at when we remember the financial difficulties in which he became involved.⁴¹

The desertion of Warkworth seems to have commenced when Robert Bayle carted away divers tables, 'festoons,' and pictures of saints to Topcliffe in 1533.⁴² The sixth earl, however, resided there for a considerable time in that year, and Richard Stevinson his 'Chariotman' bought a quarter of oats for the horses of his 'Charette' from the grieve of Acklington.⁴³

The names of the several constables of Warkworth Castle who held office during the periods embraced in these accounts are best given in the form of a list:—

1472. Roger Widdrington.	1509. Christopher Thirkeld, arm. ⁴⁴
1483. Lancelot Hesilrigge.	1519. John Heron.
1489. Edward Radclyff, arm.	1523. Thomas Horsley. ⁴⁵

³⁸ 'Pro solucione unius Pedagogi sive Magistri legere et docere Gramaticam et Philosophiam Canonice et fratribus existentibus infra Abbatiam.'—C. III. No. 5, c. ³⁹ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 209.

⁴¹ *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. pp. 360, 380.

⁴² 'iiijs solutis Roberto Bayle pro cariagio diversorum le Tables et Fistudmes ac Pictures del Saints de Warkworth usque Topcliff per preceptum Georgij Lancastre.'—C. VI. No. 5, 6, fo. 56.

⁴³ 'iijs iiijd solutis Thome Symson nuper preposito de Aklington in Anno 'xxiiij' Regis Henrici viij ut pro uno quarterio Avenarum per ipsum liberato Ricardo Stevinson Chariotman ad usum et pro expensis equorum Charettes Dni 'existentium apud Warkworth Anno xxliij' Regis predicti.'—*Ibid.* fo. 59.

⁴⁴ Doubts existed as to the validity of Thirkeld's appointment, as he produced no warrant for it in writing.

⁴⁵ It is unfortunate that these documents at Syon bearing on the history of Warkworth have not yet been thoroughly examined. The Historical MSS. Commission is chiefly answerable for this, as their report on the Syon MSS. (*Appendix to Sixth Report*, 1876, pp. 221-233) gave the impression that there was nothing of public interest contained in them beyond what they had calendared. Incalculable harm has been done in this same way throughout England by the employment of commissioners unacquainted with the history and geography of the counties to which documents that come into their hands relate. If it had not been for the MSS. of bishop Percy the records of Warkworth might have remained long forgotten. It is hoped that now a monograph dealing with the history of the castle and hermitage may be prepared from them.

APPENDIX (K).

THE IMMUNITY OF BAMBURGH IN 1070.

BAMBURGH was one of the only three places between the Humber and the Tweed—the other two being York and Durham—that were not laid waste in the terrible harrying of Northumberland by the Conqueror in the beginning of 1070.¹ Probably the earl Gospatric had sought refuge in the castle, and there heard of the warning vision of Earnan that caused him to make a pilgrimage barefoot to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, then on Holy Island.² Gospatric's crime had been his taking away with him in the flight from Durham the greater portion of the rich ornaments of the church.³ Bamburgh was no doubt 'the corner of Northumberland defended on all sides by the sea or marshes' that was the camp of refuge of William's enemies in the North.⁴ Bishop Egelwin and 'the family of St. Cuthbert' had reached the island with the body of their patron on the 14th of December, 1069. The first night of their flight they had spent in the church of St. Paul at Jarrow. After keeping Christmas at York, William set out to reduce the hostile fastness. The inhabitants of the country between the Tees and the Tyne everywhere fled at the approach of bands of Norman pillagers. The church of Jarrow was given to the flames. William himself marched upon Hexham. The Tyne may have been in flood, or he may have been anxious to make his presence felt once for all in the country.

¹ 'Willelmo rege cum magno superveniente exercitu, et per menses Decembrem, Januarium, Februarium, omnia vastante, fugientibus omnibus ubi latere poterant, et etiam extra patriam peregrinantibus, tota terra ab Umbra usque Tuedam per multum tempus in solitudinem redacta est, præter Eboracum et Dunelmum et Benbanburc.'—MS. Life of St. Cuthbert at Brough Hall in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, vol. i. Surt. Soc. Publ. 44, App. p. viii.

² *Symeonis Hist. Dunelm. Eocl.* iii. 16; Rolls ed. i. pp. 102-104.

³ All this explains the passage from William of Jumièges, vii. 42; 'Sicarii denique intra Dunelmum latitantes . . . in maritimorum præsidiorum remotiora sese receperant, inhonestas opes piratico latrocinio sibi contrahentes,' which Professor Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 303, quotes without understanding.

⁴ 'Rursum comperit hostile collegium in angulo quodam regionis latitare, mari vel paludibus undique munitio.'—*Orderici Vitalis, Hist. Eocl.* iv. 8. (Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 183, p. 230.) Cf. 'Babbenburg . . . munitio inexpugnabilis . . . quia inaccessible videbatur propter paludes et aquas.'—*Ibid.* viii, 21, see above p. 231, n 29.

The whole of Hexhamshire was, we know, laid absolutely waste.⁵ He then probably followed the eastern branch of the Watling Street, an old Roman causeway. It should be remembered that during this campaign William had not the command of the sea, and that it was a matter of policy to encompass his enemies as far as possible before they could make good their escape to Scotland. Alarmed, however, at his near approach the English at Bamburgh broke up their camp in the night, probably leaving Gospatric with a garrison in the castle, and fled towards the Tweed. William pursued them to the banks of that river.⁶ He spent fifteen days in negotiations on the very Border, and after receiving the submission of Gospatric, who nevertheless thought it prudent not to venture into the king's presence in person, returned to Hexham by a still wilder route than that of his advance, through a country that had never been known to be traversed by an army,⁷ possibly by the western branch of Watling Street. From Hexham he marched back to York.

Mr. Hodgson Hinde saw that it was a physical impossibility for William to return to York from the Tees by way of Hexham, as Orderic Vitalis says he did, and in order to get over the difficulty proposed to read Hamelac (Helmsley) for Hangustald (Hexham). Professor Freeman 'thankfully' accepts the correction⁸ without considering why William's pursuit should be said to have stopped on the right bank of the Tees when we know that Jarrow was burnt and Hexhamshire made a wilderness. Besides if the insurgents at Durham had betaken themselves to Professor Freeman's imaginary camp at the mouth of the Tees this could hardly be called 'maritimorum præsidiorum remotiora' from William's standpoint. The blunder lies in the name of the river and not in that of the town. The Brough Life of St. Cuthbert quoted above shows most positively that William's ravages extended 'usque Tuedam.'

⁵ 'Tota ubique terra vacaret cultore,' Raine, *Hexham Priory*, i. App. p. viii.

⁶ Orderic Vitalis, iv, 8, says 'ad flumen Tesiam insequitur,' but 'Tesiam' is evidently a mistake for 'Tuedam.'

⁷ 'Mense Januario Rex Guillelmus Hangustaldam revertebatur a Tesia, via quæ hactenus exercitui erat intentata, qua crebro acutissima juga et vallium humillimæ sedes, cum vicinia serenitate verna gaudet, nivibus compluntur. At ille in acerbissimo hiemis gelu transivit, animosque militum confirmaviit sua alacritate. Illud iter difficiliter peractum est, in quo sonipedum ingens ruina facta est, &c.'—Orderic Vitalis, iv. 8 (p. 320).

⁸ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. p. 306.

APPENDIX (L).

THE WARS OF THE ROSES IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

IN order to understand the complicated sieges and countersieges that the castles of Northumberland endured in the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. it becomes necessary to give some general sketch of them as a whole, in addition to dilating on the particular circumstances that attended the investment of each fortress when treating of its separate history. As these sieges form to a great extent the foreground of English history at the time, a critical study of the series may possess more than a provincial interest.

The period, as is well-known, is the most difficult and perplexing to deal with in the whole course of our annals since the Norman Conquest. Reference has already been made to the able attempt of Mr. Perceval to correct some of the inaccuracies in the ordinary accounts of it in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in London in 1881, and published in vol. XLVII. of their *Archæologia*. But the most thorough-going investigation of this historical labyrinth is to be found in Mr. Plummer's introduction to Sir John Fortescue's *Governance of England*, printed at the Clarendon Press in 1885. It is characteristic of the way in which work of sterling value is often buried, still-born, in the publications of learned societies, that Mr. Plummer was apparently unaware of the existence of Mr. Perceval's essay. A preface proves frequently a similar grave; and it is only an eleventh-hour perusal of Mr. Plummer's introduction that renders it possible now to modify considerably several statements that appear in the preceding pages relative to the castles of Warkworth, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh. A careful examination of the authorities Mr. Plummer refers to in his excellent notes tends, on the other hand, to show that he has not succeeded in every instance himself in interpreting and marshalling correctly the various facts they furnish. It becomes a pleasure to point out these misconceptions in the work—too modestly hidden—of a writer who himself has adopted the noble device, that should be common to all true historians: *Opprobrete nobis, qui volet, modo corrigat*. A still more recent and very brilliant

essay on this period is to be found in *Warwick, the Kingmaker*,¹ by Mr. Oman, but the fact that this forms a volume of a popular series has unfortunately caused it to be published without the notes and references necessary to explain certain dubious passages.

From the disastrous field of Towton, 29th March, 1461, Margaret of Anjou with her husband and their adherents retired to York, but on the city being summoned to surrender, they packed their baggage in haste and fled the same night towards Scotland. They were supposed to have halted at Newcastle, and Edward sent 20,000 men to besiege the town. On Easter Monday, the 6th of April, a letter reached London to announce their capture. Nicholas O'Flanagan, bishop of Elphin, immediately joined the duchess of York in a *Te Deum* to celebrate the event, but those better versed with the situation regarded the news with suspicion, and thought that, having found means to embark, the fugitives had proceeded to Scotland or France.² About ten days later came the rumour that Henry, Margaret, and the young prince were then besieged by Sir Robert Ogle and Sir John Conyers at 'a place in York schire (that) is called Coroumbr, 'suche a name it hath or muche lyke,'³ by which the castle of Carham or Wark would seem to be meant, though this had recently been dismantled by the Scots. Henry found it necessary to procure a safe conduct for himself and a thousand horse to enter Scotland,⁴ and this delay probably caused him to be overtaken by the knights in question. He might, we are told, at one time have been stolen away at a little postern behind the castle. Several esquires of the earl of Northumberland gathered together five or six thousand Lancastrians in order to raise the siege, and no fewer than three thousand north-countrymen are said to have fallen in the consequent

¹ *Warwick, the Kingmaker*, by Charles W. Oman (vol. xvi. of *English Men of Action*), Macmillan and Co., 1891.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. i. pp. 100, 105.

³ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 7. Strictly speaking this ought to refer to Coverham Abbey in Yorkshire, locally called 'Corram,' but unless the Yorkists had been entirely misinformed as to the route taken by the fugitives, it is impossible to suppose that the latter could have remained so far south at this time. The mistake as to the county and the doubt as to the name may have arisen from the fact that the priory of Carham in Northumberland was a cell of that of Kirkham in Yorkshire. Wark had a little postern leading down to the Tweed; Norham, which might otherwise have put in a claim, seems not to have had one.

⁴ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1808, vol. v. p. 446.

'byger.' The victorious Edward IV. remained eight days, it is said, at York, and then marched on to Durham. Margaret had borrowed four thousand marks of the prior and convent there 'against their good will,' as they declared, 'by might and main force,' and when Edward took his leave of St. Cuthbert, the prior 'put up a bill' beseeching him to have the money by some means recovered, as well as certain sums they had lent to Lancastrians slain at Towton.⁵ At Newcastle, Edward caused the earl of Wiltshire to be beheaded. The earl had been taken prisoner at Cockermouth Castle, together with Dr. John Morton, chancellor to the young Prince of Wales.⁶ Morton was sent to the Tower, whence he afterwards escaped. Thinking that Henry and Margaret had fled to Scotland and that it was not worth while to pursue them, Edward returned to London.

Berwick was handed over to the Scots by king Henry on the 25th of April in consideration of their promised assistance. On the 26th of June Henry, accompanied by Sir John Fortescue and others, rode, it appears, 'with standardes, and gyturons unrolled' through Ryton as far south as Brancepeth.⁷ About the same time Carlisle would have been taken by the Scots but for the timely arrival of lord Montagu with reinforcements. The principal castles of Northumberland probably acknowledged Edward IV. soon after. Dunstanburgh, we know, was regularly held of the new king by Sir Ralph Percy from at any rate the following Michaelmas.⁸

Meanwhile, Henry and Margaret were leading a precarious existence in Scotland,⁹ while Louis XI., who had just come to the

⁵ See the *Supplicatio facta Domino Regi Edwardo* (Reg. parv. III. f. 96) and the curious letter of the prior of Durham to George Neville, chancellor of England, dated 27th October, 1461 (Reg. III. parv. f. 105), in Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 163, as also that to lord Ogle, really written 7th March, 1462, in *Priory of Coldingham*, Surt. Soc. xii. p. 191.

⁶ *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 7.

⁷ *Rolls of Parl.*, v. 478 b.

⁸ See above p. 178. Mr. Oman seems unaware of this.—*Warwick*, p. 140.

⁹ Henry VI. granted an annuity of forty marks to John Napier at Edinburgh, 28th August, 1461.—*Marmion*, 1852, p. 232 n. Sir Walter Scott there quotes with patriotic pride the almost contemporary stanzas of Molinet in *Recollections des Aventures*, relating how the English spitefully drove out their old king and his heir—

Qui fuyt alla prendre
D'Ecosse le garand,
De tous siècles le moindre,
Et le plus tollerant.

In a letter from Dieppe, 30th August, 1461, we are told that 'King Harry is at Kirkhowbre with four men and a child,' and Queen Margaret and her son at Edinburgh.—*Paston Letters*, ii. p. 46. Cf. Wavrin, *Anchiennes Chroniques*,

throne of France, vainly attempted to mediate between them and Edward through his envoy the seigneur de la Barde.¹⁰ The duke of Somerset returned to Scotland from France in March, and can have reported little hope of assistance in that quarter, while the scandalous stories he had told of the queen of Scots while abroad tended to alienate her sympathy from the Red Rose. On the 28th of March, 1462, Henry, in despair, addressed to Louis from Edinburgh an especial letter of credence for his chancellor, Sir John Fortescue;¹¹ and on the 10th of April gave there a general commission to Margaret to treat at the French court in his name.¹² Fortescue appears to have proceeded by way of Flanders in order to see what prospect there was of obtaining Burgundian assistance. He had the misfortune to be detained at Rouen on the 13th of June, together with the earl of Pembroke, in consequence of their having no safe-conduct from Louis.¹³

Margaret, on her part, sailing for Kirkcubright landed in Brittany on April 16th, where she was honourably received by the duke, who made her a present of twelve thousand crowns. She then visited her father, René, titular king of Sicily, in Anjou, where she met Pierre de Brezé, seigneur de la Varenne and count Maulevrier, who, after having greatly contributed to drive the English out of France and having been the popular seneschal of Normandy, had been recently unjustly imprisoned for four months by Louis XI. Her arrival at Angers in May was the cause of much uneasiness to Louis, who was at Bordeaux at the time. He ordered Montauban to find out all she

ed. Mdle. Dupont (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1858-1863, vol. iii. p. 179. This must have been immediately after their return from Wales where they had been expecting the arrival of the duke of Somerset with a large French army, when the death of Charles VII. disconcerted their plans.—*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, vol. i. p. iii.

¹⁰ Georges Chastellain, *Chroniques des derniers Ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1863-6, vol. iv. p. 220.

¹¹ Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, n°. 9037⁷, fol. 176, printed in Wavrin, iii. p. 170 n. Mr. Plummer has been misled by lord Clermont into supposing this letter to belong to 1465.

¹² Comines, *Memoires*, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. 368.

¹³ Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Beluze, n°. 9037⁷, fol. 177 in Wavrin, iii. p. 170 n. The earl of Pembroke was present at the treaty of Tours on the 28th of June; Fortescue was, no doubt, purposely detained at Rouen in order that he might not oppose the project for surrendering Calais. To some of the resolutions of Henry's council during this period he states he was 'not well willing,' and the compact for the similar surrender of Berwick seems to have been one of them.—See Plummer, pp. 57, 75.

had come about in order that he might the sooner be relieved of her presence, but was on the point of committing himself to champion her cause as the best way of defending himself against any possible attack from Edward IV.¹⁴ In June, Louis heard that Margaret had advanced as far as Tours, and immediately wrote to Aymar de Poysieu, telling him to endeavour to detain her there, and on no account to let her reach Amboise, where his own queen was, nor to allow the latter to go to Tours. If there were no means of preventing Margaret from going to Amboise for the purpose of awaiting Louis there, then Poysieu was to take the French queen and the ladies of her court away to Melun, and Louis sent him a duplicate of a letter he had written to his wife, directing her to go there, so that if necessary it might be shown to Margaret.¹⁵

Louis and Margaret eventually met at Chinon, where she borrowed 20,000 livres from the king on the 23rd of June, engaging to repay double that sum within a year of her recovery of Calais, or in default to cede Calais to France. This agreement was ratified in a treaty signed at Tours on the 28th, in the presence of the earl of Pembroke and others.¹⁶

From Tours Margaret turned northwards in order to commence her preparations for invading England, and arrived on Tuesday, the 13th of July, at Rouen, where she was received in state by the authorities and lodged at the *Lion d'Or*.¹⁷ A month later Louis made his public entry into Rouen, side by side with Pierre de Brezé, on the

¹⁴ 'La royne d'Angleterre est arrivée Angiers, ainsi que savez. Vous ne vous tordez guere, vous saries tout quant qu'ils ont ou ventre, par quoy je les en pourroye plus tost despecher. Toutesvoyes, il est force d'entendre à son fait et de la soutenir de tout nostre pouvoir, car s'est le boulvvert contre le roy Edouart. Le seneschal est Angiers, faites lui bonne chiere, et escoutez tout ce qu'il vouldra dire.'

This was crossed out by the writer of the minute and the following substituted:—'La royne d'Angleterre est arrivée Angers, ainsi que vous savez. J'envoye le bailli de Rouan, qui va voir sa femme, et maistre George Havart devers elle. Je vous pryé que vous faciez diligence de venir devers moy, affin que nous soions ensemble devant qu'ilz y viengnent, pour adviser que j'aie à faire.'—Bibl. nat., Min. Fr. 20427, fol. 57; *Lettres de Louis XI.* ed. Vaesen (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1885, ii. p. 46.

¹⁵ Bibl. nat. Fr. 20489, fol. 69; *Lettres de Louis XI.* ii. p. 54.

¹⁶ Comines, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. p. 372, 'tiré des Recueils de M. l'Abbé Le Grand.'

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii. p. 12n. Louis had written to the chapter of Rouen from Meslay, 8th July, 1462, that they were to receive Margaret of Anjou 'en telx honneur, bonne chiere et reverence que feriez nostre très chiere et très amée compaignie la royne.'—*Lettres de Louis XI.* ii. p. 61.

12th of August.¹⁸ He entrusted Brezé with the command of the expedition that was to aid Margaret in replacing her husband on the throne, and gave orders to engage ships in all the ports of Normandy and Picardy for the passage of the queen and her companions.¹⁹ Rumours of an intended invasion of France by Edward IV. then seem to have greatly alarmed Louis, and probably dissuaded him from entering on an open war with England.²⁰ At any rate, when Margaret and Brezé finally embarked in October it was with a contingent of not more than two thousand men.²¹

Meanwhile the queen of Scots had been coquetting with Edward IV., and had received his envoy, Warwick, at Dumfries. The Lancastrians, however, had not been wholly inactive in Northumberland, and had appeared in force in the neighbourhood of Dunstanburgh.²² They had either never given up Alnwick or now recovered possession of it, as it was held for them by William Tailbois. In July, lord Hastings, sir Ralph Grey, and others laid siege to it, and Tailbois was forced to capitulate. The castle was committed to the custody of sir Ralph.²³ Lord Montagu, after having taken Naworth, established himself at Newcastle.²⁴ The prior of Durham sent him a clock there on the 8th of August.²⁵ In October, sir Richard Tunstal, who had been in Naworth Castle at the time of its conditional surrender, conspired to prepare Bamburgh to receive Margaret. This was held at the time for Edward IV. by sir William Tunstal, whose head was placed in jeopardy by his brother Richard's success.²⁶

Margaret landed with Brezé near Bamburgh on the 25th of October, in the expectation that there would be a general rising in her favour. But the country people, finding that she had brought so few French auxiliaries with her, remained passive.²⁷ Indeed the peasantry

¹⁸ Chastellain, iv. p. 230.

¹⁹ Comines, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, ii. p. 373.

²⁰ *Lettres de Louis XI.*

²¹ Basin says only about eight hundred—'Aggregans . . collectitium militum ' numerum circiter usque ad octingentos viros, tam suis, quam reginæ sumptibus, ' cum exigua et exili classe in Scotiam cum regina trajecit.'—Basin, *Hist. de Rebus a Ludovico XI. gestis*, lib. i. cap. xiv. ed. Quicherat (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 1856, ii. p. 50.

²² See above, p. 179.

²³ Will. Wyrcester, *Annales (Wars of the English in France, Henry VI., Rolls Series, vol. ii. pt. ii.)*, p. 779.

²⁴ *Paston Letters.*

²⁵ Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, i. 349.

²⁶ *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 120.

²⁷ Will. Wyrcester, p. 780

of Rock and Beadnell seem to have proved themselves particularly vigilant in the Yorkist interest.²⁸ She proceeded to lay siege to Alnwick, which was obliged to yield for want of provisions.²⁹ Dunstanburgh also admitted a Lancastrian garrison.

On the 30th of October, the earl of Warwick set out with an army from London,³⁰ and was followed by Edward himself.³¹ Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh were invested on the 10th of December. From his headquarters at Warkworth Warwick rode round every day to superintend the three sieges.³² William Hasildene, Matilda Walsh, and John Carter acted as purveyors for the forces before Bamburgh, bringing provisions from Newcastle.³³ The king's own tents were set up at Bamburgh by William Hill, a servant of the Master of the Tents. A 'bombard' was carted from Warkworth to Bamburgh by William Hoo, and Richard More was despatched there with the royal ordnance, while the king's own ordnance appears to have arrived in the charge of a carter named Hugh.³⁴

On hearing of Warwick's advance and these formidable preparations Margaret, who was in Bamburgh with Brezé, determined to take

²⁸ 'Die Jovis xvij^o die Febr. . . Hominibus ville de Roke et hominibus 'ville de Bedenale In denariis eis liberatis, viz.: dictis hominibus ville de Roke 'xxs et dictis hominibus ville de Bedenale vs iiij^d de regardo speciali pro vigiliis 'suis per ipsos sustentis ex mandato Regis pro certis specialibus causis et 'materiis ipsum Dominum Regem moventibus per breve generale currens (de 'privato sigillo inter mandatis de termino Pasche ultimo preterito).'—*Issue Rolls (Pells)*, Mich. 2, Ed. iiij. P.R.O.

²⁹ 'Penuria victualium' Will. Wyrcester, p. 780.

³⁰ *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 463.

³¹ *MS. Lambeth*, 448, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. 1880, p. 175.

³² *Paston Letters*, ii. p. 121. See above, pp. 113, 179, 254. It must be remembered that this Appendix is intended only to explain more clearly the general sequence of events, and neither to repeat what has been said already nor to forestall the accounts of the sieges of Alnwick and Norham which will be given when treating of those castles in the second volume.

³³ 'Die Jovis xvij^o die Febr. Willelmo Hasildene, Matilde Walshe et Johanni 'Carter. In denariis eis liberatis viz.: dicto Willelmo misso pro empcone 'victualium pro solidariis partibus borialibus existentibus vs, dicte Matilde 'pro victualibus ab ea emptis pro eisdem soldariis vs viij^d et dicto Johanni 'pro cariagio diversorum victualium de Newcastell usque Bamburgh pro eisdem 'soldariis xjs.'—*Issue Roll. (Pells)*, Mich. 2. Ed. iiij. P.R.O.

³⁴ 'Willelmo Hylle servienti Magistri Tentarum Regis Willelmo Hoo Carter 'Ricardo More et Hugoni, Carter In denariis eis liberatis—viz.: dicto Willelmo 'Hylle pro cariagio Tentarum ipsius Domini Regis de Newcastell usque 'Bamburgh xls. dicto Willelmo Hoo pro cariagio unius Bunbarde de Werkworthe 'usque Bamburgh xz. dicto Ricardo More misso cum ordinacione Regis usque 'Bamburgh vs viij^d et dicto Hugoni pro cariagio ordinacionum ipsius Domini 'Regis ijs.'—*Ibid.*

advantage of the arrival of a French fleet with arms and supplies to effect her escape from the beleagured fortress. She accordingly went on board 'a carvyle,' taking her treasures with her. A violent storm arose, and the queen appears to have anchored off Holy Island.³⁵ Some of the other French ships, with four hundred soldiers, went ashore near Bamburgh. The blockade round the castle was too close for them to communicate with the garrison, so they set their ships on fire and endeavoured to provide for their own safety by occupying Holy Island. They surprised a party of two hundred Yorkists who happened to be there, but were eventually forced to take refuge in the priory. In an ineffectual attempt to defend this two hundred of them were killed or taken prisoners and the rest put to flight. The prisoners of the greatest note were Louis Mulet, seigneur de Granville, and Raoul d'Ailly, seigneur d'Araines. Meanwhile, Brezé was successful in escaping from Bamburgh to Scotland,³⁶ and Margaret also reached Berwick in a fishing boat. She there heard that the 'carvyle' in which she originally embarked had gone down in the storm with all her treasure.³⁷

Bamburgh capitulated on Christmas Eve, and three days later Dunstanburgh did the same. The besieged garrisons had been compelled to eat most of their horses, and were glad to have their lives spared and be allowed to make for Scotland with white staves in their

³⁵ 'Auquel passage estoit mesmes logié sur l'eau la royne Marguerite.'—Wavrin, ii. p. 320.

³⁶ 'Neantmoins eschapa saulvament le seigneur de la Varenne, lequel s'en alla en Escoce.'—*Ibid.* p. 319. Cf. 'Messire Pierre de Bresy, seigneur de la Varenne et seneschal de Northmandie, avoit habandonné Bambour,' p. 320.

³⁷ There can be no doubt that the capture of the French knights which Wavrin, ii. p. 320, places after a company of Warwick's forces had crossed 'ung passage nomme Holibant' was the affair of Holy Island, see above, p. 254. The chronology and geography of Wavrin are not to be depended on. He places Berwick in Wales and makes the French take Durham, ii. p. 318, so that it is less surprising that he should turn Holy Island into the ford of Holibant on the border-river of Scotland. The alliteration is not more curious than that of 'Brambourg' for Bamburgh and 'Amunchic' for Alnwick. There is no mention of any name like 'Holibant' in the minute accounts we have of the fords over the Tweed in the Border surveys. Wavrin places this incident in the general account of the skirmishes and feats of arms that took place during the war, 'Durant les assiegemens d'entre les Anglois et Francois, y eut plusieurs escarmuches et maintes belles apartises d'armes faites,' &c., &c., ii. p. 319, but he makes it precede the great 'merrymaking' of Edward in London, 'si s'en alla à Londres, où fut faite tres grant chiere, tant par les nobles de la cité comme par les bourgeois et marchans, et mesmement par le Maisre de Londres,' and we know that this banquetting took place in the spring of 1463.

hands.³⁸ With the assistance of the earl of Angus, Brezé was enabled to bring off the greater part of the garrison of Alnwick on the 6th of January, 1463, but the Scots were afraid to assume the offensive, and the castle fell on the 30th of that month.

Henry VI. was still at Edinburgh on the 15th of December, 1462. He must have expected that the struggle would prove more protracted, as he issued powers on that day for borrowing money from the duke of Burgundy.³⁹ When, however, it became evident that Louis XI. did not intend to actively support him and that Brezé could effect nothing in Northumberland with the forces at his disposal, the queen-dowager and many of the Scottish lords began again to look with favour on Edward IV. Fearing, therefore, that if they remained so near the Border as Edinburgh he and his son might be delivered into the hands of their enemies, Henry and his council retired with the regent, bishop Kennedy, the main-stay of their cause in Scotland, to the castle of St. Andrew's. Here Kennedy treated the royal exile with all the hospitality the place afforded, and lent him both money and silver for coining.⁴⁰ Anxious to take advantage of the disputes that had arisen in Scotland on the question of the regency and to avenge himself on Kennedy and the Lancastrian

³⁸ 'Seulement la vye de ceulz quy dedens estoient saulves, le blancq baston 'on poing, et tous les seigneurs prisonniers; mais anchois qu'ilz vouldissent 'tomber en ces traitiés, per rage de faim mengerent la pluspart des leurs 'chevaulz.'—Wavrin, ii. p. 319.

³⁹ Wavrin, iii. p. 169; from Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 176.

⁴⁰ 'Le dit roy Henry et son conseil se doubtoient a demourer si pres des 'Marches, comme è Edembourgh, paour que les Anglois et aucuns Escosacs, 'qui mieulx aymoient le party contraire que luy, ne feissent aucune convencion 'ou préjudice de luy et de son beau filz, le Prince. Par quoi il desiroit, pour la 'seureté de sa personne, venir en ma place de Saint Andry, là où il fut bien 'recueilly, selon ma petite puissance, et bien reconforté, tant dedens, comme de 'luy prester or et argent monnoyé et à monnoyer, et autres choses à luy neces- 'saires, en luy faisant aussi bonne chiere comme je luy ay sceu ne peu faire.'—*Instructions a Messire Guillaume, seigneur de Monypenny de se qu'il a a dire a Tres Hautt, Tres Puissant et Tres Chrestien Prince le Roy de France de par l'Eecque de Saint Andrieu en Ecosse*, in Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 184; Wavrin, iii. p. 169. It is difficult to understand how both Mr. Plummer, p. 60, and Mr. Oman, p. 140, wrongly refer this withdrawal of Henry VI. to St. Andrew's to the summer of 1462, since Kennedy there explicitly declares that it was the consequence of the bad effect produced by the arrival of Brezé, seigneur de Maulevrier, with so small a contingent, besides this both writers state that prince Edward was with his mother in France at the very time they send Henry to St. Andrew's, though Kennedy says the prince was then with him at Edinburgh. The fact that Margaret took her son with her to France in 1462 seems to rest on the notice of their return from there in *Paston Letters*. Kennedy's instructions to Monypenny were drawn up in 1464 between the 6th of March and the 20th of April, as is shown by internal evidence.

party in that country, Edward let slip the earl of Douglas on the West Marches, with funds sufficient for the collection of a large force of reckless borderers. In the beginning of March, 1463, Douglas defeated the earl of Crawford and the warden, lord Maxwell, at the East Hill, killing or capturing seventeen Scottish lords and four thousand of their followers.⁴¹ On the 23rd of March Edward sent 100*li* to the abbot and convent of Alnwick to compensate them for losses they had sustained during the last siege of the neighbouring castle, evidently never dreaming that there would soon be fresh trouble in Northumberland.⁴² Before Easter, however, which in that year fell on the 10th of April, while Edward and his companions in London were 'merrymaking and I wot not what else,' as the chronicler expresses it, the Scots and French once more seized on Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, with the passive connivance of sir Ralph Percy, who had been appointed constable of both castles as the reward of his second submission to Edward.⁴³ Towards the end of May, sir Ralph Grey, disgusted at having only been made captain of Alnwick, delivered sir John Ashley, who had been placed over him as constable, into the hands of sir Ralph Percy by a clever stratagem, and admitted lord Hungerford and the French into the castle. Upon hearing of this Henry and Margaret came to Bamburgh with Brezé and two thousand men.⁴⁴ On the other side, lord Montagu immediately marched north from London, followed, on the 4th of June, by his brother Warwick.

Montagu reached Newcastle just in time to defend it against a sudden attack from sir Ralph Grey. Several Lancastrians fell in a

⁴¹ *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. p. 159.

⁴² *Issue Roll (Pells)* Mich. 2., Ed. iiij. P.R.O.

⁴³ See above, p. 255. Mr. Oman (p. 149) has reversed the real order of events in connection with this betrayal of Bamburgh and Alnwick.

⁴⁴ Wavrin, iii. p. 160. Bishop Kennedy had sent Henry from St. Andrew's to another of his places on the coast, and had thence, he tells Monypenny, transmitted him in safety to England.—'D'illecques le convoyay en une aultre des mes places sur la mer, et de là le transmis seurement en son royaume.'—*Ibid.* iii. pp. 170-171. It is curious to find the monks of Farne complaining about this time of ravages committed by men from Pittenweem in Fife.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 355. Some Englishmen taken at Recouille (?) near the Hague on 1st July, 1463, in a small carville commanded by William Wignere, reported that when they left England a week before the news was that Henry and Brezé 'ont prins deux villes et trois chasteaux et marché pais bien avant' to which they added the wildest rumours of a Lancastrian triumph.—Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Gagnières, No. 375, fol. 94; in Wavrin, ii. p. 317 n.

skirmish under the walls. The burghers of Newcastle also captured four French vessels, one of them being, it was supposed, a large 'carville' belonging to the Comte d'Eu.⁴⁶ Grey and Brezé then engaged on the siege of a castle near Alnwick, probably Warkworth, but they were compelled to abandon this on the advance of Montagu, who had been relieved at Newcastle by the arrival of Warwick with a considerable force.⁴⁶ Notwithstanding this Henry and Margaret with the king of Scots and Brezé proceeded to lay formal siege to Norham about Midsummer. 'Then,' says Gregory, 'my Lord Warwick and his brother, 'the Lord Montagu, put them in devoir to rescue the said castle of 'Norham.'⁴⁷ To do so they had to outflank the strong Lancastrian triangle formed by the castles of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. Being probably inferior to their combined adversaries in point of numbers, they appear to have determined to keep as far as possible out of their way to the west, and therefore to have chosen to march by Rothbury and Ingram. They seem, after crossing the Aln, to have found queen Margaret with her French adherents and a large body of Scottish troops drawn up on the hill-side in front of Great Ryle⁴⁸ in order to prevent their passing over

⁴⁶ Wavrin, iii. p. 160.

⁴⁶ 'Au regard des nouvelles du Nort, messire Pierre de Bresey, messire Ralphe Gray et aultres avoient assigié une place assez prez de Hennewik, mais le seigneur de Montegu, frere au conte de Warwick, messire Rebert Alwang et autres sont venus lever le siege: mais les autres ne les ont point actendu, ains se sont retrais, &c.'—Letter from Philippe de Cran to 'Monsieur de Croy, conte de Porcian et de Guisnes' written at Boulogne, Saturday, 16th July, 1463, and giving the news brought from England by Colin Herevé, Clerk to the Lieutenant of Guisnes, who had arrived that morning in a fishing boat, Bibl. nat. MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 182; *ibid.* iii. p. 163.

⁴⁷ *Gregory's Chronicle*, Camden Soc. 1876, p. 220.

⁴⁸ Chastellain, iv. p. 278, calls this battle 'ceste honteuse retraite que firent 'les Escots devant Rel.' Gregory, p. 220, says that at the commencement of the siege of Norham, which Stow fixes about Midsummer (21th June), Henry, Margaret, the King of Scots, and Brezé were all there, but when Warwick raised the siege eighteen days later (12th July), he only 'put bothe Kynge Harry and the King of Schotys to flyghte.' Margaret and Brezé had then disappeared from before Norham in the meantime, and had probably advanced to stop Warwick's march by acting in concert with the garrison of Alnwick. If so, history repeated itself the next year (1464) when Montagu on his way to Norham was attacked by sir Ralph Percy on Hedgely Moor. It is annoying that there is a gap in Chastellain's Chronicle which would have otherwise given us full particulars of the affair of 'Rel.' On the other hand we must not underrate the tradition that locates the adventure of Margaret in Dipton Wood near Hexham. The first allusion to this in print seems to be in *An Essay towards a History of Hexham*, by A. B. Wright, 1823, p. 195. Wright had a survey of the 'Queen's Cave' made; it did not exceed 31 feet in its greatest length, and 14 feet in breadth, while the height would scarcely admit of a

into the Breamish valley. It would be difficult to find a more advantageous position for the purpose, but, anyhow, the Scots were seized with a sudden panic and shamefully deserted the braver Frenchmen. In attempting to escape towards Scotland, Margaret was overtaken by a band of Yorkists who laid hold of her royal jewels and other treasures. In spite of her piteous entreaties, they were quite prepared to cut her throat, when they began to fight among themselves over the rich booty. The queen seeing their attention thus distracted, besought an esquire who was there to take pity on her 'for the sake of the Passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ,' and assist her escape. 'Madam,' said he, yielding to her prayers, 'mount you behind me, and let my lord the prince get up in front, 'and save you I will or die, though death seems the more probable.' So the queen and prince mounted and the three rode off, while the soldiery were too much engrossed in their quarrel to notice their departure.⁴⁹

person standing upright. 'According to tradition,' he naively adds, 'the rude pillar (which supports the roof) forms part of a wall which divided the cave 'longitudinally for the accommodation of Margaret and her son.' Now it will be noticed that in Margaret's own account of her adventure there is no mention of any cave, and the queen herself did not trespass on the robber's hospitality. As to the name 'Queen's Cave,' it may have the same origin, whatever that may be, as the 'Queen's Letch,' the name of a small runner (and from it of a farmhouse) about a mile lower down on the opposite side of Dipton burn, and which is not brought into the tradition. Both names seem to have been unknown to Wallis, who, in his history of Northumberland, 1769, derives Dukesfield, three miles higher up the Devilswater than the Linnels, from the *Duke* of Somerset, beheaded in 1464, though it appears as 'Duxfield' in records of the 13th century. Near Dukesfield there is a prominent hill known now as Rye Hill, but in the 17th century as 'Mount Ryall' (Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. 293), but if this was the 'Rel' of Chastellain, there must have been two battles of Hexham fought nearly on the same spot, the one in 1463, the other in 1464. The almost contemporary *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Soc.), quoted by Dr. Perceval, p. 285, indeed places 'the battelle of Hexham 'felde' in the former year, and the *Ing. p.m.* 8 Ed., iv. n. 54 (Perceval, p. 282), strangely dates the death of Somerset 3rd April, 1463. Is it within the bounds of possibility that this could have been the date of a first battle of Hexham, in which Margaret and Brezé were defeated 'devant Rel,' while Somerset was really only concerned in the battle fought at the Linnels on 8th May, 1464?

Mr. Oman, p. 150, has confused the relief of Norham in July, 1463, with the occupation of Holy Island in December, 1462.

⁴⁹ As the whole story of this adventure was related by queen Margaret herself to the duchess of Bourbon at St. Pol on the 2nd of September, 1463, in the presence of the historian Chastellain, it rests on the most unimpeachable of evidence. It is remarkable that both Dr. Perceval, pp. 286-294, and Mr. Oman, p. 151, have rejected the story though not being acquainted with this prime authority. Margaret told the duchess that:—'A 'la derrenière mal-eurée desconfiture où elle fut prinse et saisié, elle fut robbée 'et pillée de tout son vaillant, de ses royaulx joyaulx etabis, de ses grosses 'vasselles, et des trésors les quels cuidoit aller sauver en Escoce; et les quelles 'toutes prinnes, qui riens ne lui estoient au regard du surplus, fut prinse meismes

Near the place where this occurred there was a wood and into it they rode in order to be lost to sight. To the terror-stricken Margaret every tree looked like a man with a drawn sword, not that it was her own life she cared for so much as for that of her son, in whom centred all her hopes of an ultimate restoration. The wood was indeed a favourite haunt of robbers known to be merciless cut-throats, and as the queen was deploring her fate up came one of them, hideous and horrible to behold. He was about to attack the party, when Margaret boldly bade him approach.⁵⁰ 'Man,' she cried, 'thou

'et saisie au corps, vaillamment arraisonnée, courrue sus à espée traicte, prinse pour l'atour du chief, pour luy tranchier le col, menascée de divers tourmens et de crudélités, là où elle, ruée à genoulx et les mains jointes, gémissante et plorant, prya que, pour honneur de divine pitié et humaine et l'honneur de toute noblesse, souverainement de feminine nature, la voulsissent prendre à mercy, et qu'en prenant compassion de son povre mal-éuré corps, voulsissent reconnoistre au moins, comme malheureuse qu'elle estoit là entre leurs mains, que toutesvoies estoit elle fille de roy, et aultrefois eulx mêmes l'avoient recongneue et tenue pour leur royne; parquoy, se maintenant leurs mains se souilloient en son sang, la cruauté en demereroit empreinte en la mémoire des hommes par tous siècles. En disant ces paroles, toujours plouroit si fondamment, qu'il n'y avoit créature raisonnable qui n'en deust prendre pitié, avec ce que persévérément s'escrioit sur la miséricorde de Dieu; dont les cieux conceurent la clameur; car prestement et comme par envoi de Dieu, commença ung tel discord et desroy entre ceulx qui l'avoient prinse, pour cause du butin et du gaing de sa despoille, que furieusement tuans l'un l'autre, comme gens enragés, n'entendirent plus à la très doloireuse desconfortée royne leur princesse, mais l'abandonnèrent, fuyans l'un ci l'autre là par impétueuse fureur, pour tuer ou estre occis, affin d'entendre et ravir leur proie à part, l'ung d'ung costé, l'autre de l'autre; dont il en ensuivy grosse occision. Sur quoy, quand ceste povre royne vit ce, et que luy sembloit bien que c'estoit ung droit divin envoy, parla piteusement à ung escuyer qu'elle vit là, et luy prya que, en onneur de la passion de Nostre Sauveur Jesus-Christ il print pitié d'elle, et de luy aider qu'elle peust estre sauvée. Si la regarda l'escuyer, et Dieu lui fit concevoir une pitié envers elle, par la quelle il lui dist: "Madame, montez darrière moy, et monseigneur le prince devant, et je vous saulveray ou je y mourray, combien que la mort m'y est plus apparente que aultrement." Si monta la royne et son fils. Et donna Dieu tel amusement à tous les autres que nul d'eux oncques ne perceust leur partement; ne s'ils le perceurent, si ne leur en estoit riens, pour entendre à leurs propres vies."—Chastellain, ed. *Panthéon Littéraire*, p. 230.

⁵⁰ 'Or y avoit il une prouchaine forest du lieu où cecy avint. Si ne désira le royne, fors estre en icelle pour estre hors de la veue des aultres. Si y tira tout droit l'escuier, non pas sans peur. Et tant fist qu'en la forest entrèrent sans encombre, là où n'avoit arbre toutesvoies, qui ne semblast à la royne que ce ne fust ung homme à espée traicte et qui ne lui escriast: "A la mort!" Car avoit la cervelle et toutes les veines du corps pleines de crudelles menasses et impressions qui luy représentoient mort, dont jamès ne cuidoit eschapper. Avoit toutesvoies tousjours ung regard sur son fils plus que sur elle; et disoit que au fort, de luy ne pouoit chaloir si elle moroit ou non; mès de son fils, reputoit la pitié trop grande se perdicion en estoit faicte; car c'estoit le vray hoir de la couronne, et par qui vie une fois, elle avoit espoir, tout retourneroit à sa droicteure. Si avoit tant grande et extreme paour de cest enfant que, non chaillant de sa vie propre à sauver, ne quéroit que la sauveté de son fils; car ne pensoit jamès vuyder de ceste forest sans estre rattachée arriere de ses

'wast born under a lucky star. After all the wrong thou hast done, a chance is now given thee of doing good that never shall be forgotten. 'Till to-day thou knewest not what pity meant. The Christian blood thou sheddest touched thy heart no more than it would a brute beast. It is to turn thee from thy old way of living, that I have fallen into thy clutches, I the wretched, unhappy queen of England, the princess the most tried by fortune that ever reigned, the most pierced by the pangs of death, that has ever been told of in books. If, man, thou hast any knowledge of the name of God, or hast heard of his Passion, our Salvation, take pity, for the sake thereof, on my misery. Save at least this youth, thy king's only son, true heir hereafter, so please God, of the kingdom of which thou art a liege. By this deed of mercy all thy past cruelty shall be blotted out. Truly fortunate is the robber who having it in his power to slay a queen of England and her son becomes the blessed guardian of their lives. If thou dost right, thy present state, which differs little from that of the vermin of the woods, shall acquire a nobility from affording protection to the great ones of the earth. Thou shalt hide the prince with thee in thy woods and thickets, eating at need roots and acorns with the swine, and he living with thee as thy ward shall lie on the cold ground more like beast than man. Yet on such a couch, in such a royal chamber, in such baronial company, he will be able to count for riches the fact that his life is safe, instead of having to taste the fitful changes that a crown brings with it. I make thee this day both father and mother to my child, and entrust to hands dyed with Christian blood that which the world would expect me to rescue from them. Do my bidding, I beseech thee. Save my son and keep him for me,

'ennemis, là où en la mort de tous les deux, et de l'escuyer avecques, n'y avoit point d'espargne.'—*Ibid.* p. 231.

'Or y avoit en celle forest coustumier repaire de brigans, et dont la fame par pays portoit d'estre impitéables meurdriers copegoues. Si advint, et comme Dieu veult peut estre pour tant plus faire mytérieulx l'infortune de ceste royne, qu'ainsi que toute se tourmentoit en sa doloreuse adversité, et se lamentoit à son escuier de son ennuy, survint ung brigant hydeux et horrible en veue, prest et adonné à faire tout mal. Et meü comme visant proye à soy rassaisier, ce lui sembloit, en ce que avoit de coustume, approucha à la royne à intencion de y mettre main ; et pensant la calengier et ce qu'elle portoit, ne varia en faire comme des aultres, mès après prise obtenue. Comme doncques ceste noble royne véit ce, et ne pensoit fors que mort tousjours, de quel lez que venir pourroit, fust du costé des ennemis dont elle estoit eschappée, fut du costé des brigans dont maintenant véoit l'evident exemple, angoisses à tous lez à double mort la surprindrent ; et voyant que du péril ne pavoit eschapper, si non par grâce de Dieu meismes, appela à venir devers elle le brigant.'—*Ibid.*

'and, if God grant his re-establishment, he will know how to reward a
'marvellous service such as never yet hath fallen to the lot of a man
'like thee to perform.'⁵¹

" 'O homme né de bonne heure, se tu, après tant de maux que tu peux avoir
'fais, te convertir puisses à faire ung bien dont par tous siècles sera mémoire.
'Tu es, comme je suppose, ennemy à tous passans, et de nullui amé, doubté et
'cremu comme la mort, car tu la portes es mains, et ne sceus jusques aujourd'hui
'ne n'agoustas jamés que c'est de compassion ne de pitié, si non que le sang
'chrestien que tu as fait randir sur terre t'a peu commouvoir l'humanité plus que
'de beste meue. Or a esté aultresfois ton usage de quérir ce en quoy tu penses
'exercer ta cruauté, et de mettre tes espies et aguets pour saisir es mains les
'humains corps. Et moy ores, non pourgettée ne circeue de tes las, te voy
'appelant meismes, et priant que tu viengnes vers moy, comme se lasse fuisse
'et ennuyée desormés de vivre, et non ayant eure d'eschapper tes cruelles
'mains. Et certes, bien le dois penser estre tel, qui meismes à ceste intencion
'te fais approche, sauve merci que je demande. Dont, pour ce que tu n'en
'fus oncques costumier, et que ton cuer est cruel, et qu'onques telle prise
'ne te cheut es mains, je, pour vaincre ton ancien usage et le faire
'tourner à pitié, te viens ruer entre tes mains, la misérable et doloieuse
'royne d'Angleterre, ta princesse, la plus aireutie de fortune qui régnast,
'et la plus percée d'amers aguillons de mort dont jamés veu fut en livres.
'O homme, se tu as aulcune congnoissance du nom de Dieu, ne se ton
'humanité a conceu aulcune chose de sa passion, nostre salut, si te prenne pitié
'doncques, en l'onneur d'icelle, de ma misère; et qui ne refuse au fort la cruauté
'estre monstree en moy, sauve au moins et espargne de mort ce jouvenceau, le
'fruit de ma ventrée, la geniture et seul unique fils de ton roy, futur vray hoir,
'se Dieu plait, du réaulme dont tu es suppos; sauve le et lui baille garant
'entre tes bras. C'est ton roy à venir, et celui dont les cieulx prendront la
'bonté à lui faicte et la te mectront au front devant Dieu, là où de mille ans
'peult estre, non dès le commencement du monde, ne fut jamés monstree si
'glorieuse euvre, quand tu, cruel des cruels, en l'espargne et sauveté d'ung seul
'enfant, auras sauvé cent milliers de vies par pitié non apprins. O! et comme
'enreuse ta crudélité, alors que tirée à compassion effacera toutes inhumanités
'passées, et comme bien euré l'estat du brigant, quand capable d'une royne
'd'Angleterre et de son fils pour pouvoir occire, aura esté faict salutaire refuge
'de leurs vies; contraire condicion non à croire oncque soye! O homme! gaigne
'Dieu aujourd'hui en ta part, pour délaisser une triste mère; et en donnant vie
'à la morante, sauve aussi de mort en aultrui mains l'innocent réal sang que je
'te livre; non à intencion que tu le me relivres, mès qu'en tes mains homicides
'tu l'abecouses et couvres contre tous aultres. Certes, se tu scés prendre bien,
'moult est digne aujourd'hui et enreux ton indigne estat, le quel cremu à paine
'de la vermine du bois, est requis ores pour manteau de salut à ung des grands
'de la terre. Et à toi sera grand eur, meismement grace et glorieuse aventure,
'de son cachier désormés avecques toy en tes bois et buissons, de son embler et
'celer es feuillages de la forest, mengeant glands et racines au besoing avec-
'ques les porcs, et de veoir et apprendre tes cruelles inhumanités, s'ainsy
'avient, comme ton disciple, et là où le coucher en froide terre, en dur et aigre
'repos, vivre comme beste non comme homme, attendant perdition d'âme et de
'corps, certes ce lui sera arrière comme chambre de royal atour; ce lui sera lit
'de jocondité et de solas; ce lui sera compaignie et adestrance de baronnie; et
'reputera plus ricesse en celle povreté, avoir vie sauve, qu'en splendeur et pos-
'session de couronne non agouster les variabilités de fortune. O homme, je te
'fais aujourd'hui le ventre de mon enfant; je te constitue saing et tectin qui l'a
'nourry; je te fay père et mère de mon portage. Et je, qui en deusse estre
'sauveresse, devant les hommes je te le mets en main meurdrrière des chrestiens.
'Fay, te supplie, mon requérir; sauve mon fils et le me garde, le quel, se Dieu
'vouloit envoier l'eure de son ressourdre, te pourroit remérir hautement cestuy
'service, dont jamés si estrange ne si hault mystère n'escheyt en main de tel
'homme comme toi.'—*Ibid.*

With these words, or something like them, Margaret so confounded the robber that, seeing her tears and distress and hearing that she was the queen, he felt a deep sympathy for her. Touched by the Holy Spirit, who softened his heart, he even began to weep with her, and threw himself at her feet, declaring that he would die a thousand deaths and bear a thousand tortures rather than abandon the prince, whom he would bring to the haven of refuge in spite of everybody.⁵³ He sought pardon for his misdeeds from the queen, as though she still bore the sceptre in London, and vowed before God and the world never to relapse into his former ways, but to devote his life to acts of mercy. Then he quickly took charge of the prince, for Margaret was still in dread of being pursued and taken, and only yearned to know that her child was safely entrusted to God's guidance. For herself, she felt no fear as long as her son was concealed, so, kissing the boy, who was all tears, she left him in the hands of the bandit, who honourably fulfilled his promises.⁵³

Margaret, for her part, rode off, mounted behind the esquire, and, trusting to Providence, made her way without any guide towards the frontier, where she expected to find her husband.⁵⁴ In the meanwhile, however, Warwick and Montagu had driven Henry and the young James III. from before Norham,⁵⁵ and it was only after long and fatiguing journeys that Margaret at last discovered Henry.⁵⁶ They were, no doubt, in considerable dread of being delivered into the hands of Warwick by the Scots, and preferred to conceal themselves

⁵³ 'A ces mots, ou anques près en substance, la povre royne arraisonna le brigant; le quel voiant ses larmes et son desconforté semblant, ensemble et qu'elle estoit royne du pays, print une amère pitié en ly; et suscit au Saint Esperit qui l'amolist en cuer, prist meismes à plourer avecques elle et de soy ruer à ses pieds, disant: qu'ains morroit de mille morts, et d'autant de tourmens, premier qu'il abandonnast le noble fils et ne le menast au port de salut, maugré tous hommes.'—*Ibid.* 232. By the 'port de salut' Bamburgh was probably meant.

⁵⁴ 'Et priant mercy à la royne de ses mesfaicts, comme s'elle portast sceptre en Londres, voa à Dieu et au monde de non jamés rentrer en cest estat et d'amender sa vie en observacion de miséricorde. Et prist le fils assez en haste, car peur chassoit la royne que ne fust rattaincte, par quoy ne queroit riens que d'estre quicte de l'enfant, et de le mettre en la main de Dieu pour le conduire. D'elle meismes ne faisoit poix, mès le fils seulement lui suffisoit d'absconder, non sa propre personne; ainsy baisant son fils plorant et gemissant, le lascia entre les mains du brigant, qui noblement en fist son devoir depuis.'—*Ibid.*

⁵⁵ 'Et la royne tyrant pays en la garde de Dieu, darrière l'escudier, sur adressement d'oeil, tendoit vers une marche estrange, où trouver pensoit son mary le roy.'—*Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 220.

⁵⁷ 'Au quel parvenue par longs annuieux travaux, lui conta les aventures telles que avez oyés.'—Chastellain, 1232.

with the prince of Wales in Northumberland till they could escape to Bamburgh, with the certainty of ships being ready there to take them abroad. For five days they only had a single herring among them, and there was one day when they were actually left without bread. On a certain feast day, probably July 20th, the festival of her patron St. Margaret, the unfortunate queen, happening to be at mass, found she had not even a black penny to offer in alms, so, beggar that she was, she asked a Scots archer to lend her something. Pulling a long face, the man reluctantly drew a Scots groat from his pocket and lent it to her—a touch of national character that brings the scene vividly before us.⁵⁷

Warwick and Montagu appear to have pursued the royal fugitives up to the very walls of Bamburgh. Margaret's anxiety to place her son in safety prompted her to embark while the opportunity offered, so, leaving Henry with her horses and arms in the castle, which she knew was safe from any immediate attack,⁵⁸ she and her son set sail for Flanders on the 30th of July,⁵⁹ accompanied by Brezé and his Frenchmen in four 'balynggarys.'⁶⁰ 'At the departing of Sir Perys 'de Brasyl and his fellowship' there was a valiant French drummer who wished to meet with the earl of Warwick. He took his stand on a hill by himself with his tabor and pipe, tabering and piping as merrily as any man might, and would not leave his ground till Warwick came up to him. The earl there and then took him into his service in which he continued 'fulle good' for many years.⁶¹

⁵⁷ 'Trouvée s'estoit, l'espace de cinq jours durant, que son mary, le roy son fils et elle n'avoient pour eulx trois que ung harenc, et non pas du pain pour nourriture d'ung jour; et que par ung jour solempnel, s'estoit trouvée à la messe, non ayant ung noir denier pour offrir; parquoy mendicque et disetteuse, pria à ung archier escot de lui prester aucune chose, qui demy à dur et à regret luy tira ung gros d'Escosse de sa bourse et le luy presta.'—*Ibid.* p. 230.

⁵⁸ 'Sachant son mari le roy Henry estre compétamment en lieu assez seur pour un espace de temps, prit son fils Edouart, nommé prince de Galles; et entrant en mer, sous l'avis et consentement du vaillant chevalier, messire Pierre de Brezé, conduiseur de sa querelle, le mena avecques elle . . . Sy l'amena tranquillité de vent auprès de l'Escluse, atout le nombre de gens qu'avoit avec elle, qui n'estoit point grand, sur la fin de juillet.'—*Ibid.* iv. p. 279. Cf. 'They londyd at the Sculse in Flaundrys, and lefte Kyng Harry, that was, behynde them, and alle thyr hors and thyr harneys, they were so hastyd by my Lorde of Warwyche, and hys brother the Lorde Mountegewe.'—*Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 220.

⁵⁹ The month and day of the departure of Brezé with his Frenchmen is from *A Fragment of a Chronicle relating to King Edward IV.*, printed by Hearne at the end of Sprott's Chronicle, 1719, and quoted by Dr. Perceval, p. 268.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 255.

⁶¹ *Gregory's Chronicle*, pp. 220, 221. Mr. Oman, p. 151, lays this scene at Norham, but the context points to Bamburgh.

Margaret's confidence in the strength of Bamburgh was not misplaced. Warwick, having no large force at his disposal, was not prepared to engage on a set siege of the fortress, and perhaps his personal interests did not make him wish to utterly crush the hopes of Lancaster. He withdrew to the south of England, and, in spite of the great preparations for war made by king Edward, Henry VI. in the old Northumbrian capital continued for the next nine months to reign over Bamburghshire and Alnwick. In December, 1463, with a view to obtaining possession of Prudhoe, he issued letters of protection in favour of William Burgh, constable of that castle,⁶² and in January, 1464, he conferred a charter on the burgesses of Edinburgh that gave them especial privileges in trading with the principality in his possession.⁶³

In the meantime, a fair wind had borne Margaret to Sluys, and she had been received by the duke of Burgundy and his son, the count of Charolois, better known by the name of Charles the Bold. She despatched several letters from the Continent to Henry and those of his council. Some of them were carried to Bamburgh by a certain John Brown, and others by William Baker, a servant of the duke of Exeter. In these letters she stated that she had received satisfactory assurances from the duke of Brittany and the count of Charolois that they were both determined to aid Henry as far as ever they could.⁶⁴ Indeed, one of the count's household, named Preston, arrived at the court of Bamburgh with very kind and consolatory letters from his master and instructions to communicate verbally to Henry the hope that the former would be able to give him all the assistance he could

⁶² See above, p. 205.

⁶³ The abstract of this charter to the Community of Edinburgh, dated 2nd January, 1463-4, in *Scottish Burgh Records Society's Publications*, 1871, p. 119, contains no evidence of Henry VI. being then at Edinburgh, while the matter of it points to his being king *de facto* of some part of England at the time.

⁶⁴ 'La royne d'Angleterre avoit'escript plusieurs lettres au roy Henry et à 'ceux de son conseil, les uns par ung nommé Jehan Bron, et les autres par ung 'nommé Willem Bacquier, qui fut au duc de Xestre, lesquelles lettres con- 'tenoient, entre autres choses qu'elle avoit en de bonnes nouvelles du duc de 'Bretaigne et de monseigneur de Charolois, et qu'ilz estoient tout ung ensemble, 'et tous fermez et joings pour secourir le roy Henry en tout ce qu'il leur seroit 'possible.'—*Bibl. nat.* MSS. Fonds Baluze, No. 9037, fol. 184, in Wavrin, *Chroniques d'Angleterre*, ed. Dupont (Soc. de l'Histoire de France), vol. iii. p. 178. Mdlle. Dupont there incorrectly assigns these interesting papers to 1462, and is followed by Mr. Plummer, p. 159. Margaret, however, was not on the Continent on 31st March, 1462, nor was Henry at Bamburgh at the time.

wish for, and the promise that he would invariably take his part.⁶⁵ A ship from Brittany also arrived at Kirkcudbright, the crew of which said they had received orders from their duke to give Henry whatever he chose to select from the cargo.⁶⁶ About Christmas, 1463, the duke of Somerset, who had been in high favour with Edward IV., secretly left Wales for Newcastle, which was garrisoned by his retainers, with a view to betraying the town to the Lancastrians. The plot was, however, discovered, and Newcastle placed in the trusty keeping of lord Scrope of Bolton.⁶⁷ Somerset reported to Henry VI. that seventeen of the leading men in Wales had bound themselves by oath under their seals to support his cause, and that many persons whom he could name in the south and west of England had entered into a confederacy for the same purpose.⁶⁸ Hereupon Henry and his council desired Pierre Cousinot, the envoy of Louis XI. at Bamburgh, to take upon himself, after returning to the French court, a visit to queen Margaret, in order to inform her of the state of affairs in England and the action that it was deemed advisable for her to take.⁶⁹ In the first place, they wished to see a firm alliance established between the duke of Brittany and the count of Charolois, in which Henry should be joined; then the peers of France were to use their influence to dissuade the king from agreeing to any truce or armistice with Edward;⁷⁰ and, finally, Margaret was to arrange with Charolois for his sending artillery or provisions to Bamburgh, while her father, the titular king of Sicily, was to supply it with 'cannoneers' and culverins,

⁶⁵ 'Et avec ce, estoit venu devers le dit roy Henry ung nommé Preston, qui demeure avec mon dit seigneur de Charolois, lequel lui avoit apporté lettres du dit mon dit seigneur de Charolois, bien gracieuses et confortatives, avec creance de bouche pour lui donner toute l'esperance qu'il estoit possible tant de secours et aide que de bon vouloir qu'il avoit à luy; et qu'il tendroit tousjours son parti sans varier.'—*Ibid.* 179.

⁶⁶ 'Et aussi il estoit venu ung navire de Bretagne à Quicombri en Escosse, duquel les Bretons qui estoient dedens en disoient autant touchant Bretagne, et qu'ilz avoient charge, de par le duc, de bailler au dit roy Henri tout ce qu'il leur demanderoit de leur marchandise.'—*Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 223.

⁶⁸ 'Monseigneur de Sombresset avoit rapporté; c'est assavoir qu'il avoit le serment et scellé de xvii hommes de Galles des plus grans qui feussent ou pays, lesquels il nomma au roy Henri, et pareillement luy nomma plusieurs autres qui sont devers le West et devers le Su, qui semblablement estoient tous joings et fermez ensemble pour icellui roy Henry.'—Wavrin, iii. 179.

⁶⁹ 'Il fut advisé par le dit roy Henri et ceulx de son conseil que, apres ce que j'aurois esté devers le roy, je m'en iroye devers la dite royne d'Angleterre pour ces matieres, et lui declaireroie l'estat d'Angleterre.'—*Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

and she was also to find means for procuring a little money for the soldiers in garrison there and in the other fortresses.⁷¹ Margaret, and likewise Coussinot, were to proceed to Brittany and persuade the duke to send the earl of Pembroke into Wales with an army of five hundred men at any rate, and by thus attacking Edward at both ends of his dominions they doubted not that, with the hopes they had of internal assistance, Henry would regain his throne.

No wonder then that the people of London were ill-pleased with the presence of Pierre Cousinot at Bamburgh, and that Edward IV. determined as soon as Easter (April 1) was over to lay siege to it and the two other castles.⁷² The active measures of Warwick had indeed already induced bishop Kennedy, the regent of Scotland, to sue for peace. A meeting of English and Scottish commissioners was to have been held at Newcastle on March 6th in order to arrange a truce, but in consequence of the disturbed state of Northumberland this was postponed till April 20th.⁷³ In the meantime, the Lancastrians made themselves masters of the castles of Norham and Skipton. The way in which Edward's expedition was commenced could only have resulted in a loss of time and money had not George Neville, the chancellor, pushed on to the north to arouse his brother, lord Montagu, to action.⁷⁴ Parliament was summoned to meet at York on May 5th,⁷⁵ and, as the Scottish mission being sent to it required a strong escort to pass the Lancastrian fortresses in safety, Montagu marched towards Norham. On Hedgeley Moor, on April 25th, the duke of Somerset, with five thousand men, endeavoured to check his

⁷¹ 'La tierce fin estoit que la dite dame trovast moien avec mon dit seigneur de Charolloys qu'il envoiast aucun secours à Bambourg d'artillerie ou de vitailles, et quele roy de Secille y envoiast des cannoniers et des culuvrynes, et avec ce que icelle dame trovast quelque fasson pour avoir ung peu d'argent pour entretenir ceulx qui estoient au dit Bambourg et es autres places.'—*Ibid*, 180.

⁷² 'Est le roy d'Angleterre deliberé, ces Pasques passees ou tost apres, aler mettre le siege devant Bandebourg où est le roy Henry, et deux autres places de son obeissance.

'Est le peuple d'Angleterre mal content de ce que ung nommé Pierre Cousinot, qui est vostre subget et de vostre royaume est ou dit lieu de Bandebourg à l'aide et tenant le party du dit roy Henry.'—Letter to Louis XI., dated Abbeville, 31st March, in *Bibl. nat. MSS. Suppl. fr.* No. 2875¹², pièce 188. Legrand, t. XII. Wavrin, *Chroniques*, ed. Dupont, Paris, 1863, iii. p. 183.

⁷³ Wavrin, iii. pp. 173-174.

⁷⁴ *Compilatio de Gentis Britonum et Anglorum*, MS. Arundel, 5, College of Arms, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 178.

⁷⁵ *Rot. Parl.* v. 499.

advance, but Sir Ralph Percy being slain, the others all took to flight, and Montagu was able to proceed to Norham and conduct the Scots to York.⁷⁶ On May 8th the Lancastrians suffered a final defeat at the Linnels, near Hexham, and the castles of Langley and Bywell, together with the tower of Hexham, were surrendered to lord Montagu.⁷⁷ Henry fled from Bywell⁷⁸ to Bamburgh, whence sir Henry Bellingham and others appear to have assisted him to escape on May 31st.⁷⁹ Alnwick and Dunstanburgh were given up to Warwick during the following month, and it was in vain that sir Ralph Grey made some amends for his cowardice at the Linnels by his spirited defence of Bamburgh. With the famous bombardment of June 25th, 1464, the Wars of the Roses came to an end so far as Northumberland was concerned.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ See above, p. 180. Mr. Oman, pp. 154, 155, dates Hedgeley Moor April 15th, and Hexham May 13th. That Hedgeley Moor was fought on St. Mark's Day, Wednesday, 25th April, 1464, is clear from the contemporary entry in MS. Lambeth, 448, *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, p. 156.

⁷⁷ MS. Arundel 5, *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ See above, p. 372. According to the fragmentary account of Will. Wyrcester, p. 782, Somerset and the others who fled from Hedgeley Moor (?) pitched their camp on a hill about a mile from Hexham:—'. . . dominis de exercitu fugientibus campum super quendam montem ad unum miliare juxta Hexham.' They had only 500 men with them, and on the approach of Montagu with Grey-stoke and Willoughby, and an army of 4,000, the duke and many of his followers took to flight. Somerset was pursued and taken by the servants of sir John Middleton. The lords Ros and Hungerford hid themselves in a wood near Hexham, 'in quadam silva prope Hexham absconditi,' but were discovered three days later.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 256.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 257, 258.

INDEX.

A.

Ad Murum, 2.
 Adenevit, a Welshman at Bamburgh, 244.
 Adgefrin, xv, 2.
 'Adulterine castles' destroyed by Stephen, 6.
 Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.), adventures of, on the Border, 20, 61.
 Aidan, St., blesses hand of king Oswald, 224; prayers of, save Bamburgh, 225.
 Ailly, Raoul de, seigneur d'Araines, taken prisoner at Holy Island, 435.
 Akeld, 'a little fortelett' at, 33, xvi.
Aketon, 246 (note).
 Albany, duke of, besieges Wark, 346.
 Aldred, son of Eadulf, expelled from Bamburgh, 228.
 Alnewyk, William de, vicar of Chatton, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, 107, 108, 112.
 Alnham, tower of, surrendered to Henry IV., 12; in 1415, 17; hold at, in 1509, 24; two towers at, in 1541, 43; state of earl of Northumberland's tower at, in 1586, 43 (note).
 Alnwick Abbey, Edward IV. compensates, 437; 'pedagogue' maintained at, 424.
 Alnwick, Bond Gate Tower at, built, 21, 422 (note).
 Alnwick Castle, 'munitissimum castellum,' 4; taken by king David, 5; resists William the Lion, 6; remodelled by Henry Percy, 11; taken by lord Hastings, 433; taken by Margaret of Anjou, 434; taken by Warwick, 436; betrayed by sir Ralph Grey, 437; retaken by Warwick, 448; in good repair in 1583, 68.
 Alnwick Town ('le ville de Persi') burnt by David Bruce, 362; licence to crenellate, 21.
 Alnwinton, bastle-house of vicar at, 44.
 Ancroft, 'little fortress' at, in 1541, 37; in 1561, 53.
 Anterchester, 32 (note).
 Appleby Castle, grotesque corbel at, 219 (note).
 Arabesques at Cocklaw, 371; at Chipchase, 416.
 Archer, sketches by, 198 (note), 371.
 Ascue, captain, taken prisoner near Carlington, 403.

Ashley, sir John, constable of Alnwick, betrayed by sir Ralph Grey, 437.
 Aske, Richard, ordered to surrender Warkworth, 102, 104.
 Athelstan, king, takes Bamburgh, 228.
 Atkinson, John, gunner at Wark, 357.
 Aton, Gilbert de, shield of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 290.
 Attalour, Roger le, at Bamburgh, 244.
 Aydon, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 8; 'fortalitium' of, 10 (note); castle of, in 1415, 15.

B.

Babthorpe, Ralph, constable of Dunstanburgh, 175.
 Backworth, arms of Grey of, at Chipchase, 415.
 Baker, Thomas, hermit at Warkworth, 423.
 Baker, William, carries letters from Margaret of Anjou to Bamburgh, 445.
Balista, 237.
 BAMBURGH CASTLE, 223; called Dingua-roy, 224; 'timbered' by Ida, 224; named after Bebb, 224; hand of Oswald preserved in church of St. Peter at, 225, 271; saved by the prayers of Aidan, 225; defended by Bertfrid; head of St. Oswald stolen from, 226; early description of, 227; 'basilica' at, 227 (note), 271 (note); taken by Athelstan; plundered by Danes, 228; Gospatrick takes refuge in, 426; spared by the Conqueror, 426; Reginald of Durham's lament over, 229, 281; arm of St. Oswald stolen from, 229, 282 (note); hereditary porters of, 230; Rufus besieges Mowbray in, 231; Orderic Vitalis' description of, 231 (note); Mowbray escapes from, by the postern, 232; surrender of, by Matilda de Mowbray, 233; collapse of wall before, 235, 272; keep of, built, 235; attempt of William the Lion on, 236; grange ordered to be built at, 237; 'plan-chicium' of Great Tower, 238; windmill erected at, 239 (note); mills at, destroyed by tempest, 240; new grange at, completed, 238; 'turella' at, to be finished, 239, 273 (note); excavations near the barbican, 240, 273; Great Gate on south side of, 240, 273; tower of Edmund's well, 240, 272; barbican before

- St. Oswald's Gate, 240, 272; King's Hall, 240, 250, 260, 280; charges for defence of, in 1266, 241; Welsh princes imprisoned at, 242; Scottish prisoners at, 242; extortions of Roger de Horsley at, 244; Smith Gate, 245, 249, 274, 275; 'Davytoure' at, 245, 249, 273; 'Belle-toure,' 245; 'Valetipping,' 246, 249, 250, 253, 274; 'Dedehuse' (? Muniment) Tower, 246, 273; 'Coleofte' Tower, 246; defence of, by Philippa de Hainault, 248; 'Waldevewell,' 249, 275; wall between Davytower and Gate at, 249, 273; 'Gaitwell,' 249, 292; Ravenshaugh, 249; Porterhouse, 250, 274; 'Tourgate,' 251, 274; repairs to, by sir William Elmeden, 254; Neville Chamber, 254; Reed Tower, 253; Maiden Tower, 253; siege of, in 1462, 254; provisions, tents, and bombards sent to, 434; Margaret of Anjou embarks at, 255, 282 (note); Henry VI. at, 256, 281, 437, 444, 445, 448; defence of, by sir Ralph Grey, 257; survey of, by Bellys, 258; Great Chamber to be used as Hall, 259, 279; Patten's account of, 262; called 'Joyous Garde,' 262; survey of, by Thomas Bates and others, 263; Hall in Captain's Lodging, 264, 279; ruined by sir John Forster, 70, 80, 266; purchased by lord Crewe, 267; restored by Dr. Sharp, 267; Grose's account of, 267, 277, 279; Camden's mention of, 267 (note); Chapel of St. Oswald, 269, 281; King's account of, 269, 275, 277, 279; Hall and Kitchen restored by Dr. Bowyer, 270; extent of, 271; original entrance to, 271; plan of, in Cotton MS., 273 (note); description of keep, 275; well in keep, 227, 249, 261, 264, 269, 276; question of triforium gallery in keep, 278; kitchen, 280; Norman piscinas in Library, 281.
- Bamburgh, churches of, given to Nostell Priory, 234.
- Bamburgh, Dominican friary at, 241, 251.
- Bamburgh, Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at, 232 (note), 251 (note).
- Bamburgh, tower of Master of, xv, 19.
- Bamburgh, wells at, 251.
- Barde, seigneur de la, envoy of Louis XI., 431.
- Barmkin*, 64; cost of building a, 36.
- Barmoor, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 9; tower of, 17; hold at, 23.
- Barnoldby, John de, custos of Hospital at Bamburgh, 251 (note).
- Baronies, no necessary connection between castles and, 4 (note).
- Barrow, John, mayor of Berwick, slain at Ford, 307.
- Barrow, 'ruined fortress' at, 45, xvi.
- Bascules*, 146.
- Basilia*, of Lindisfarne, 226 (note); of Bamburgh, 227 (note), 271 (note).
- Bastles*, 50, 65, 304.
- Bates, Thomas, thanked by queen Mary, sent to the Tower, rents Prudhoe Castle, 208; repairs barn at Prudhoe, 211; survey of Bamburgh by, 263, 286 (note).
- Bauçan le Kernu, horse of Odinel de Umfreville, 200 (note).
- Bavington, tower of, 16.
- Bayle, Robert, carries tables and pictures from Warkworth Castle, 425.
- Beadnell, men of, rewarded by Ed. IV., 434.
- Beaufort, Henry, duke of Somerset, 254, 431, 446, 448.
- Beaufront, tower of, 18.
- Beaumont, Isabel de, *see* Vesey, Isabel Dame de.
- Bebba, queen, gives name to Bamburgh, 224.
- Beblow, Fort of, on Holy Island, 52.
- Bel, Jehan le, calumniates Edward III., 368.
- Belford, castle of, 15; hold at, 23.
- Bellasia, Mr. Geo., taken prisoner near Cartington, 402.
- Bellingham, Sir Henry, at Bamburgh, 256.
- Bellister, bastle of, 48; William de Ros petitions for manor of, 337 (note).
- Bellys, John, surveys by, of Warkworth, 117; of Dunstanburgh, 182; of Bamburgh, 258.
- Belsay, tower of, 18; resembles Chipchase, 416.
- Bemerton, surrenders Warkworth to the Scots, 418.
- Berrington, tower of, 17, 37.
- Bertfrid, defends Bamburgh, 226.
- Bertram, family of, 286 (note); arms of, 284 (note).
- Bertram, John, succeeds to Bothal, 285; petition of, to Parliament, 286.
- Bertram, Robert, builds Bothal Castle, 284; shield of, on gatehouse, 290.
- Bertram, traditional founder of Warkworth Hermitage, 96 (note), 418.
- Berwick, castle of the town of, 14; Grey Friars at, supported by sir John Grey, 299; John Barrow, mayor of, slain at Ford, 307.
- Beverley, Thomas, finds Sabyn at Dunstanburgh, 182.
- BEWICK TOWER, 310.
- Biddleston, tower of, 19, 43; hold at, 24, xvi.
- Birgham, Albany's march to, 346.
- Birtley, John, builds Rothley Tower, 21.
- Bitchfield, tower at, 22.

- Blanchland, tower at, 22.
 Blenkinsop (Blemonsoppe), licences to crenellate 'mansum' at, 9; castle or fortalice at, 15; tower of, 48.
 Bolam, Camp and Tower at, 4 (note).
 Bolbec, Hugh de, constable of Bamburgh, letter of, to Henry III., 239.
 Bolton, 'pilum' at, 11 (note).
 Bolton, William de, dresses wound of David Bruce, at Bamburgh, 248.
 Bond Gate Tower, at Alnwick, building of, 21, 422 (note).
 Bonour, John, gardener at Warkworth Castle, 424.
Bordealy Saundre, chasuble of, at Dunstanburgh, 177.
 Borders, The, Acts for fortifying, 1555, 66; 1581, 65; commissions for enquiries into decays on, 67; Report of Commissioners of, 69.
 Borthwick Tower (Midlothian), 150 (note); oratory in, 396.
 Bosco, Roger de, foot-balist at Bamburgh, 237.
 BOTHAL CASTLE, 283; licence to crenellate, 9; built by Robert Bertram, 284; besieged by sir Robert Ogle, 285; Gatehouse, 287; 'New Chapel of Our Lady,' shield from, at, 287 (note); shields on gatehouse, 288; figures on battlements, 291, 294; survey of, 1576, 291.
 Bothal Church, ancient glass in, 295; monument of 3rd lord Ogle, 295; shields in roof, 296.
Bottle, 283.
 Bowes, sir Robert, *View of the Marches* by, and sir Ralph Ellerker, 28; *Book of the Frontiers* by, 51; reports by, on Dunstanburgh, 186; Bamburgh, 262; Wark, 350, 356.
 Bowyer, Dr., restores hall and kitchen of Bamburgh, 270.
 Boys, Jane, of Bamburgh, poisoned by friar, 253.
 Bradley, stone-house at, 47.
 'Braggarstone,' see Haggerston.
 Brandling, sir Ralph (? Francis), rents Warkworth Castle, 402.
 Branxton Tower destroyed by James IV., 22; repaired, xvi, 34.
Bratesche, 54.
 Brezé, Pierre de, seigneur de la Varenne, and count Maulevrier, commands expedition to England, 433; arrival of, in Scotland, 436 (note); escapes from Bamburgh, 436; brings off Alnwick Garrison, 436; besieges castle near Alnwick, 438; at siege of Norham, 438; departure of, 444.
 'Brincewelle,' *civitas* of, 81.
 Brito, balister of Bamburgh, 237.
 Brotherwyk, John, chaplain of Warkworth Castle, 424.
 Browne, sir Valentine, account of the Border by, 68.
 Buchanan, at siege of Wark, 346 (note).
 Buck, Samuel and Nathaniel, views by, of Dunstanburgh, 190 (note); of Prudhoe, 211, 220, 221 (note); of Bamburgh, 275.
 Buckton, tower of, 19.
Buffet stool, 319 (note).
 Burgh, Hubert de, at Bamburgh, 237; letter of John Wascelin to, 238.
 Burgh, William, constable of Prudhoe, 205; letter of protection from Henry VI. to, 256, 445.
Burhs, situation of, 1, 2.
Burn, equivalent of *burgh*, 302 (note).
 Burradon (Coquetdale), tower of, 43; called a 'bassel-house,' 65.
 Burradon (Tynemouthshire), tower at, 22.
 Burrell, John, of Howtell, 382.
 Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*, comment on, 56 (note).
 Bussei, Jordan de, defends Wark, 331.
 Butler, Thomas, commissioner of first duke of Northumberland, notes on Warkworth Hermitage by, 420, 421.
Bycocket, 146.
 Bywell bridge, ruins of, 25.
 BYWELL CASTLE, 372; Henry VI. at, 21 (note), 372; survey of, by Hall and Homberston, 372; oppression of sir John Forster at, 373; survey of, 1608, 374; account of, by sir David Smith, 374; *grille*, 377.
 Bywell Village, conflagration at, 1285, 374 (note).
- C.
- Cæsar, Julius, keep of Newcastle said to have been built by, 64; Chillingham Church, said to have been endowed by, 297 (note).
Caff, 320 (note).
Caffa, 320 (note).
Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, comment on, 56 (note).
Calendars of State Papers, comments on, 51 (note), 59 (note), 76 (note).
 Callaly, Castle, 14; tower, 42; door and arms at, 406 (note).
 Cambo, Walter de, to give up Bamburgh, 242.
 Camden, William, mention by, of Warkworth, 127 (note); of Bamburgh, 267 (note).
Camera, 8 (note).

- Candelyng, Ralph, of Heton, 23.
 Cannon, names given to, 257 (note).
 Capheaton, castle or fortalice of, 1415, 15;
 (Hutton) Leland's mention of, 28;
 plundered by sir Thomas Percy, 207.
 Carey, Thomas, keeper of the gate of
 Prudhoe, ordered to evacuate the castle,
 207; Thomas, lord Hunsdon, at Wark-
 worth; protests against spoliation of
 sir John Forster, 126.
 Carham, 'pile' at, mentioned by Leland,
 28, 59; tower at, 30; honour of, 331;
 castle of, called Wark, 331 (note).
 Carnaby, arms of, impaled at Chipchase,
 414; Cuthbert, constable of Wark-
 worth, 116 (note), 118; Lancelot, in-
 ventory of the goods of, 318; sir Re-
 ginald, possible remembrance of, at
 Chipchase, 414; Thomas, deceived by
 John Heron, 317; William, arms of,
 314; William, proof of age of, 315;
 William, escapes from John Heron, 317.
 Carr, John, captain of Wark, 350; taken
 prisoner at Haddon Rigg, returns to
 Wark on parole, 357; inefficiency of,
 358; Mark, threatens to burn village
 near Warkworth, 116; Robert, attacks
 Giles Heron at Ford, 307; Thomas, de-
 fends tower of Ford Castle, marries
 Elizabeth Heron, 306.
 Carraw, tower at, 47.
 Carry Coats, bastle at, 46.
 CARTINGTON CASTLE, 397; Margaret
 queen of Scots at; siege of, 398; views
 of, 405 (note); well in, 408.
 Cartington, family of, 397.
 Cartington 'Nunnery,' 404.
 Castell, Thomas, builds tower on Farne
 Islands, 22, 26.
 Catherine, St., image of, at Chillingham,
 299.
 Caundish, Richard, inspects Wark, 345.
 Cawsey Park, tower at, 22.
 Caxton, William, gunner at Wark, 354.
 Chariot of the sixth earl of Northumber-
 land, 425.
 Charlton, sir Edward, of Cartington, 403;
 Jerry, prisoner at Warkworth, 119.
 Charlton, South, tower built at, 21, xv.
 Charolois, count of, Charles (the Bold),
 445, 446.
 Chatton, towers at, 1415, 19; hold at, 23;
 towers at, 1541, 35; licence to build
 tower at, 35 (note).
 Chess, played by Ed. III. at Wark, 364.
 Cheswick, tower at, 1541, 37; 1561, 53.
 Cheviot, vanished townships in, 32 (note).
 CHILLINGHAM CASTLE, 297; licence to
 crenellate, 9; hold at, 23; vicar's cham-
 ber at; christening of Margaret de
 Heton at, 297; tomb of sir Ralph Gray
 in church at, 298; sir Ingram Percy
 sends for ordnance to besiege; repaired
 by sir Robert Ellester, 300; arms on the
 front of; statues of nine worthies at;
 colours of cattle in park, 301.
 CHIPCHASE CASTLE, 410; Leland's men-
 tion of, 27; tower at, 1415, 47; port-
 cullis, supposed oven, oratory, piscina,
 411; manor-house; armorial shields of
 Heron family, 413; figures of bears, etc.,
 414.
 Chirdon Burn, pele on, 64.
 Choppington, tower built at, 22.
Ciprus, 319 (note).
Civitas, 81 (note).
 Clarence, duke of, *see* George Plantagenet.
 Clark, Mr. G. T., comments on, 143 (note),
 150 (note), 216 (note), 224 (note), 271
 (note), 276 (note), 277 (note), 278 (note),
 279 (note).
 Clark, John, takes down the 'materials'
 of Warkworth castle, 128, 418.
 Clarkson, George, survey of Warkworth,
 122; of Prudhoe, lost, 208 (note).
 Clavering, the honour of, granted to Roger
 fitz Richard, 85; genealogy of the lords
 of, 90; William, of Duddo, 409.
 Claxton, Ralph, made prisoner near Car-
 tington, 403.
 Clennell, tower at, 1541, 43.
 Clerc, Thomas, of Elisman, Scottish pri-
 soner at Bamburgh, 242.
 Clifford, Robert de, English commissioner,
 1249, 7 (note).
 Coat Walls, tower at, 1541, 43; 1584,
 xvii.
 Cobham, sir Reginald, with Ed. III. at
 Wark, 364; (Renaut de Gobehen), 366
 (note).
 COCKLAW TOWER, 370.
 Cocklaw, tower of, in Teviotdale, besieged
 by Hotspur, 99.
 COCKLE PARK TOWER, 390; fire-place
 and window from, at Bothal, 293, 391;
 dower-house of the Ogles, 391.
 Cokesburn, Adam de, prisoner at Bam-
 burgh, 248.
 COLDMARTIN TOWER, 309.
 Collingwood, George and John, made
 prisoners near Cartington, 402; Gilbert,
 occupier of Bewick tower; Robert,
 bailiff of Bewick, 310.
 Conyers, shield of, on Bothal gatehouse,
 290.
 Cooke, Alexander de, rector of Rothbury,
 possible arms of, 393 (note).
 Coppyll, John, constable of Bamburgh,
 253.
 Coquet Island, tower of, 1415, 19.

- Corbridge, vicar's tower at, 1415, 18;
grille, 377; king's officer at, 201.
Cornage, 312 (note).
 Cornhill, fortress at, demolished, 11;
 tower of, 1415, 17; 1541, 30; 1561, 53;
 1584, 72, 80.
 'Coroumbr,' 429.
 Coterell, John, oxen from Prudhoe park
 given to, 203.
 Coucy, Porte de Laon at, resemblance of,
 to Warkworth gatehouse, 139 (note).
 Coupland, no fortress at, 1541, 34; tower
 at, 54.
 Cousinot, Pierre, envoy of Louis XI., at
 Bamburgh, 446, 447.
 Coward, Thomas, retainer at Bothal
 Castle, 285.
 Cradlyfargus tower at Warkworth Castle,
 134.
 Craig, the, pele at, 61.
 Craster, tower of, 1415, 19.
 Craster, Edmund, constable of Dunstan-
 burgh, 181.
 Crawley, licence to crenellate 'mansum'
 at, 9; tower of, 1415, 17; little tower
 at, 1541, 42.
 Crenellate, licences to, 7, 35 (note).
Crenelle, 7.
 Creswell, tower of, 22.
 Creswell, John, constable of Warkworth,
 refuses to surrender the castle, 103.
 Crewe, lord, bishop of Durham, purchases
 Bamburgh, 267.
Cubenda, 187.
 Cumyn, John, has licence to build *camera*
 at Tasset, 7.
 Currar, John, description of 78 castles of
 Northumberland attributed to, xv.
 Cuthbert, St., image of, at Chillingham,
 299.
- D.
- Dacre, Christopher, 69; dyke proposed
 by, 75, 76; plat of forts and castles on
 the Border, 77, xvii.
 Dacre, Thomas lord, account of Wark by,
 342.
 Dala Castle, built 1237, 56.
 Darcy, shield of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 290.
 Darlington, arms of, on effigy in Wark-
 worth Church, 86 (note).
 Darreys, Robert, constable of Warkworth
 Castle, 93.
 Davell, Dr. Robert, assists Leland, 25.
 David, king of Scots, marches past Bam-
 burgh, 234; Wark taken by, 332.
 David Bruce, besieges Wark, 340, 360;
 imprisoned at Bamburgh, 248.
 Davidson, John, of Warkworth Barns,
 419 (note).
- Davisons, captured at Wark, 348.
 Delaval, Robert, releases Malcolm Flem-
 ing, 285; arms of, on Bothal Gatehouse,
 290.
 Dene, Peter de, presents horses for works
 at Dunstanburgh, 170.
 Denton, near Haltwhistle, tower of, 1415,
 18.
 Denton, John de, accused of aiding Scots,
 361 (note).
 Denyas, Walter, a bandit, harboured at
 Prudhoe, 201.
 Despenser, Hugh le, cattle of, driven to
 Wark, 337.
 Dichant, castle or fortalice of, 1415, 15.
 Dilston tower, 22.
 Dinguaroy, early name of Bamburgh,
 224.
 Dixon, John, the 'Lady Preeste' at
 Prudhoe, 207.
 Doddington tower, 54.
 Doors, anciently made to open outwards,
 133 (note).
 Douglas, William earl of, burns Wark-
 worth, 166; William, porter of Dunstan-
 burgh, 181.
 Downham, tower at, 1541, 31.
 DUDDO TOWER, 409.
 Dungeons, at Warkworth, 158; Chilling-
 ham, 300; Hebburn, 304.
 Dunstan Hall (Proctor Steads) tower at,
 22.
 DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE, 167; licence
 to crenellate 'mansum' at, 9, 171;
 state of, 1584, 70; contract for building,
 170; works of John of Gaunt at, 173,
 174; Holme's gatehouse, 174, 190;
mantlet, 173, 189; outer gateway, 174,
 189; ruinous state of great Gateway,
 175; foundation of East Tower strength-
 ened, 176; ornaments of King's Chapel,
 177, 189; draw-well, 177, 190; Elgyn
 Tower, 178, 192 (note); Lilburn Tower,
 183, 185, 190; Eggingclough Tower,
 185, 192 (note), 193; constable's lodging,
 185, 192; Great Gatehouse (Donjon)
 187, 188, 189; Bucks' view of, 190
 (note); west postern, 191; Margaret
 Tower, so-called, 193 (note); Rumble
 Churn, 194; survey of, 1591, 194; lead
 of, required for Wark, 347.
 'Durem, le chité de (? Auckland), burnt
 by the Scots, 362.
 'Dysyon' (Dijon) name of a cannon at
 siege of Bamburgh, 257.
- E.
- Earle (Yerdle) bastle-house at, 1541, 33.
 Edlingham Castle, first mentioned, 12;
 in 1415, 14.

- Edward I. at Warkworth, 90; at Bamburgh, 242; at Thirlwall, 325; at Wark, 336.
- Edward III. at Bamburgh, 248; shield of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 288; relieves Wark, 340, 359; itinerary of, 1341-2, 361; at Alnwick, 363.
- Edward, the Black Prince, arms of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 288.
- Eggingclough Tower, at Dunstanburgh Castle, 185, 192 (note), 193.
- Elgyn Tower, at Dunstanburgh Castle, 178, 192.
- Elias, mason at Dunstanburgh, 170.
- Ellerker, sir William, constable of Dunstanburgh, 182, 184, 185; deserts Wark, 345, 356; sir Ralph, *View of the Marches* by sir Robert Bowes and, 28; sir Robert, repairs Chillingham, 300.
- Ellingham, 'Doufhyll' at, 196.
- Elmeden, sir William, constable of Bamburgh, 253.
- Elmund's Well, tower of, at Bamburgh Castle, 240, 272.
- Elsdon, Mote Hills at, 4 (note); tower of rector at, 1415, 19.
- Elterton, in Cheviot, 32 (note).
- Elwick, two towers at, 1415, 17; 1561, 53.
- Elyburn, strong pile at, 1541, 45.
- Embleton (Emildon), tower of vicar at, 1415, 19; 27.
- Emeldon, Richard, keeper of Dunstanburgh, 172.
- Endreby Henry de, friar at Bamburgh, 242 (note).
- Errington, Arthur, rescues casket at Hulton, 318; family of, owners of Cocklaw, 370.
- Ersden, Thomas, of the Fieldhead, servant at Bamburgh Castle, 266.
- Eshet, licence to crenellate, 8; castle of, 1415, 14.
- Eslington, licence to crenellate, 9; tower, 1415, 17; hold at, 1509, 24; 'pratice pile,' 25; tower, 1541, 43.
- Eslington, John de, constable of Bamburgh, 243.
- Espec, Walter, founder of Wark, 33.
- Etal, licence to crenellate, 9; castle of, 1415, 14; hold at, 1509, 23; garrison, 1522, xvi; Leland's mention of, 27; bridge at, 28, 38; castle of, 1541, 38; state of, 1583, 64; 1584, 73.
- Etherston, tower at, 1415, 17; hold at, 1509, 23.
- Eu, comte d', 'carville' of, 438.
- Eure, origin of name of family of, 89; sir Ralph, at Warkworth, 120.
- Eustace fitz John, removed from Bamburgh, 234; slain at Coleshill, 84.
- Ewerd, John, bailiff of Wark, 344.
- F.
- Farne Island, ravaged by men of Pittenweem, 43; tower built on, 22, 26.
- Farnham, corruption of Thernham, 18 (note), 44 (note).
- Fawns (Sawnes), the, bastle at, 1541, 46.
- Felkington, bastle at, 1561, 53.
- Felton, Anthony, takes lead from Bywell Castle, 374; William de, constable of Bamburgh, 244; arms of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 290.
- Fenham, tower at, 1561, 53.
- Fenton, tower at, 1415, 19; hold at, 1509, 23; great tower at, 1541, 39.
- Fenwick, tower of, 1415, 18; pile at, mentioned by Leland, 28, 29.
- Fenwick, John de, deputy-constable of Bamburgh, steals hall-table, etc., 250.
- Fetherstonhaugh, tower at, 1541, 48.
- Filton Moor, the White House at, 1541, 46.
- Firmitas*, at Newcastle, 3.
- Fistudmes* (?festoons), 425 (note).
- 'Flammdwynn,' Celtic name for Hussa or Theodric, 224 (note).
- Fleming, Malcolm, earl of Wigton, prisoner at Bothal, 284.
- Flodden Field, badges at, 296 (note).
- Flotterton, fortalice of, 1415, 18.
- FORD CASTLE, 305; licence to crenellate, 9; Leland's mention of, 27; state of, in 1584, 73; dismantled by Scots; taken by Lilburn and Roddam, and by James IV., 305; greater part burnt by d'Esé; seized by Dixon, 306; garrisoned by the Herons; Purdy's plan of, 307; altered by sir J. Hussey Delaval, 308, xxi; alleged intrigue of James IV. and lady Heron at; held for the Pilgrimage of Grace, 309; view of, in Bodleian Library, xxi.
- Ford, the parson's tower at, destroyed, 25, 39.
- Forster, sir John, takes possession of Warkworth, 125; ravages of, at Warkworth, Alnwick, and Hulne, 126, 127; despoils Bamburgh, 266; oppression of, at Bywell, 373; Claudius, Bamburgh granted to, 267.
- Fowberry, hold at, 1509, 23; tower at, 1541, 35.
- Fowberry, Roger, owner of Coldmartin tower, 309.
- Freeman, Professor, comments on, 3 (note), 150 (note), 216 (note), 224 (note), 232 (note), xx, 233 (note), 271 (note), 427.

Freytag, Gustav, description of German castle, xix.

Froissart, account of relief of Wark by Ed. III., by; Mr. Ruskin's opinion of its general trustworthiness, 359; shallow criticisms of, 360; protest of, against calumnies of Jehan le Bel, 369.

'Fursan,' name given to Robert de Ros, 335.

G.

Galon, William, bailiff of Dunstanburgh, 171.

Gascoyne, badge of, 296 (note).

Gatherick, coal pits at, 350.

Gaunt, John of, *see* Plantagenet.

Gaveston, Piers de, interned at Bamburgh, 243.

Gee, sir Orlando, of Prudhoe Castle, 211.

Gerard, engineer at Bamburgh, 240.

Gesemuth, Adam de, builds *camera* at Heaton, 7.

Gledstannys, John, captain of Cocklaw in Teviotdale, 99.

Glendale, condition of, 1541, 35.

Gospatric, earl of Northumberland, takes refuge in Bamburgh, 426; leads foray from Bamburgh, 228.

Gosse, John, captain of Dunstanburgh, beheaded, 180.

Goswick, pele at, 1561, 53.

Gower, Thomas, surveyor at Wark, 349, 357.

Grandison, Katharine de, *see* Montagu.

Greene, John, hermit at Warkworth, 423.

Greenleighton, stonehouse at, 1541, 46.

Grey (Gray), arms and crest of family of, 298; badges of, 299; of Backworth, arms of, at Chipchase, 415 (note); Arthur (? Hector), of Wooler, 24 (note); colonel Edward, cavalier commander in Northumberland, 399, 400; sir John, patron of Grey Friars at Berwick, 299; lord Leonard (? Edward) reinforces Wark, 345, 357; Lyell, of Lilburn, 24 (note); sir Ralph, tomb of, at Chillingham, 298; sir Ralph, entails Chillingham, 300, Alnwick Castle entrusted to, 433, flees from Hexham, 256, defends Bamburgh, 257, 272, 279; sir Ralph, Wark restored to by queen Mary, 352; sir Ralph, rents Warkworth, 420, purchases Dunstanburgh, xix; sir Thomas, author of *Scalachronica*, 299; sir Thomas, custodian of Bamburgh, 252, seizes Horne of Chillingham, 298, receives grant of Wark, 341; William, lord of Wilton, at Warkworth, 121.

Grilles, Scottish and English construction of, 377.

Grimm, Henry, view of Warkworth by, 166; of Prudhoe, 211, 220, 221 (note). Grindon Rigg, tower at, 1541, 38; 1561, 53; 1584, 80.

Grose, Francis, description of Warkworth by, 129, 193 (note), 218 (note); description of Bamburgh, 267, 277, 279; view of Bothal, 294.

Gubion, Hugh, ordered to deliver up Bamburgh, 242.

Guile-house, 320 (note).

Guisesnes, 345, 351.

Gunnerton, tower at, 1541, 47.

H.

Haggerston, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 10; tower of, 1415, 17, 27; (Braggarstone), strong tower at, 1541, 37.

Haggerston, Robert, William, and Henry, constables of Dunstanburgh, 181, 254 (note).

Haliburton, William, of Fast Castle, Wark taken by, 342.

Hall, Edmund, and William Homberston, survey of Warkworth by, 126; of Bywell, 372.

Hall, Rev. G. Rome, account of third floor of Chipchase Tower by, xxiii.

Hall Barns, the (Simondburn), bastle at, 1541, 47.

HALTON TOWER, 311; Alfwold possibly slain at; early tenures at, 312; description of, 321.

Halton, arms of, 315; John de, accused of cattle-lifting, 313.

Haltwhistle, tower of, 1415, 18; tower at, 1541, 48.

Hangingshaws, Roger, unable to complete pele at Hare Cleugh, 1541, 45.

Harbottle Castle, built by Henry II., 5 (note); taken by William the Lion; keep, 6; 14, 24, 26, 44, 74.

Harbottle, arms of the family of, 197 (note); John de, keeper of Dunstanburgh, 175; Ralph, unfilial conduct of, 196; sir Ralph, constable of Prudhoe, 206; Robert de, constable of Dunstanburgh, 175, owner of Preston, 195.

Hardyng, John, squire of Hotspur, 100; hides letters of conspirators at Warkworth, 101; made constable of the castle, 109.

Hare Cleugh (? Hepple Wood Houses), unfinished stone pile at, 1541, 45.

Harle, Kirk, tower at, 54; Little, tower at, 1541, 46; West, tower at, 1415, 16.

Harnham Hall, fortalice of, 1415, 16.

- Hartshorne, Rev. J., comments on, 5 (note), 7 (note), 61, 151 (note), 155, 165, 172 (note), 208 (note), 213 (note), 216 (note), 240 (note), 422 (note), 425.
- Harterton Hall, bastle at, 1541, 46.
- Hasildene, William, purveyor of army at Bamburgh, 434.
- Hastings, Laurence, earl of Pembroke, with Edward III., at Wark, 364, 366.
- Hatfield, Stephen, constable of Dunstanburgh, 175.
- Haughton Castle, first mentioned, 11; 1415, 15; 1541, 47.
- Hawick, bastle at, 1541, 46.
- Hazelrigg, hold at, 1509, 23; unfinished tower at, 1541, 39.
- Hazelwood, Richard, gunner at Wark, 354.
- Heaton, *camera* built at, 7; 'king John's palace' at, 8 (note).
- HEBBURN BASTLE, 302.
- Hebburn, arms of family of; will of Thomas, 302; settlement of feud between families of Story and, 303.
- Heddon (Cheviot), 32 (note).
- Heddon Law, David Bruce encamped on, 360; (near Mindrum), watch house to be built on, 1551, 51.
- Heddon, Thomas de, holds porter house at Bamburgh, 250.
- Hedgeley Moor, date of battle of, 180 (note).
- Heiferlaw tower, 22.
- Henry II., resumes northern counties, builds Harbottle, 5.
- Henry III., at Bamburgh, 237; grant from, to friars at Bamburgh, 241; at Wark, 335, 336.
- Henry IV., quarrels with Hotspur, 98; takes Warkworth, 107.
- Henry VI., at Bamburgh, 256, 437, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448; at Bywell, 21 (note), 372, 448.
- Henry fitz David, earl of Northumberland, charters of, 5, 83; at Bamburgh, 235.
- HEPPLE TOWER, 396; hold at, 1509, 24.
- Hepple, family of, owners of Tosson, 392.
- Herbert, the *Casque* a badge of, 147.
- Hermits at Warkworth:—Thomas Barker, John Green, Edward Slegg, George Lancaster, 423.
- Heron, arms of family of, at Chipchase, 413, 414; Cuthbert, builds manor-house at Chipchase, 413; Elizabeth, dame, negotiates for preservation of Ford, 305, alleged intrigue of, with James IV., 309; Giles, slain at Ford, 307; John, constable of Warkworth, 425; John, of Chipchase, intrigues of, 316; Reginald, tenant of Prudhoe, 211; William, crenellates Ford, 305; William, constable of Bamburgh, 240, 241; William, lord Say, entrusted with Percy estates, 102; summons Warkworth to surrender, 103.
- Hesilrige, sir Arthur, despatch from, 400; Lancelot, constable of Warkworth, 425.
- Healeside, tower at, 1541, 48.
- Hethpool, tower at, 1415, 17; 'pyle' at, 1541, 32; tower, 1584, xviii.
- HETON CASTLE, 329; siege of, 1496, xxii; hold at, 1509, 23; Leland's mention of, 27; 1541, 29; 1551, 52; 1561, 53; 1584, 71, 80.
- Heton, sir Alan de, deputy constable of Bamburgh, 249; Margery de, proof of age of, 297; sir Thomas de, crenellates Chillingham, grants chamber to vicar, 297.
- Heugh, the Great, near Norham, bastle at, 1541, 38.
- Hexham, tower of, 1415, 18; battle of, 180 (note), 439 (note), 448 (note); error on tombstone of sir Robert Ogle at, 285 (note); canons of, deceived by John Heron, 316; William the Conqueror at, 426.
- Hill, William, takes tents of Edward IV. to Bamburgh, 434.
- Hinde, J. Hodgson, comments on, 7 (note), 23 (note), 24 (notes).
- Hodesac, Roger de, keeper of Bamburgh, 237, 238.
- Hodgson, Rev John, comments on, 12 (note), 17 (note), 18 (notes), 28 (note), 41 (note), 390 (note).
- Holburn, tower of, 1415, 17; hold at, 1509, 23; tower at, 1541, 39.
- 'Holibant, ung passage nomme,' 435 (note).
- Holme, Henry de, mason at Dunstanburgh, 174, 190.
- Holy Island, capture of French at, 254, 435; fort of Beblow on, 52.
- Hoo, William, carts bombards to Bamburgh, 434.
- Hoppen, tower of, 1415, 16.
- Horncliff, Robert de, constable of Bamburgh, 245; inventory of, 246; repairs by, 247.
- HORSLEY, LONG, TOWER, 380.
- Horsley, arms of family of, on Bothal Gatehouse, 290; sir John, captain of Bamburgh, 262, 265, 266; sir John, entertains Monk, 380; Robert, porter of Warkworth, 116 (note), seneschal, 120; Roger, constable of Bamburgh, 243, extortions of, 244, Dunstanburgh entrusted to, 172; Thomas, constable of Warkworth, 425.

Horton-in-Glendale, castle of, 1415, 15; hold at, 1509, 23; great tower at, 1541, 39.

Horton-next-the-Sea, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 8; pele at, 1317, 57; castle or fortalice at, 1415, 14.

Hotspur, see Percy.

Houselawlough, rendezvous of Scots at, 344.

Howard, Thomas, earl of Surrey (afterwards third duke of Norfolk), inspects Wark, 345; at Warkworth, 119, 120.

Howick, tower of, 1415, 16; 'little pile' at, 27, 59.

HOWTELL Tower, 382.

Hulne Priory, tower at, 22.

Hume, David, wounded, 345.

Hungerford, lord, admitted to Alnwick, 437; captured after Hexham, 448 (note).

Hunsdon, lord, see Carey.

Hunt, Margaret, account of Warkworth Castle by, 129 (note).

Hunter, William, of Thornyhaugh, servant at Bamburgh castle, 265.

Hurst, near Woodhorn, tower at, 54.

Hutchinson, Matthew, gunner at Wark 354.

I.

Ida, 'timbers' Bamburgh, 224.

Ilderton, tower of, 1415, 17; 1541, 42; 1584, xvii.

Ilderton, Thomas de, constable of Dunstanburgh, 174.

Ingram, hold at, 1509, 24; tower at, 1541, 42.

Irminburga, queen, hastens to Bamburgh, 226.

J.

James IV., king of Scots, ravages of, 1496, 22, xxii; takes Ford, 305; alleged intrigue of, with Lady Heron, 309.

John, St., the Baptist, and St. John, the Evangelist, images of, at Chillingham, 299.

John, king of England, at Warkworth, 88; at Bamburgh, 236.

John, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV., see Plantagenet.

John fitz Robert I., lord of Warkworth, seal of, 89.

John fitz Robert II. (Clavering), lord of Warkworth, agrees to leave lands to Ed. II., 93; death of, 94; seal of, 95 (note).

John le Irish (de Hibernia), to be received into Warkworth, 93; extortion of, at Bamburgh, 244.

Jolyff, a cur thrown into well at Bamburgh, 252.

'Joyous Garde,' Bamburgh supposed to be, 262.

Justin and Guthmund, sack Bamburgh, 228.

K.

Keeps, Norman, 5, 6. 278 (note).

Kennedy, James, bishop of St. Andrews, protects Henry VI., 436, 437 (note); arranges truce with Warwick, 447.

Kiddles, 206, xx.

Kilham, new tower to be built at, 1541, 36, 53.

Kilvington, Hugh de, dresses wounds of David Bruce, 248.

King, Edward, account of Bamburgh by, 269, 275, 277, 279.

Kirkley, tower of, 1415, 16.

Kyloe, tower of, 1415, 16.

Kynewulf, bp. of Lindisfarne, confined at Bamburgh, 226.

L.

Ladyman, sir John, sells bell of Warkworth Castle.

Lancaster, George, hermit, at Warkworth, 116, 423.

Langley Castle, first mentioned, 11; 1415, 15; taken by Montagu, 21 (note), 448; 1541, 48; William Carnaby escapes to, 317.

Lanton, tower of, 1415, 17; destroyed, 1496, 22; 1522, xvi; mentioned by Leland, 28; 1541, 34; 1584, 73, xvii.

'Larder, Wauter du, of Inchetethe,' prisoner at Bamburgh, 242.

Latimer, sir Nicholas, surrenders at Bamburgh, 255 (note).

Lawson, Wilfrid, vicar of Warkworth, 417, 418, 419.

Learmouth, village of, burnt, 345.

Lee, Arthur, imprisoned at Bywell, 374.

Leland, John, notes on towers in Northumberland by, 25, 26, 27, 28; state of MSS. of, 26 (note).

Lemington, near Edlingham, tower at, 1415, 19.

Lempitlaw, Wat Young of, 344.

Leslie, John, bp. of Ross, his account of Border 'pailles,' 59.

Lewyn, John, mason at Dunstanburgh, 173.

Licences to crenellate, from kings, 7, 8; from bps. of Durham, xv; from earl of Northumberland, 35 (note).

Lilburn, tower at, 1415, 19; holds at, 1509, 24; (West), towers at, 1541, 37.

Lilburn Tower at Dunstanburgh, 167, 183, 185, 190.
 Lilburn, John de, constable of Dunstanburgh, 172; col. Robert, account of victory of Cartington by, 402.
 Linlithgow, palace of, resemblances in to Warkworth, 150 (note).
 Linn Brigg, 'great buyldinge' at, 26; new bastle to be built at, 1541, 44.
 Lisle, Sir Robert de, conveys Chipchase to the Herons, 415; Robert, keeper of Prudhoe Castle, 203; sir William, defends Wark, 346.
Leverye cubbert, 318 (note).
 Longman's, *Edward III.*, comment on, 360 (note).
 Longstaffe, Mr. W. H. D., comments on, 144, 145 (note), 174 (note).
 Lound, Henry, constable of Dunstanburgh, 176.
 Lowick, tower of, 1415, 17; 1509, 23; 1541, 37; 1584, 74, xviii.
 Lucas, sir Gervas, taken near Cartington, 462.
 Lyndesey, sir David, builds tower in Tyndale, 1297, 55.
 Lyttleton, Charles, bp. of Carlisle, 417, 418.

M.

Maitland, Professor, comments on *Northumbrian Tenures* by, 312 (note).
 Malet, Louis, seigneur Granville, taken at Holy Island, 435.
Malvoisin before Bamburgh, 231, 232 (note).
Mantlet, 173, 174 (note).
 Marches, laws of the, 1249, 7 (note).
 Margaret (?) Tower, at Dunstanburgh, 178, xix, 198 (note).
 Margaret, St., image of, at Chillingham, 299; of Anjou, flees from Towton, 429; crosses to France 431; lands near Bamburgh, 433, besieged at Bamburgh, 254, 434, escapes to Berwick, 254, 435; defeated at 'Rel,' 438; adventure of, with the robber, 440, privations, 444, embarks at Bamburgh, 255, 282 (note), 444, further intrigues of, 445, 446, 447, queen of Scots, at Cartington, 398.
 Marriage-settlement of Margery Ogle, 196.
 Martyn, John, gunner at Wark, 357.
 Mason-marks on Prudhoe and Bothal, 11.
 'Matathyas,' signature of first earl of Northumberland, 106.
 Mauduit, Roger, constable of Dunstanburgh, 172; of Prudhoe, 202, 213 (note).
 Maulevrier, *see* Brezé.
 'Meisen,' The, at Bamburgh, 232 (note).
 Meldon, tower of, 1415, 16.

Merlon, 7.
 Metcaut, Celtic name of Holy Island, 224.
Mourrière, 150 (note).
 Middleham, John of, constable of Warkworth, 107.
 Middleton Hall, two bastles at, 1541, 33.
 Middleton, North, tower of, 1415, 16.
 Middleton-next-the-Sea, tower at, 1415, 19.
 Middleton, sir John, servants of the late duke of Somerset at Hexham, 448 (note).
 Millet, lieutenant-col. Ralph, taken near Cartington, 402.
 Mindrum, tower to be built at, 1551, 51; 65.
 Mitford, *oppidum* of, 1138, 4 (note); pentagonal keep at, castle of, 6; 1415, 14, 27; indenture for custody of, 90 (note).
 Montagu, Katharine de (Grandison) countess of Salisbury, 339, receives Edward III. at Wark, 340, 359; sir William, earl of Salisbury, grant of Wark to, 338; William, nephew of the earl of Salisbury, defends Wark, 339, 363.
 Montfort, Simon de, purchases barony of Embleton, 169.
 More, Richard, conveys ordnance of Edward IV. to Bamburgh, 434.
 Moreal, sheriff of Northumberland, defends Bamburgh, 231; alleged treachery of, 232 (note).
 Morehouselaw, conference at, 341.
 Morning, John, master-gunner at Wark, 357.
 Morpeth, *munitioncula*, 1095, 3; castle, 1138, 5; keep (*turris*), 6, 11 (note); *turriculum* and *turrellus* at, 11 (note); castle, 1415, 13; mentioned by Leland, 26, 27.
 Morwick, sir Hugh de, alleged effigy of, at Warkworth, 86 (note).
 Mowbray, Christiane de, lady-love of Robert de Ros, 337; Matilda de (de Aquila), countess of Northumberland, defends Bamburgh, 231, surrenders, 233; Robert de, earl of Northumberland, besieged in Bamburgh, 231, escapes, 232, taken at Tynemouth, 233.
Munitunoula, 3 (note).
 Murray, earl of, captivity of, 362 (note); at Bamburgh, 248.
 Muschanta, Henry, of the Greens, servant at Bamburgh Castle, 265.
 Musgrave, arms of the family of, impaled at Chipchase, 414; Anthony, vicar of Corbridge, assists Leland, 25.

N

- Nafferton, 'adulterine' castle at, 6; destruction of, 55.
 Nesbit-in-Glendale, tower of, 1415, 18; 1541, 39.
 Netherwitton, tower of, 1415, 16.
 Neville's Cross, ravages preceding battle of, 11 (note).
 Neville, John, lord Montagu (earl of Northumberland), relieves Carlisle, 430, takes Naworth, 433, relieves Newcastle, 437, wins Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, 448, at Warkworth, 114; Ralph de, executors of, repair Bamburgh, 248; Richard, earl of Warwick, at Dumfries, 438, at Warkworth, 113, 165, 434, marches to relief of Norham, 438, 443, drives Bressé from England, 444, takes Bamburgh, 257, 448; Robert de, constable of Bamburgh, 241.
 Nevilles of Chevet, family of, purchase Willimoteswyke, 388, xxiii; loyalty of, 390 (note).
 Newbiggen, near Norham, tower at, 1541, 38; 1561, 52.
 Newbrough, tower at, 1541, 48.
 Newburn Hall, tower at, 22.
 Newcastle, *castellum*, built by Robert Curthose, *firmitas* taken, 1095, 3; monks of Tynemouth relieved from works at, 5; attempt of Mowbray on, 232; withstands William the Lion, keep built, 6; Black Gate, 7; queen's mantle, 174 (note); town walls, 25; earl of Northumberland at, 101; castle, 1415, 13; assault on, by sir Ralph Gray, 437; keep said to have been built by Cæsar, 62, 63, 64.
 'Newe-Castel,' cannon at siege of Bamburgh, 257.
 Newland, near Belford, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 8; tower of, 1415, 19.
 Newstead, tower at, 1405, 12; 1415, 18.
 Newton, in Glendale, tower at, 1415, 19; (East), stone house at, burnt, 25, 32.
 Newton, near Edlingham, tower at, 1415, 17.
 Newton Underwood (Old Walls), bastle at, 65.
 Nicolas, sir H., comments on, 98 (note), 100 (note), 103 (note), 112 (note), 326 (note).
 Nine Worthies, the, statues of, at Chillingham, 301.
 Norham Castle, built by Flambard, 3; the keep, by Pudsey, xv; twice taken by king David, 5; castle, 1415, 14; 1583, 64; 1584, 71; siege of, 1463, 438, 443.
 Northumberland, earls and countesses of, *see* Waltheof, Tosti, Gospatric, Mow-

bray, St. Liz, Henry fitz David, William the Lion, Percy, Neville.

Northumberland, Percy, earldoms of, 115 (note).

Nunnyskirk, tower at, 21.

'Nursery, the,' at Prudhoe Castle, 209, 221.

O

O'Flanagan, Nicholas, bp. of Elphin, joins in Te Deum after Towton, 429.

Ogle, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 9; castle of, 1415, 13.

Ogle, family of, arms of, on Bothal gatehouse, 291; owners of Tosson, 392, and of Hepple, 396; Cuthbert, rector of Ford, builds tower at Downham, 31, re-edifies parsonage tower at Ford, 39; Gawen, builds tower at Choppington, 22; Lewis, protects Halton, 318; Margerie, marriage settlement of, 196; sir Richard, constable of Bamburgh, 258; sir Robert, takes five Scottish knights, 1341, 360, 361 (note); sir Robert, marries heiress of Bothal, 285; sir Robert, tombstone of, at Hexham, 285 (note); sir Robert, besieges Bothal, 285; Robert, keeper of Wark, 1419, 342.

Old Walls, *see* Newton Underwood.

Oman, C. W., *Warrick the King-maker* by, 429; comments on, 436 (note), 437 (note), 439 (notes), 444 (note), 447 (note).

Oppidum, 4 (note).

Orde, William, of Prudhoe Castle, 211.

Ortolo, 139 (note).

Ormiston, *see* Cocklaw.

Osbert, master-mason at Bamburgh, 234.

Oswald, St., Aidan blesses hand of; arm of, preserved at Bamburgh, 225; head of, stolen from Bamburgh, 226; right hand of, at Bamburgh, 227; right arm of, stolen from Bamburgh, 229, 282 (note).

Oswin, St., miraculously protects men of Wylam, 201.

Otterburn, castle, 12; tower, 1415, 18; 27.
 Ovingham, tombstone of William Orde in church of, 211.

Oxenden, quarry at, 350.

P

Pakington, William, chronicle of, 172 (note).

Palfreyman, Adam, 361 (note).

Parlour, 163.

Parr, lord, of Kendal, at Warkworth, 119, 120.

Paston, John, the youngest, at Warkworth, 113.

'Patensone, Nichole, of Levenax,' prisoner at Bamburgh, 242.
 Patten, William, his account of Bamburgh, 262.
 Paul, St., image of, at Chillingham, 299.
 Paulinus, St., error as to preaching of, at Bamburgh, 224 (note).
 Pawston, tower at, 1541, 31.
Pele, 50, 57; at Bolton, 11 (note); at Staward, 10; at Wark-on-Tyne, 11; at Whittingham, 11 (note).
 Pembriigg, Richard de, constable of Bamburgh, charges against, 249, 251.
 Pembroke, earl of, *see* Hastings.
 Penda, twice besieges Bamburgh, 225.
 Percy, Henry, III.,* keeper of Bamburgh, 243; Henry, IV., the Strong, has grant of Warkworth, 94, dies there, 95, shield of, on Bothal gatehouse, 290; Henry, V., the Short, dies at Warkworth, 95; Henry, VI., first earl of Northumberland, grants charter at Warkworth, 96; victory of, at Homildon, 97; south of Scotland granted to, 99; demands arrears for king Henry IV., 100; attempts of, on Newcastle, 101; retires to Warkworth, imprisoned at Baginton, 102; great seal of, 104; signs Tripartite Indenture, 97 (note); refuses to attend Council, signature of, imprisons Waterton, 106; Henry, VII. (Hotspur), 97 (note); constable of Bamburgh, 252; quarrels with king Henry IV., 98; besieges Cocklaw in Teviotdale, 99; slain at Shrewsbury, 101; Henry, VIII., second earl of Northumberland, 105 (note); restored, 110; resides at Warkworth, 110, 111; signet of, 111, 145 (note); great seal of, 145 (note); Henry, X., fourth earl of Northumberland, restored by Edward IV., 114, 115; at Warkworth, 115; great seal of, 145 (note); badges of, on Lion Tower, Warkworth, and over outer gate at Alnwick, 147; constable of Dunstanburgh, 181; of Bamburgh, 258; builds tower at Hulne, 22; grants of, 424; Henry, XI., fifth earl of Northumberland, grants from, to Alnwick Abbey, 424, 425; possible founder of Warkworth college, 425; Henry, XII., sixth earl of Northumberland, at Warkworth, 116, 117; 'littyl chamber' of, there, 118; at Prudhoe, 206; 'Charette' of, at Warkworth, 425; Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland, made keeper of Prudhoe, 207; restored by Mary, 121;

at Warkworth, 122; martyrdom of, 127; Henry, XIV., ninth earl of Northumberland, orders lead of Warkworth to be preserved, 128.

Percy, Eleanor (Neville), countess of Northumberland, letters of, 111; signet of, 145 (note); Eleanor (Harbottle), wife of sir Thomas, xx, 197; Elizabeth (Wriothealey), countess of Northumberland, gives materials of Warkworth Castle to John Clark, 128; Henry, of Athole, refuses to surrender Warkworth, 103; 105 (note); sir Henry, son of sir Ralph, grant to, from Dunstanburgh, 181; porter of Bamburgh, 258 (note); sir Ingram, orders ordnance to bombard Chillingham, 300; John, son of second earl of Northumberland, born at Warkworth, 111; Maud (Herbert), countess of Northumberland, keeps orchard at Prudhoe, 205; Thomas, of Athole, 105; sir Thomas, at Prudhoe, 206; foray of, to Capheaton, 207; sends priest to seize Halton, 318; Thomas, misdeeds of, at Warkworth, 127, 128; suspected to be at Prudhoe, after Gunpowder Plot, 211; Thomas, bp. of Dromore, 111 (note), 417, 418, 421, 422.

Percy, quartered shield of, 197 (note).

'Persi, le ville de' (Alnwick), 362 (note).

Peter, St., image of, at Chillingham, 299.
 Pettyt, Thomas, master-mason at Wark, 349.

Philip, sir Thomas, rallies at Bamburgh, 256.

Philippa (of Hainault) queen, besieged in Bamburgh, 248.

Piscinas, Warkworth, 139, 162, 164; at Prudhoe, 217; Bamburgh, 281; Whitton, 395; Chipchase, 412.

Pittenweem, sack of Farne by men of, 437 (note).

Plantagenet, George, duke of Clarence, Warkworth, granted to, 113; Prudhoe, 205; John, of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, works of, at Dunstanburgh, 173, 174, 175; at conference of Morehouseslaw, 341; John, son of Henry IV., afterwards duke of Bedford, at Warkworth, 108; owner of Prudhoe, 208, and Shilbottle, 19; Thomas, earl of Lancaster, builder of Dunstanburgh, 169, beheaded at Pontefract, 171.

Plummer, Rev. Chas., sir John Fortescue's *Governance of England*, edited by, 428; comments on, 436 (note), 445 (note).

* The notation is based on the 15th century Little Roll of Percy and Vesey, at Alnwick Castle. Henry Percy III. was the first Percy of Alnwick; Hotspur, though dying *vit. pat.* is reckoned as Henry Percy VII.

Plummer, John, executes repairs at Dunstanburgh, 176.

Ponteland, castle of Aymer de Athol at, 12; tower of vicar at, 1415, 19.

Poor, or poker, 318 (note).

Portcullis, at Chipchase, 410.

Prendwick, tower at, 1541, 43.

Presfen, arms of, on Chillingham Castle, 301.

PRESTON TOWER, 195; to be thatched, 196; description of, 197; Mr. Archer's sketch of, 198.

Preston, Bartholomew de, prisoner at Bamburgh, 248; 'ung nommé,' envoy of Charles the Bold, at Bamburgh.

Proctor Steads, *see* Dunstan Hall.

PRUDHOE CASTLE, 199; siege of, 1173, 199; 1174, 200; repaired by Odinel de Umfreville, Denyas harboured in, 201; alleged siege of, 1244, 201 (note); settled on the Percies, 203; chapel of St. Mary, 202, 203, 207, 211, 213; pele to be constructed at, 57, 202, 213 (note); pele, yard of, 203, 213; granted to John, son of Henry IV., recovered by the Percies, 204; granted to Clarence, 205; orchard, 200, 202, 205, 211; Stockdale's survey of, 208; Bucks' view of, Grimm's view of, 211; Sir David Smith's account of, 212; barbican, 213; Gatehouse Tower, 215; chapel in gatehouse, 209, 216; wardrobe, 209; 218; hall, kitchen, 218; great tower, 219; nursery, 209, 221; west tower, 221.

Prudhoe, chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr in village of, 216 (note); mediaeval bridge at, 213.

Psalm, XLII., verse 3; LXIX., verse 21, on walls of Warkworth Hermitage, 420 (note).

Pykering, Robert de, presents horses for works at Dunstanburgh, 170.

Q.

Quatremares, Boniface and Roger, horse-balistars at Bamburgh, 237.

Queen's Cave, near Hexham, 439 (note).

Queen's Letch, 439 (note).

Querneby, William de, receiver of Dunstanburgh, 173.

Quirettarius, Philip, seized at Bamburgh, 236 (note).

R.

Radcliff, family of, at Cartington, 397, 398; Cuthbert, imprisons Lee at Bywell, 374; Edward, constable of Warkworth, 425; sir Francis, Gawen, and Roger taken near Cartington, 402; George,

chaplain to second earl of Northumberland, 111; Thomas, earl of Sussex, at Warkworth, 128.

Rascal Deer, 420 (note).

Ravenshaugh, at Bamburgh, 249.

Raw, the, near Elsdon, pele at, 60.

Raymond, captain of Wark, 358.

'Rel' (? Great Ryle, or Rye Hill, near Slaley), flight of Scots from, 438, 439 (note).

Rhys ap Maelgwn, prisoner at Bamburgh, 242.

Ridley, family of, at Willimoteswyke, 385; downfall of, 388; Musgrave, error in sequestrating estate of, 388; Nicholas, bp. of London, 385; born at Willimoteswyke, 386; Nicholas, inventory of, 386; William, inventory of, 387; William, letter of, 388.

Ring, the, the inner ward of Wark so-called, 353, 356.

Ritton (West), tower at, 22; stone house at, 1541, 46.

Robert fitz Roger (Helke), lord of Warkworth, 87; probably rebuilt castle, seal of, 88.

Robert fitz Roger II., lord of Warkworth, seal of, 90; accused of carrying off valuables from the castle, 92; signets of, 92 (note).

Rock, tower at, 22; vigilance of men of, rewarded by Edward IV., 434.

Roddam, tower at, 1541, 42.

Roger fitz Richard, grant of Warkworth to, 84, 85.

Roger fitz John (de Baliol), lord of Warkworth, 89.

Rolls Series, comments on, 56 (note), 229 (note), 333 (note).

Roman camps, situation of, 1, 2.

Rothley, tower, 21; 1541, 46.

Roubiri (Rothbury), Hugh de, deposits treasure at Warkworth, 91, 92, 140.

Roxburgh, *turris* of, 1134, 5 (note); castle of, 1415, 15.

Rudborne, Thomas, error of, as to preaching of St. Paulinus at Bamburgh, 224 (note).

Rumble Churn, at Dunstanburgh, 194, xix.

Ruskin, John, on the relief of Wark, 359.

Ryal, near Stamfordham, tower at, 22.

Ryle, Great, new tower at, 1541, 43; 1584, xvii.

S.

Sabyn, William, anchors off Dunstanburgh, 182.

St. Liz, Simon de, earl of Northumberland, 83.

- Salisbury, William, earl, and Katharine, countess of, *see* Montagu.
- Salisbury, Alice, countess of, *see* Plantagenet.
- Salkeld, lieut.-col. John, and major Thomas, taken near Cartington, 402.
- Sampson, John de, drives off cattle to Wark.
- Samwell, Francis, survey of Dunstanburgh by, 184.
- Sanderson, major, 400; letter from, 403 (note).
- Sanguhar (Senewar) castle, Robert de Ros flees to, 337 (note).
- Sauchie tower, spire on turret of, 141 (note).
- Sawnes, the, *see* Fawns.
- Say, lori, *see* Heron.
- Scargill, arms of, on Bothal gatehouse, 290.
- Scra, William, steward of Bamburgh, misappropriations by, 249.
- Screenwood, hold at, 1509, 24; tower at 1541, 43; 1584, xvii.
- Scremerston, tower, 1415, 17; old tower, 1541, 37; good tower, 1561, 53.
- Scrope and Grosvenor trial, evidence of John Thirlwall at, 326.
- Scrope, lord, of Bolton, Newcastle entrusted to, 446.
- Seaton Delaval, tower of, 1415, 16, 27.
- Seghill, tower of, 1415, 16.
- Selby, William, porter of Wark, 356.
- Seton, captain of Wark, foray by, 345.
- Settlingstones, tower at, 1541, 47.
- Sewinshields, manor-house of Sir John de Halton at, 1266, 313; castle, 1415, 15; old tower, 1541, 47, xvii.
- Seymour, Edward, duke of Somerset, at Bamburgh, 262.
- Shadford, William, mason at Dunstanburgh, 176.
- Shatto, John, constable of Warkworth, 121.
- Shakespeare, mention of Warkworth by, 97 (note).
- Sharp, Dr., restores Bamburgh, 267; sends account of Bamburgh to Dr. King, 269, 275.
- Shawden, castle, 1415, 15; tower, 1541, 42.
- Shebburne, or Seaburne, Warkworth Hermitage said to have been founded by, 420.
- Sherburne, sir Nicholas, of Cartington, 403; arms of, 404.
- Shilbottle, tower of, 1415, 19.
- Shoreditch, sir John de, on quartering of arms, 289.
- Shoreswood, tower at, destroyed by Scots, 1496, 22, 37; in ruins, 1551, 52; 1584, 70, 80, xviii.
- Shortflat, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 8; fortalice, 1415, 16.
- Shutters of crenelles, 294.
- Simondburn, tower, 1415, 18; strong tower and little tower of parsonage, 1541, 47, xvii.
- Sisterson, William, of Prudhoe, imprisoned at Warkworth, 127.
- Skipton, John, ordered to surrender Prudhoe, 203.
- Slegg, Edward, hermit at Warkworth, 423.
- Smith, sir David, account of Prudhoe by, 212; of Bywell, 374.
- Smyth, John, builds bastle at the Great Heugh, near Norham, 38.
- Somerset, dukes of, *see* Beaufort and Seymour.
- 'Soul, Fynny le,' of Stirling, prisoner at Bamburgh, 242.
- Southwell mead, near Embleton, trodden down by Lancastrian horse, 179.
- Spencer, Robert keeper of outer gate at Warkworth, 424.
- Springal*, 246 (note).
- Spynie castle, triangular bartizans at, 131 (note).
- Stafford, sir Richard, with Edward III., at Wark, 364; (Richard de Stanfort), 366 (note).
- Stamfordham, tower of vicar at, 1415, 18.
- Stanton (Stranton) tower, 1415, 16.
- Stevinson, Richard, 'chariotman' of sixth earl of Northumberland, 425.
- Stockdale, survey of Warkworth by, 127; of Prudhoe, 208, Stokhalgh, Jordan de, Scottish prisoner at Bamburgh, 244.
- Stone Houses*, 50.
- Storey, settlement of feud between family of, and that of Hebburn, 303.
- Stowe, William, of Ripon, bed and breastplate of, at Warkworth, 112.
- Stratton, William de, *ballista* of, 237.
- Strother, Henry, 'sybman' of second earl of Northumberland, at Oxford, 111.
- Stuteville, Roger de, sheriff of Northumberland, defends Wark, 333.
- Sunderland Park, at Warkworth, 423.
- Surrey, earl of, *see* Howard.
- Surtees, Ralph, maintains knights at Wark, 335.
- Sussex, earl of, *see* Radcliff.
- Sviatovid, finials resembling the image of, 217 (note).
- Swan, John, tenant of Southwell Mead, 179.

Swartebrand, monk of Durham, remembered arm of St. Oswald at Bamburgh, 230.

Sweethope, bastle at, 1541, 46.

Swinburn, West, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 10; castle or fortalice of, 1415, 15; Little, little tower at, 1541, 47; 'Mykle,' great tower at, 1541, 47.

Swinburn, Gilbert, of Prudhoe castle, 208 (note).

Syon House, MSS. at, 21 (note), 423, 425 (note).

T.

Tailbois, William, surrenders Alnwick, 433.

Talbot, John, of Cartington, out in 1715, 404.

Tarset, *camera* at, 1267, 7, 8; 'castelle ruines' at, 25; Hall, burnt, 48.

Tate, George, comments on, 21 (note), 193 (note).

Tecket, strong house at, 1541, 47.

Tempest, John, taken at Haddon Rigg, 357; sir Richard, defends Cartington castle, 399; taken prisoner, 402; escapes from Morpeth, 403.

Tenures, Northumbrian, 312 (note), 314 (note).

Teveraheugh, watch-house to be built on, 1551, 51.

Thatch, Preston tower to be covered with, 196.

Thernham, tower, 1415, 18; hold at, 1509, 24; tower, 1541, 44.

THIRLWALL CASTLE, 323; description of, 327.

Thirlwall, the, name of the Roman Wall, 324.

Thirlwall, 'le Barun de,' disputes of, with prioress of Lambley, 325; John de, evidence of, in Scrope and Grosvenor trial, 326; Lancelot, inventory of, xxii.

Thornby, little tower in good repair, 1541, 38.

Thornton tower, 1561, in ruins since 1513, 53.

Thornton, arms of, impaled at Chipchase, 414; lieut.-col. John taken near Cartington, 402.

Thrilkeld, Christopher, constable of Warkworth, 425.

Throllope, David, constable of Prudhoe, 203.

Thropton, tower, 1415, 17; hold at, 1509, 24; tower, 1541, 44, 61.

Tilmonth, tower, destroyed in 1496, 22, 29; 1561, 52.

Tindale, Thomas, gunner at Wark, 357.

Titlington, little tower at, 1541, 42.

Togsdon, William de, constable of Warkworth, receives treasure from Hugh de Roubiri, 91, 140.

Tosson Tower, 392; sometimes called a pele, 61.

Tosti, earl of Northumberland, fortress of, at Tynemouth, 2.

Tours, treaty of, 432.

Tower, Cost of building a, 1541, 36.

Trewhit, Nether, tower at, 1415, 17; 1541, 44.

Trollop, major, taken near Cartington, 402.

Trotters, several of the, taken near Wark, 345.

Troughend, tower of, 1415, 18.

Truncagium, 230, 312 (note).

Trundle bed, 319 (note).

Tughall, the 'family' of St. Cuthbert at, xv, 2.

Tumbler, George Swan, a grant to, 424.

Tunstal, sir Richard, seizes Bamburgh, sir William, constable of Bamburgh, 253.

Turnbull, Thomas, a Scottish prisoner at Chillingham, 298.

Turriolum (?) and *turrellus*, at Morpeth, 11 (note).

Turris, usual term for a Norman keep, 5. Tweedmouth, King John's castle at, 6; two little towers at, 1541, 37.

Twizel, castle of, 1415, 14; destroyed by Scots, 1496, 22, 38; bridge and tower mentioned by Leland, 28; tower in ruins, 1551, 1561, 52.

Tyler, Sir William, receiver and porter of Bamburgh, 258 (note).

Tyndale, condition of, 1541, 49.

Tynemouth, Tosti's fortress at, 2; place of refuge, 1072, 3; siege of, 1095, 3; Mowbray taken prisoner at, 233; licence to crenellate priory at, 8; castle, 1415, 13; 1583, 68.

U.

Ugtred, sir Anthony, praises Wolsey's works at Wark, 344.

Ulcotes, Philip de, ordered to stop building adulterine castle at Nafferton, 7.

Umfreville, arms of, 393 (note); Odinel de, lord of Prudhoe, 199; sally of, 200; repairs the castle, 201; Gilbert de, has leave to keep Redesdale prisoners at Prudhoe, 222; sir Robert, captain of Warkworth, 109.

'Urcol' (Warkworth) burnt by David Bruce, 362 (note).

Urse, sir Reginald fitz, name given to 'boggle' at Chipchase, 414 (note).

V.

Valetipping tower at Bamburgh, 246, 249.

Varenne, *see* Brezé.

Vere, Adeliza de, wife of Roger fitz Richard, 85.

Vesey, Isabel dame de (Beaumont), Bamburgh granted to, ordered to surrender, 243.

Vice, 174 (note).

Viollet-le-Duc, on *Mourtrières*, 153 (note); adaptation of Warkworth donjon by, 156 (note).

Virginall, 319 (note).

Viscount, family of, 168.

W.

Wain-gears, 320 (note).

Wake of Lydell, Thomas, lord, shield of, on Bothal gatehouse, 289.

Waldehavewell at Bamburgh, 249.

Wall, the Roman, supposed to have been built by the Picts, called the 'kepe wall,' 'Thwertonerlyk,' 323, and Thirlwall, 324; local pronunciation of the word, 48 (note).

Wallington, tower of, 1415, 16; Leland's mention of, 28; strong tower at, 1541, 46.

Walltown (Wawetoune), tower at, 1541, 48.

Walsh, Matilda, purveyor to camp before Bamburgh, 434.

Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, shuts himself up in Bamburgh, 228.

Wardrobe, John del, recommended for Durham almshouse by second earl of Northumberland, 112.

WARK CASTLE, 331; built by Walter Espec, taken by David of Scotland, defended by Jordan de Bussei, 331; capitulates, 332; rebuilt by Henry II., defence of, by Roger de Stuteville, 333; restored by Robert de Ros, 335; lent to Henry III., 335, 336, to Edward I., granted to sir William Montagu, 338; relief of, by Edward III., 340, 359, 364; Scots to pay for damage to; acquired by sir Thomas Grey; destroyed by Scots, 341; taken by Haliburton; account of, by lord Dacre, 342; skirmish at; Surrey's opinion of, 345; defence of, by sir William Lisle, 346; account of, by Bowes and Ellerker, 347; works of Henry VIII. at, 349; account of, by Bowes, 350; restored to sir Ralph Grey by Mary, 352; Elizabethan survey of, 353; budget of garrison, 354; Maiden Way (or Ladies' Walk), 355; foray at, 357; well in donjon, 358.

Wark-on-Tyne, pele of, 11; tower of, 1415, 18; 1541, 49.

WARKWORTH CASTLE, 81; stated by Leland to have belonged to the Merlays, 26; granted to Roger fitz Richard, 84; possibly rebuilt by Robert fitz Roger; king John at, 88; 'nobile castrum;' Edward I. at, 90; treasure deposited at, 1297; Great Chamber at, 91; area of, 92 (note); garrison aids reduction of rebel peles, 93; sieges of, 1327, 93, 94; granted to Henry Percy, 94; burgesses of Berwick prisoners at; Henry Percy IV. and Henry Percy V. die at, 95; conspiracy of Percies at, 100; letters hidden by Hardyng at, 101; Northumberland retires to, 102; sir Henry Percy refuses to surrender, 103, 105; Waterton imprisoned at, 106; taken by Henry IV., 107; John, son of Henry IV., resides at, 108, 109, 165; Hardyng, constable of, 109; second earl of Northumberland at, 110, 111, 112; chantry recently founded in, 1428, 112, 166 (note), 424; granted to duke of Clarence, 113; headquarters of Warwick, 113, 165; Paston and others at, 113; John Neville, earl of Northumberland at, 114; fourth earl of Northumberland at, 115; deer in parks at 116 (note), 127, 420; fifth earl, possibly founds college at, 425; sixth earl at, 116, 425; survey of, by Bellys, 117; great stable and barn, Leland's mention of, 118; plague among prisoners, 119, 158; Norfolk at, 119, 166; Parr at, 119, 120; sir Ralph Eure at, 120; lord Grey of Wilton at, 121; Thomas, earl of Northumberland, at, 122, 166; Clarkson's survey of, 122, xix; surrender to sir John Forster, 125; survey of, by Hall and Homberston, 126; Sussex and Hunadon at, 126, 166; spoiliations of sir John Forster at, 126; in good repair, 1583, 68; Stockdale's survey of, 127; Camden's mention of, 127 (note); bell of, sold; lead on, preserved, 128; old timber to be sold, 128, 419; materials of, given to John Clarke, 128, 418; description of, by Grose, 129; exterior of donjon, 131; postern-tower, 132; exterior of west curtain, 133, 134; south-west or Cradyfargus tower, 134, 135, 166 (note); Gatehouse, 137; chapel near Gatehouse, 139; Great Chamber, 140; spire turret, 141; Great Hall, 142; Lion Tower, Great Kitchen, 143; College, 148, 424, 425; Eastern Tower, 153; Amble Tower, 155; interior of donjon,

- 156; hall and kitchens of donjon, 160; chapel in donjon, 161; parlour and great chamber in donjon, 162; watch-house, 164; armoury, 424; constables of, 425.
- Warkworth, ancient territory attached to, 81; extent of manor of, 86; effigy in church of, 86 (note); massacre by Scots at, 1174, 87; (Urcol) burnt by David Bruce, 362; burnt by Douglas, 166; bridge and gatehouse, 97 (note).
- Warkworth Hermitage, 96 (note), 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424.
- Warmouth, John, chaplain to second earl of Northumberland, 111.
- Warren, John de, Bamburgh entrusted to, 242; William de, earl of Northumberland, *see* William the Lion.
- Wascelin, John, constable of Bamburgh, 237; letter of, to Hubert de Burgh, 238.
- Waterton, Robert, imprisoned at Warkworth, 106; Thomas, sent to reinforce Wark, 357.
- Weetalade, tower at, 1415, 19.
- Weetwood, tower at, 1541, 39.
- Welton, tower at, 22.
- Wendout, family of, at Hebburn, 302.
- West, William, ruins Maudlin well at Bamburgh, 253.
- Whelpington, Kirk, tower of vicar at, 1541, 46.
- Whitehead, ordered to preserve lead at Warkworth, 128.
- White House, *see* Filton Moor.
- Whitfield, tower at, 1415, 19.
- Whittingham, pele at, 11 (note); tower, 1415, 17; hold, 1509, 24; two towers, 1541, 42.
- WHITTON TOWER, 393; view of, by Granville Sharp, 394 (note); repaired by Dr. Thomlinson, 394; well, piscina, 395.
- Widdrington, licence to crenellate 'mansum' at, 9; tower or castle, 1415, 19, 27, 416.
- Widdrington, family of, at Cartington, 398, 403, 407; Roger, constable of Warkworth, 425.
- Wilfrid, St., image of, at Chillingham, 299, xxi.
- William I., the Conqueror, ravages of, in Northumberland, 428, 429.
- William II., Rufus, besieges Bamburgh, 231.
- William the Lion, king of Scots, styled William de Warren, earl of Northumberland, 84 (note); threatens destruction of Warkworth, 87; besieges Prudhoe, 199; attempts to surprise Bamburgh, 236; foiled before Wark, 333, 334.
- WILLIMOTESWYKE, 383; gate-tower, 383; manor-house, 384; tapering towers; chapel at; Riddleys of, 385; bp. Ridley born at, 385, 386; inventory of Nicholas Ridley at, 386; inventory of William Ridley at, 387; squandered by the Riddleys, bought by Nevilles of Chevet, 388, xxiii.
- Winegot, monk of Peterborough, steals right arm of St. Oswald from Bamburgh, 229.
- Wodall, Thomas, retainer at Bothal Castle, 285.
- Wolsey, Cardinal, works at Wark due to, 342, 344.
- Woodhouses, near Hepple, *see* Hare Cleugh.
- Wooler, fortress of Muschamps at, 4 (note); hold, 1509, 24; tower, 1522, xvi, 1541, 33; 1584, 73, 80, xvii.
- Worth, 81.
- Wylam, miracle of St. Oswin at, 201.

Y.

Yerdle, *see* Earle.

Young, Watty, 344, 359.

